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"PEACE WITH HONOUR": THE REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL THE

From the painting by Anton von W



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EUROPEAN POWERS ATTENDING THE BERLIN CONGRESS OF 1878

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VISCOUNT BRYCE, P.C., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.

CONTRIBUTING AUTHORS

W. M. Flinders Petrie, LL.D., F.R.S.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON

Hans F. Helmolt, Ph.D.

EDITOR, GERMAN "HISTORY OF THE WORLD"

Stanley Lane-Poole, M.A., Litt.D.

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THE RESTORED FRENCH MONARCHY REACTION TRIUMPHANT IN THE LATIN STATES

THE restored Bourbon monarch of France found himself in an exceedingly difficult position. At his first restoration in 1814, he had been disposed to maintain the attitude of absolutism, and had consented to grant a constitution in the form of a concession bestowed by the benevolence of the Crown. This "Charta" had established two Chambers—one of peers, nominated by the Crown, the other of representatives elected under a high franchise. But the Royalists even then had shown a zeal which Louis had not restrained for the recovery of old rights and of the old supremacy. The masses of the people had thereby been alienated.

Louis recognised his error, and was now determined to abide by his constitution; but the Royalists saw only that their side was uppermost. Like the English Cavaliers when Charles II. came back to "enjoy his own again," they hoped to get back all that they had lost with interest.

Aims of the French Royalists But the English Cavaliers had learnt very promptly to recognise that the old order had gone never to return; the French Royalists were not equally capable of reconciling themselves to that doctrine. More royalist than the king, they made haste to seek to impose their views upon him. Socially, the democratising of France had not been swept away under the Empire, though it had been so politically. The political centralisation of the Empire was only modified by the Charta; but the Royalists aimed at reversing the social democratisation as well. Their headquarters were naturally established in the entourage of Artois, the king's brother, and the circle became known from his residence as the Pavillon Marsan.

Louis, both from calculation and from grasp of the situation, held fast to his constitution, and was involved in continued conflict with his brother and the Royalists "quand même," the party of no compromise. He had promised an amnesty,

but he did not succeed in checking the "White Terror," the outbreak of royalist violence in Southern France. In Marseilles, Avignon, Nismes, Toulouse, and other places disorders broke out, in which religious fanaticism also played its part. Bonapartists and Protestants

The "White Terror" in France were murdered wholesale, among them Marshal Brune; Generals Lagarde and Ramel; courts and local authorities were powerless to check the outrages. Fouché drew up the proscription-lists against those who were privy, or suspected of being privy, to the Hundred Days, but prudently forgot to put himself at the head of the list; and while the executions of General La Bédoyère and Marshal Ney, accompanied by the horrors in Lyons and Grenoble, were bound to make the position of the king impossible, and while the foremost men of France were driven out of the country, he was conspiring with the Duke of Orleans, being also anxious to overthrow Talleyrand.

Fouché was attacked, nevertheless, on all sides, was compelled to resign the Ministry of Police in September, 1815, and was expelled, in 1816, as a relapsed regicide. His dismissal was followed closely by that of his rival, Talleyrand, who was appointed High Chamberlain, and replaced, to the satisfaction, and indeed at the wish, of Russia, by the former governor-general in Odessa, the Duke of Richelieu, an emigré quite unacquainted with French affairs. Louis,

Favourites of the French King who could not exist without favourites, had given his heart to the former secretary of Madame Mère, Décazes. As Fouché's successor, he sided with the Pavillon Marsan, passed sundry capricious and arbitrary measures to maintain order, but was still far too mild for the ultra-Royalists, who exercised a sort of secondary government, and procured Talleyrand's help against him.

The violence of this extreme section had found its warrant in the first election to the Chamber of Deputies in which it had effected an electioneering victory. But when the Pavillon Marsan and the deputies wished to cap the repressive measures of Décazes by making a farce of the very necessary amnesty for their political opponents,

**The King
Dissolves the
Chambers**

Louis found it necessary to dissolve the Chambers, and the Royalist successes were not repeated at the new election. The majority were supporters of the moderate Richelieu, while Décazes was, comparatively speaking, a progressive.

The new Chambers passed the Electoral Law of 1817, which secured power to the middle-class, in whom the ultra-Royalists saw their strongest opponents, and the principle adopted, that one-fifth of the deputies should retire annually, in fact assured an annual increase in what may be called the existing Liberal majority. The Royalists then turned their efforts to procuring a very much lower franchise, in the belief that the peasantry would be much more amenable to the influence of clericals and landowners than the now dominant classes.

Richelieu soon found himself alarmed by what appeared to be the revival of the revolutionary spirit, emphasised at the elections of 1818 by the appearance among the new deputies of Lafayette and Benjamin Constant. His position seemed strengthened by the success of France at the Conference of Aix-la-Chapelle, where he represented her in person and procured the immediate withdrawal of the allied garrisons. Nevertheless, his representations that the electoral law must be modified to check the democratic movement failed to convince the king, and Richelieu retired in December, 1818.

The Ministry of Dessoles, which now took the lead, was dominated by Richelieu's rival, Décazes, who became Minister of the Interior. An arrangement was

**Extended
Liberties
in France**

effected with the Curia on August 23rd, 1819. Freedom of the Press was encouraged, and the extraordinary laws against the liberty of the subject were repealed. The Ministry, however, at one time inclined to the Constitutionalists, at another to the ultra-Royalists, and thus forfeited the confidence of all, and depended on the personal and vacillating policy of the king, while the intensity of party feeling was increased. Even a great

batch of new peers in March, 1819, did not give the Crown the hoped-for parliamentary support. An alteration of the electoral law seemed imperative; it was essential to show fight against the Left.

On November 20th, 1819, the country learnt that Dessoles was dismissed and Décazes had become first Minister. The vacillating policy of Décazes quickly estranged all parties, and they only waited for an opportunity to get rid of him. On February 13th, 1820, the king's nephew, Charles Ferdinand, Duke of Berry, the only direct descendant of Louis XV. from whom children could be expected, was stabbed at the opera, and the ultras dared to utter the lie that Décazes was the accomplice of Louvel the murderer. The royal family implored the king to dismiss his favourite, and Louis dismissed Décazes on February 21st, 1820.

Richelieu became first Minister once more. Décazes went to London as ambassador, and received the title of duke. This compulsory change of ministers seemed to the king like his own abdication. Exceptional legislation against personal freedom was indeed

**Renewed
Bloodshed
in Paris**

necessary, but it increased the bitterness of the Radicals, who were already furious at the menace of the Electoral Law of 1817. Matters came to bloodshed in Paris in June, 1820; the Right, however, carried the introduction of a new electoral law. The abandonment of France to the noisy emancipationists standing on the extreme Left was happily diverted. Richelieu administered the country in a strictly monarchical spirit, but never became the man of the ultra-Royalists of the Pavillon Marsan.

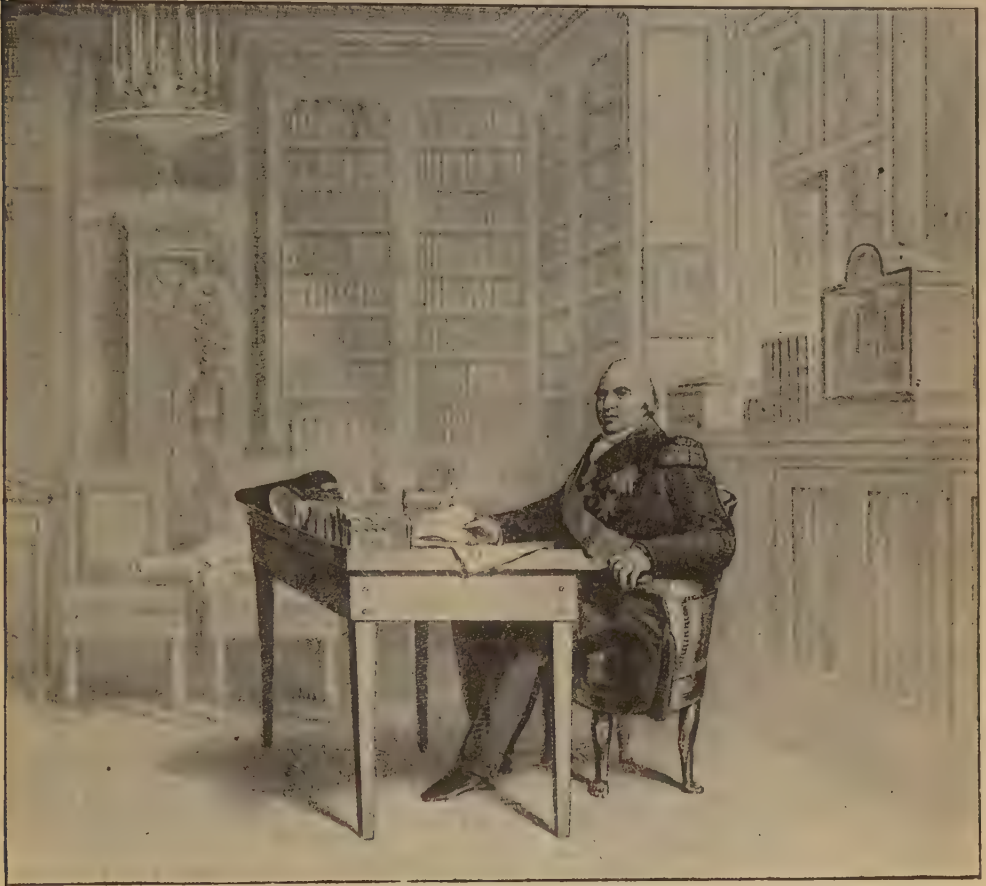
The disturbed condition of the Iberian Peninsula gave the leaders of the reaction a new justification for their policy and a new opportunity of applying it. Ferdinand VII., the king so intensely desired by the Spaniards, had soon shown himself a mean despot, whose whole government was marked by depravity and faithlessness, by falsehood and distrust. He abolished in May, 1814, the constitution of 1812, which was steeped in the spirit of the French Constituent Assembly, dismissed the Cortes, and with a despicable party or camarilla of favourites and courtiers persecuted all liberals and all adherents of Joseph Bonaparte. He restored all the monasteries and brought back the Inquisition, and finally plunged Spain once

REACTION TRIUMPHANT IN THE LATIN STATES

more into the deep darkness of the Middle Ages; he destroyed all benefits of government and the administration of justice, filled the prisons with innocent men, and revelled with guilty associates. Trade and commerce were at a standstill, and in spite of all the pressure of taxation the treasury remained empty. The Ministries and high officials continually changed according to the caprice of the sovereign, and there was no pretence at pursuing a

the influence of the Powers, particularly of Russia, Ferdinand was rudely awakened from the indolence into which he had fallen. Better days seemed to be dawning for Spain; but the reforming mood soon passed away.

Regiments intended to be employed against the rising in South America had been assembled at Cadiz, but at this centre a conspiracy against the Government in Madrid broke out. On New Year's Day, 1820, the colonel of the regi-



LOUIS XVIII. OF FRANCE DRAWING UP THE "CHARTA" AT ST. OVEN IN 1814

systematic policy. Such evils led to the rebellions of discontented and ambitious generals, such as Xaverio Mina, who paid the penalty of failure on the scaffold or at the gallows. Even the loyalty of the South American colonies wavered; they were evidently contemplating defection from the mother country, in spite of all counter measures; and the rising world power of the United States of North America was greatly strengthened. By

ment of Asturia, Riego, proclaimed in Las Cabezas de San Juan on the Isla de Leon the constitution of 1812, arrested at Arcos the commander-in-chief of the expeditionary force together with his staff, drove out the magistrates, and joined Colonel Antonio Quiroga, who now was at the head of the undertaking. The attempt to capture Cadiz failed; Riego's march through Andalusia turned out disastrously, and he was forced on March

11th to disband his followers at Bienvenida. Quiroga also achieved nothing. But the cry for the constitution of 1812 found a responsive echo in Madrid. Galicia, Asturia, Cantabria, and Aragon revolted. The royal government completely lost heart, since it had too evil a conscience. The king, always a coward, capitulated with undignified alacrity, declared himself ready to gratify "the universal wish of the people," and on March 9th took a provisional oath of adherence to the constitution of 1812.

Reaction Triumphant in Spain

The whole kingdom was at the mercy of the unruly and triumphant Left. It was headed by Quiroga and Riego, and the Government was obliged to confer upon both these mutineers the rank of field-marshal. Quiroga was the more moderate of the two, and as Vice-president of the Cortes, which met on July 9th, endeavoured to organise a middle party. Riego preferred the favour of the mob; at Madrid he received a wild ovation, August 30th to September 6th, and a hymn composed in his honour and called by his name was in everybody's mouth. Although his arrogance produced a temporary reaction, the party which he led was in the end triumphant. As captain-general of Galicia and Aragon, Riego became master of the situation, and the Court was exposed to fresh humiliations.

The spirit of discontent had also seized Portugal, where the reorganiser of the army, Field-Marshal Lord Beresford, conducted the government for King John VI., who was absent in Brazil. A national conspiracy against the British was quickly suppressed in 1817; but the feeling of indignation smouldered, and when Beresford himself went to Rio Janeiro for commands, secret societies employed his absence to stir up fresh sedition. The rebellion broke out on August 24th, 1820, under Colonel Sepulveda and Count Silveira in Oporto, and Lisbon followed suit on September 15th. The juntas instituted in both places amalgamated into one provisional government on October 1st, and when Beresford returned on October 10th, he was not allowed to land. The Cortes of 1821 drew up, on March 9th, the preliminary sketch of a constitution which limited the power of the Crown, as it had already been limited in Spain. All the authorities swore to it; Count Pedro

Palmella, the foremost statesman of the kingdom, advised John VI. to do the same. John appeared in Lisbon, left his eldest son Dom Pedro behind as regent in Brazil, and swore to the principles of the constitution on July 3rd, 1821.

In Italy, meanwhile, there was a strong movement on foot in favour of republicanism and union. But few placed their hopes on Piedmont itself, for King Victor Emmanuel I. was a bigoted, narrow-minded ruler, who sanctioned the most foolish retrogressive policy, and, like William I. at Cassel, declared everything that had occurred since 1789 to be simply null and void. There was no prospect of freedom and a constitution while he continued to reign. His prospective successor, Charles Felix, was as little of a Liberal as himself. The nobility and the clergy alone felt themselves happy. The hopes of better days could only be associated with the head of the indirect line of Carignan, Charles Albert, who in Piedmont and Sardinia played the rôle of the Duke of Orleans in France, and represented the future of Italy for many patriots even beyond the frontiers of Piedmont. In

Peaceful Modena, Duke Francis IV. of the Austrian house did away with the institutions of the revolutionary period and brought back the old regime. The Society of Jesus stood at the helm. Modena, on account of the universal discontent, became a hotbed of secret societies.

In the papal states the position was the same as in Modena; it was hardly better in Lucca, or in Parma, where Napoleon's wife, the Empress Marie Louise, held sway. In Tuscany, the Grand Duke Ferdinand III. reigned without any spirit of revenge; he was an enemy of the reaction, although often disadvantageously influenced from Vienna. The peace and security which his rule assured to Tuscany promoted the growth of intellectual and material culture. His was the best administered state in the whole of Italy; and when he died, in 1824, his place was taken by his son Leopold II., who continued to govern on the same lines and with the same happy results.

Pius VII. and his great Secretary of State, Cardinal Consalvi, had indeed the best intentions when the States of the Church were revived; but the upas-tree of bureaucracy blighted all prosperity. Not a vestige remained of the modern civilised lay state, especially after Consalvi was

REACTION TRIUMPHANT IN THE LATIN STATES

removed and Leo XII., 1823-1829, assumed the reins of government. Secret societies and conspiracies budded, and brigandage took a fresh lease of life. The secret society of the Carbonari, having become too large for Neapolitan soil—1808

—maintained relations with the Freemasons, who had influence in the Italian disputes, and with Queen Mary Caroline of Naples. Later, the Government vainly tried to suppress the Carbonari, who, though degraded by the admission of the most notorious criminals had gained a hold on every stratum of society.

The misgovernment of Naples and Sicily gave a plausible excuse for revolutionary agitation. King Ferdinand IV., a phlegmatic old man, full of cunning and treachery, licentiousness and cruelty, had not fulfilled one of the promises which he had given on his return to the throne, but had, on the contrary, secretly promised the Court of Vienna that he would not grant his country a constitution until Austria set him the example. On December 11th, 1816, he united his states into the "Kingdom of the Two Sicilies," and assumed the title of Ferdinand I.; and, although he left in existence many useful reforms which had been introduced during the French period, he bitterly disappointed his Sicilian subjects by abolishing the constitution which Lord Bentinck had given them in 1812. The police and the judicial system were deplorably bad; the Minister of Police was the worst robber of all, and the head of the Calderari, a rival reactionary society. The army was neglected. Secret societies and bands of robbers vied with each other in harassing the country, and the Government

was powerless against them. The newly revived citizen militia was immediately infected by the Carbonari, which tempted it with the charm of a "constitution."

Guglielmo Pepe, an ambitious general, but fickle character, became the soul of

the Carbonari in the Sicilian army, and gave them a considerable degree of military efficiency. He contemplated in 1819 the arrest of the king, the Emperor and Empress of Austria, and Metternich, at a review. The plan was not executed, but the spell of the Spanish insurrection and the new constitution

ensnared him and his partisans. On July 2nd, 1820, two sub-lieutenants raised the standard of revolt at Nola, and talked foolishly about the Spanish constitution, which was totally unknown to them. On the 3rd this was proclaimed in Avellino.

Pepe assumed the lead of the movement, which spread far and wide, and marched upon Naples. The Ministry changed. Ferdinand placed the government temporarily in the hands of his son Francis, who was detested as the head of the Calderari, and the latter accepted the Spanish constitution on July 7th, a policy which Ferdinand confirmed. On the 9th, Pepe entered Naples in triumph, with soldiers and militia; and Ferdinand, with tears in his eyes, took the oath to the constitution on the 13th, in the palace chapel. The Bourbons began to wear the

colours of the Carbonari. Pepe, as commander-in-chief and captain-general of the kingdom, was now supreme; but Ferdinand hastened to assure the indignant Metternich that all his oaths and promises had been taken under compulsion and were not seriously meant.



THE DUKE OF RICHELIEU AND DECAZES

The Duke of Richelieu, an emigré and formerly governor-general at Odessa, was appointed to succeed Talleyrand as High Chamberlain though he was quite unacquainted with French affairs, while Decazes, who supported the Bourbon restoration, became a great favourite of the king. He was dismissed in 1820, and went to London as ambassador.



A LEADER OF REVOLT

Riego was at the head of the Madrid rising of 1820; his march through Andalusia turned out disastrously, and he disbanded his followers. He was hanged at Madrid in 1823.

Sicily no longer wished to be treated as a dependency of Naples, and claimed to receive back the constitution of 1812. Messina revolted, and Palermo followed the example on July 14th; on the 18th there was fighting in the streets of Palermo. The governor, Naselli, fled, and the mob ruled; immediately afterwards a provisional

Flight of the Governor Naselli

government was installed. The independent action of Sicily aroused great discontent in Naples. General Florestan Pepe was despatched to Sicily with an army, and he soon made himself master of the island. But the Crown repudiated the treaty concluded by him with the rebels on October 5th, and sacrificed Pepe to the clamour of the Neapolitan Parliament; the gulf between the two parts of the kingdom became wider. Metternich had been unmoved by the tidings of the Spanish agitation, but he was only the more enraged when he heard what had occurred in the Two Sicilies. He put all blame on the secret societies, and praised the good intentions of Ferdinand's "paternal" government.

The insurrection in Spain had made such an impression on Alexander that in a circular of May 2nd, 1820, he invoked the spirit of the Holy Alliance, and emphasised the danger of illegal constitutions. Metternich strengthened the Austrian forces in Upper Italy, and stated, in a circular to the Italian courts, that Austria, by the treaties of 1815, was the appointed guardian of the peace of Italy, and wished for an immediate armed interference in the affairs of Naples; but he encountered strong opposition in Paris and in St. Petersburg. Alexander, whom Metternich actually suspected of Carbonarism, advised a conference of sovereigns and Ministers; the conference met on October 20th, 1820, at Troppau. Alexander brought with him Capodistrias, an enemy of Metternich; Francis I. brought Metternich and Gentz; Frederic William III. was accompanied by Hardenberg and Count Günther von Bernstorff; the Count de la Ferronnays appeared on behalf of Louis XVIII.; and Lord Stewart represented the faint-hearted policy of his brother Castlereagh, which

was condemned by the British nation. It was Metternich's primary object that the congress should approve the march of an Austrian army into Naples, and he induced the congress to invite Ferdinand to Troppau. Alexander always clung closer to the wisdom of Metternich, and the latter skilfully used the report of a mutiny among the Semenoff guards as an argument to overcome the Liberalism of the tsar. Alexander saw before his own eyes how the Spanish and Italian military revolts excited imitation in the Russian army. Frederic William was equally conciliatory to Metternich, and was more averse than ever to granting a constitution on the model of Hardenberg's schemes. In the protocol of November 19th, Austria, Prussia, and Russia came to an agreement, behind the back of the two Western Powers, as to the position which they would adopt towards revolutions, and as to the maintenance of social order; but France and Great Britain rejected the idea of changing the principles of international law. Ferdinand took fresh oaths to his people and set out for Troppau. After Christmas the congress closed at Troppau, but was continued in January, 1821, at Laibach. Most of the Italian governments were represented. Metternich again took over the presidency. Ferdinand was at once ready to break his word, and



JOHN VI. OF PORTUGAL
After acting as regent for his mother, he succeeded to the throne; a rebellion broke out in 1820, and the king agreed to a constitution limiting the power of the Crown.

declared that his concessions were extorted from him. The King of France at first hesitated. A miracle seemed to have been performed on behalf of the French Bourbons: the widow of Berry gave birth, on September 29th, 1820, to a son, the Duke Henry of Bordeaux, who usually appeared later under the name of Count of Cham-

The "Miracle" of the French Bourbons

bord. The legitimists shouted for joy, talked of the miraculous child who would console his mother for the death of Hector, "the stem of Jesse when nearly withered had put forth a fresh branch." The child was baptised with water which Chateaubriand had drawn from the Jordan. The Spanish Bourbons looked askance at the birth; they were already speculating on the future succession to the throne, and the Duke of Orleans secretly suggested in the English

REACTION TRIUMPHANT IN THE LATIN STATES

Press suspicions of the legitimacy of the child. Louis successively repressed several military revolts, but had constantly to struggle with the claims of the ultras, who embittered his reign. Although in his heart opposed to it, he nevertheless assented at Laibach to the programme of the Eastern Powers.

Austria sent an army under Frimont over the Po, and upheld the fundamental idea of a constitution for the Two Sicilies. Ferdinand agreed to everything which Metternich arranged. France did not, indeed, at first consent to that armed interference with Spain which Alexander and Metternich required. On February 26th, 1821, the deliberations of the congress terminated. The Neapolitan Parliament, it is true, defied the threats of the Eastern Powers, and declared that Ferdinand was their prisoner, and that therefore his resolutions were not voluntary. But their preparations for resistance were so defective that the Austrians had an easy task. The Neapolitan army broke up after the defeat of Guglielmo Pepe at Rieti on March 7th, 1821, and on March 24th Frimont's army marched into Naples with sprigs of olive in their helmets. Pepe fled to Spain. In Naples the reaction perpetrated such excesses that the Powers intervened; the victims were countless, while the Austrians maintained order.

In Piedmont the revolution broke out on March 10th, 1821; Charles Albert of Carignan did not keep aloof from it. The tricolour flag, red, white, and green, of the Kingdom of Italy was hoisted in Alessandria, and a provisional junta on the Spanish model was assembled. Turin proclaimed the parliamentary constitution on March 11th, and the Carbonari seized the power. Victor Emmanuel I. abdicated on March 13th in favour of his brother Charles Felix. Charles Albert, a vacillating and untrustworthy ruler, who was regent until the latter's

arrival, accepted, contrary to his inward conviction, the new constitution, and swore to it on March 15th. Charles Felix, however, considered every administrative measure null and void which had not emanated from himself. Charles Albert was panic-stricken, resigned the regency, and left the country. Alexander and Metternich agreed that there was need of armed intervention in Piedmont. Austria feared also the corruption of her Italian provinces, and kept a careful watch upon those friends of freedom who had not yet been arrested.



VICTOR EMMANUEL I
King of Sardinia from 1814, he was a bigoted, narrow-minded ruler. His retrogressive policy led to a rising in 1821, and he abdicated in favour of his brother Charles Felix.

At Novara, on April 8th, the Imperialists under Marshal Bubna, won a victory over the Piedmontese insurgents, which was no less decisive than that of Rieti had been in Naples. Piedmont was occupied by the imperial army; the junta resigned, and Victor Emmanuel renewed his abdication on April 10th, at Nice.

Charles Felix then first assumed the royal title and decreed a criminal inquiry. On October 18th he made his entry into Turin amid the mad rejoicings of the infatuated mob, suppressed every sort of political party, and ruled in death-like quiet, being supported by the bayonets of Austria and by the dominion of the Jesuits in Church, school, and State. The Austrians did not leave his country until 1823. On May 12th, 1821, a proclamation issued from Laibach by the Eastern Powers announced to the world that they had rescued Europe from the intended general revolution, and that their weapons alone served to uphold the cause of right and justice.



GUGLIELMO PEPE
An ambitious general, but fickle character, he became the soul of the Carbonari in the Sicilian army, and in 1820 he assumed supreme power as commander-in-chief.

Metternich, promoted by the emperor to the office of Chancellor of State, stood at the zenith of his success when, on May 5th, 1821, Napoleon I., the man who had contested his importance and had ruled the world far more than Metternich, died at St. Helena. The black and yellow flag waved from Milan to Palermo; princes and peoples bowed before it. Legitimacy had curbed the revolutionary

craving, and Italy was further from unification than ever. The apostles of freedom and unity, men like Silvio Pellico, disappeared in the dungeons of the Spielberg and other fortresses in Austria. Russia was now on the most friendly terms with Austria. The result was soon seen when the monarchs and Ministers, still

An Era of Conspiracy and Anarchy

at Laibach, received tidings of disorders in the Danubian principalities and in Greece, and the tsar, under Metternich's influence, repudiated the Greek leader, Ypsilanti, who had built on the theory that he could reckon on the warm support of Russia.

In Spain the Liberals made shameless misuse of their victory, and limited the power of the king to such a degree that he naturally tried to effect a change. His past was a guarantee that Ferdinand VII. would not be at a loss for the means to his end. He courted the intervention of the Continent; but Louis XVIII. and Richelieu preferred neutrality. The ultra-Royalists, however, became more and more arrogant in France. The Pavillon Marsan expelled Richelieu in December, 1821, and brought in the Ministry of Villèle; the reaction felt itself fully victorious, and the clergy raised their demands. The Carbonari was introduced from Italy, and secret societies were formed. New conspiracies of republican or Napoleonic tendency followed, and led to executions.

The power of the ultras became gradually stronger in the struggle; party feeling increased, and even Count Villèle was not royalist enough for the ultras. Ferdinand VII., on the contrary, favoured the Radicals, in order to employ them against the Liberals. Riego became President of the Cortes of 1822. A coup de main of the Guards to recover for Ferdinand the absolute power failed in July, 1822, and Ferdinand surrendered those who had sacrificed themselves for him. In the north guerrilla bands spread in every direction

The Tragic End of Castlereagh

on his behalf; in Seo de Urgel a regency for him was established on August 15th, and an alliance entered into with France. At the preliminary deliberations for the congress intended to be held at Verona, Metternich reckoned upon his "second self," Castlereagh, now the Marquess of Londonderry; but the latter died by his own hand on August 12th, 1822. His successor in the Foreign Office, George Canning, a "Tory from inward conviction,

a modern statesman from national necessity," broke with the absolutist-reactionary principles of the Holy Alliance, and entered the path of a national independent policy, thus dealing a heavy blow at Metternich and Austria. Metternich and Alexander stood the more closely side by side.

The congress of sovereigns and Ministers at Verona was certainly the most brilliant since that of Vienna. In October, 1822, came Alexander, Francis, and Frederic William; most of the Italian rulers, Metternich, Nesselrode, Pozzo di Borgo, Bernstorff, and Hardenberg; France was represented by Chateaubriand, the Duke of Laval-Montmorency, Count La Ferronnays, and the Marquis of Caraman; Great Britain by Wellington and Viscount Strangford. Entertainments were on as magnificent a scale as at Vienna. Metternich wished to annul the Spanish and Portuguese revolution, and with it the extorted constitution; the Eastern Powers and France united for the eventuality of further hostile or revolutionary steps being taken by Spain; Great Britain excluded itself from their agreements, while Chateaubriand's romanticism in-

Congress of the Powers at Verona

toxicated the tsar. When the Greeks at the congress sought help against the Turks, they were coldly refused. On the other hand, an understanding was arrived at about the gradual evacuation of Piedmont by the Austrians; the army of occupation in the Two Sicilies was reduced; and good advice of every sort was given to the Italian princes. The Eastern Powers and France saw with indignation that Great Britain intended to recognise the separation of the South American colonies from Spain, and their independence, according to the example given by the United States of North America, in March, 1822. The Congress of Verona ended toward the middle of December.

Chateaubriand, now French Minister of Foreign Affairs, urged a rupture with Spain, at which Louis and Villèle still hesitated. The threatening notes of the Powers at the Verona congress roused a storm of passion in Madrid, while the diplomatists in Verona had set themselves the question whether nations might put kings on their trial, as Dante does in his Divine Comedy, and whether the tragedy of Louis XVI. should be repeated with another background in the case of Ferdinand VII. The Spanish nation revolted

REACTION TRIUMPHANT IN THE LATIN STATES

against the arrogance of foreign interference. The rupture was made; the ambassadors of Russia, Austria, Prussia, and France left Spain in January, 1823. The adventurous George Bessières ventured on an expedition to Madrid; but the Spanish hope of British help against France, which was intended to carry out the armed interference, was not fulfilled.

Louis XVIII. placed his nephew, Duke Louis of Angoulême, at the head of an army of 100,000 men, which was to free Ferdinand from the power of the Liberals and put him once again in possession of despotic power. In the Chamber at Paris the Liberals, indeed, loudly decried the war, and trembled at the suppression of the Spanish revolution, although Canning openly desired the victory of the Spanish people. Ferdinand and the Cortes went to Seville. Angoulême crossed the frontier stream, the Bidassoa, on April 7th, and found no traces of a popular rising; nevertheless, he advanced, without any opposition, was hailed as a saviour, and entered Madrid on May 24th. He appointed a temporary regency, and in order not to hurt the national pride, avoided any interference in internal affairs, although the reactionary zeal of the regency caused him much uneasiness, and only retained the supreme military command. But the Cortes in Seville relieved the king of the conduct of affairs and carried him off to Cadiz. Victory followed the French flag. The Spaniards lost heart, and were defeated or capitulated. Angoulême made forced marches to Cadiz, and on the night of August 31st stormed Fort Trocadero, which was considered impregnable. An expedition of Riego to the Isla de Leon ended in his arrest, and on September 28th the Cortes, in consequence of the bombardment of Cadiz, abandoned their resistance. Ferdinand VII. voluntarily promised a complete amnesty and made extensive



CHATEAUBRIAND

This eminent French writer and politician supported the Restoration monarchy from 1814 till 1824. He was created a vicomte, and for two years represented France at the British Court.

professions. He was accorded a state reception by Angoulême on October 1st, and was proclaimed as absolute monarch by a large party among the Spaniards. But hardly was he free before the perjurer began the wildest reaction. Many members of the Cortes and the regency fled to

England to escape the gallows, and Ferdinand exclaimed: "The wretches do well to fly from their fate!" The Powers of Europe viewed his action with horror. Angoulême, whose warnings had been scattered to the winds, left Madrid in disgust on November 4th. Riego was hanged at Madrid on November 7th, 1823; on the 13th Ferdinand returned triumphant, only to reign as detestably as before.

Talleyrand called the war of intervention the beginning of the end; the result of it was that Spain floundered further into the mire. The ultras tormented the country and Ferdinand himself to such a degree that he began to weary of them. The colonies in South America were irretrievably lost; all the subtleties of the congress at Verona and of Chateaubriand could not change that fact.



DONA MARIA II, DA GLORIA

The crown of Portugal was renounced by Pedro IV., of Brazil, in favour of his daughter, but when Dom Miguel proclaimed himself king in 1828 she returned to her father, and was restored in 1834.

At Canning's proposal the British Government, on January 1st, 1825, recognised the independence of the new republics of Buenos Ayres, Colombia, and Mexico. This was a fresh victory over the principle of legitimacy, which had been always emphasised by Austria, Spain, and France, as well as by Russia and Prussia. The Spanish insurrection naturally affected the neighbouring country of Portugal. The September Constitution of 1820, far from improving matters there, had actually introduced new difficulties.

Constitutionalists and absolutists were quarrelling violently with each other. Dom Pedro, son of John VI., who had been appointed regent in Brazil, saw himself compelled by a national party, which wished to make Brazil an independent empire, to send away the Portuguese

troops. He assumed in May, 1822, the title of permanent protector of Brazil, and convened a national assembly at Rio de Janeiro, which on August 1st and on September 7th announced the independence of Brazil, and proclaimed him, on October 12th, 1822, Emperor of Brazil, under the title of Dom Pedro I. The Portuguese were furious, but were never able to reconquer Brazil.

Queen Charlotte, wife of John and sister of Ferdinand VII., a proud and artful woman, refused to take the oath to the Portuguese constitution, to which John swore, and, being banished, conspired with her younger son, Dom Miguel, the clergy, and many nobles, to restore the absolute monarchy. A counter revolution in February, 1823, failed, it is true, but Dom Miguel put himself at its head, and Lisbon joined his cause. The weak John sanctioned this, and cursed the constitution; the Cortes were dissolved. John promised a new constitution, and triumphantly entered Lisbon with his son on June 5th. Portugal was brought back to absolutism. John was a mere cipher; but Miguel and Charlotte ruled, and did not shrink even from the murder of opponents. Miguel headed a new revolt against his father on April 30th, 1824, in order to depose him. But John made his escape on May 9th to a British man-of-war. The diplomatic body took his side, and at the same time the pressure brought to bear by the British Government compelled Miguel to throw himself at his father's feet and to leave Portugal on May 13th. An amnesty was proclaimed. The return of the old Cortes which had sat before 1822 was promised, and by British mediation the Treaty of Rio was signed on August 29th, 1825, in which the independence and self-government of Brazil were recognised. On April 26th, 1826, Portugal received a Liberal Constitution by the instrumentality of Dom Pedro I. of Brazil, who after his father's death,

on March 10th, 1826, reigned for a short period over his native country as Pedro IV. Then, on May 2nd, Pedro renounced the crown of Portugal in favour of his daughter, Dona Maria II. da Gloria. On June 25th, 1828, Dom Miguel proclaimed himself king, favoured by the British Tory Cabinet of Wellington. His niece, Maria da Gloria, was forced to return to her father in Brazil.

The victory of Trocadero, which was audaciously compared by the French ultras to Marengo and Austerlitz, was of extraordinary advantage to the Government of Louis XVIII. "It was not merely under Napoleon that victories were won; the restored Bourbons knew this secret"; and the "hero of Trocadero"



DOM MIGUEL

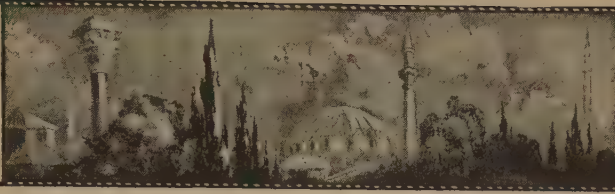
He became regent of Portugal on behalf of his niece Maria, and being ambitious, proclaimed himself king. When Maria recovered the crown, Miguel withdrew to Italy.

was hailed as their "champion" by the king on December 2nd, 1823. The elections to the Chambers of 1824 were favourable to them; and a law in June of the same year prolonged the existence of the Second Chamber to seven years, which might seem some check on change and innovation. Villèle stood firm at the helm, overthrew Chateaubriand, and guided Baron Damas, his successor at the Foreign Office. But Chateaubriand revenged himself by the most bitter attacks in the Press. Louis thereupon, at the advice of Villèle, revived the censorship on political journals and newspapers, August 16th, 1824. The much-tried man was nearing his end. He warned his brother to uphold the Charta loyally, the best inheritance which he bequeathed; if he did so, he too would die in the palace of his ancestors.

Louis XVIII. died on September 16th, 1824. France hailed Monsieur as Charles X., with the old cry, "Le roi est mort, vive le roi." But Talleyrand had forebodings that the kingdom of Charles would soon decay; and, with his usual coarseness of sentiment, he said over the corpse of Louis: "I smell corruption here!"

ARTHUR KLEINSCHMIDT





THE CROSS AND THE CRESCENT

REVOLT AND OPPRESSION IN RUSSIA

AND THE LIBERATION OF GREECE

WE have seen that the Tsar Alexander I., when he ascended the throne of Russia, was full of liberal ideas. If he wavered between antagonism to Napoleon and alliance with him, it was, in part at least, because Napoleon's own career bore a double aspect; if he was an aggressive conqueror who sought to impose his own will on Europe regardless of international law, he was also the incarnation of anti-feudalism. It was not until after the Congress of Vienna and the Peace of Paris that the change came over the tsar which made him a force in Europe hardly less reactionary than Metternich himself.

But it is with his domestic policy, his policy within the borders of his own empire, that we are here concerned; his foreign policy has already appropriated a conspicuous share of earlier chapters.

The Tsar's Desire for Reforms

On his accession, then, he reigned in a liberal spirit, and surrounded himself with men of the same views; among them his Secretary of State, Michael Speranskij, was conspicuous. Magnanimous plans were proposed, and the emperor himself spoke of the burden of an absolute monarchy. There was a wish to introduce reforms on the English model, or, as Speranskij suggested, an imitation of the French Constitution. People talked, as Catharine had once done, of "the rights of the subjects, and the duty of the Government," and of the abolition of serfdom; and a sum of a million roubles yearly was laid aside in order to buy estates with serfs for the Crown.

The German nobility of Esthonia, Courland, and Livonia took the first step by the emancipation of the Lettic and Esthonian serfs. The coercive measures were repealed, the frontier opened, the "Secret Chancery" as well as corporal punishment for nobles, citizens, priests, and

church officials abolished. Schools and universities were founded, and the empire was divided into six educational districts. In place of the old boards dating from the days of Peter, real Ministries and a Council of State were created for the first time. Alexander thus reigned "according to the principles and after the heart of Catharine"

Attempt to Restore the Old Order

until 1812, when he suddenly changed his views. The enemies of freedom, the Church once more at their head, strained every nerve to overthrow Speranskij, and restore the old order of things. Even the great historian, Nikolaj Karamsin, recommended serfdom and autocracy in his memoir on "Ancient and Modern Russia." Others also recommended the same policy. Speranskij was overthrown from a "wounded feeling of disappointed inclination"; Count Alexej Araktshejev, an apostle of slavery, as an all-powerful favourite, guided the affairs of government.

Alexander did, indeed, make the attempt, to which he had always been attracted, of giving his reconstructed Poland a constitution; but Poland was incapable of working a constitution. Another of his experiments was that of establishing military colonies all over the empire. The theory was that the soldiery, planted on the soil, would maintain themselves by agriculture, and would at the same time provide centres

New Form Of Russian Oppression

for recruiting and for military training. The practical effect, however, was merely the application of a new form of oppression to the already sufficiently oppressed peasantry. The latter years of Alexander's life were embittered by a sense of the ingratitude of mankind. Conscious of his own high purposes, he found his own people, instead of recognising their nobility, still murmuring and discontented, infected even by the mutinous spirit of the Latin

peoples. He expressed repeatedly a desire to abdicate, and when he died at Taganrog in December, 1825, it was with no reluctance that he escaped from the cares of sovereignty.

He left no children. Constantine, as the elder of his brothers, would have had the next claim to the throne had he not formally renounced it in 1820 and 1822, in order to be able to marry a Polish countess, Johanna Grudzinska. The idea that his brother Nicholas had learnt nothing of this before the memorable December days of the year 1825 is no longer tenable. The homage paid by the younger brother to Constantine, who was staying in Warsaw, was a rash act chiefly due to Count Miloradovitch, the military Governor-General of St. Petersburg at that time, and it cost trouble enough to cancel it in the days between December 9th and 24th, 1825. There is accordingly no need to suppose a noble contest of magnanimity between the two brothers. But the idea of freedom had already struck root so deeply under Alexander I. that the supporters of a constitution, who had been secretly organised since 1816, especially in the corps of officers, wished to use the opportunity of placing the liberal-minded Constantine on the throne. The rumour was spread that Constantine's renunciation was only fictitious; that he was being kept a prisoner at Warsaw. The troops shouted: "Long live Constantine!" and when the cry "Long live the Constitution!" mingled with it, the troops thought that it was the name of the wife of Constantine.

Nicholas I. crushed the rebellion on December 26th, 1825, with great firmness. Several "Decabrists" were executed and many exiled. Possibly that was one of the reasons why Nicholas was throughout his whole reign a sworn enemy of popular liberty. A man of iron strength of character and energy, he was, with his immense stature and commanding presence, the personification of absolutism. But he was fully alive to the duties and responsibilities which his great position threw upon him, and he devoted all his powers to the affairs of the country. His first

attention was given to the publication of the legal code. His government aimed at "stopping the rotation of the earth," as Lamartine aptly puts it. He recognised no peoples or nations, only cabinets and states. The Press was therefore once more gagged, printing-offices were watched and schools were placed under strict supervision.



NICHOLAS I. OF RUSSIA
The son of Paul I., he succeeded to the throne in 1825, on the death of his brother, Alexander I. He aimed at absolute despotism but won the affection of his subjects.

The Government's mistrust of education was so great that all lecture courses on philosophy were entrusted to the clergy. Even the Church was watched, and the emperor's adjutant, Protasscv, a general of hussars, was attached to the Holy Synod as Procurator-General, and for twenty years conducted the business of the Church on a military system. But the movement towards civilisation and liberty did not fail to have some influence even on this iron despot, for he advocated throughout his whole life the abolition of serfdom, and allowed even the peasants to acquire property. Such was the autocrat whose iron hand was to rule Russia for thirty years after his accession.

In taking up the thread of the history of the Ottoman Empire, we must note certain events in the Napoleonic period which have hitherto passed unrecorded, as standing outside the general course of our account of Europe. The movement, which has by degrees turned one after another of the provinces into practically if not completely independent states, was initiated in 1804 by a Servian revolt, caused by the violent methods of the Turkish Janissaries, and headed by George Petrovitch, otherwise known as Czerney, or Karageorge. The insurrection broke out locally at Sibnitza, Deligrad, Stalatz, and Nish. Before long, Russian influence

The Turks Defeated by the Serbs

brought to its support the Greek Hospodars, or provincial administrators of Moldavia and Wallachia, Constantine Murusiv and Constantine Ypsilanti. The flame spread, and in 1806 and 1807 the Serbs inflicted defeats on the Turks at Shabatz and Ushitze, under the command of Milos Obrenovitch, captured Belgrade, and established the popular assembly, or Skuptskina. Shortly before this, however, the Sultan Selim had set himself to overthrow the

dangerous power of the Janissaries by means of a reorganisation of the army, "Nisan Jedid." A further movement in the same direction in 1807 brought disaster. The Janissaries rose; Selim was deposed and murdered. The outcome of a brief and bloody period of struggle was that the one surviving prince of the royal family, Mahmud, found himself placed on the throne, and, to all intents and purposes, in the hands of the Janissaries, who had proved themselves to be the masters of the situation. Hence the first act of

Opponents of the New Sultan

Mahmud was to recognise these prætorians in a solemn Hattishef, issued on November 18th, as the firmest support of the throne. The army and the population greeted the one surviving descendant of the Ottoman house with enthusiasm, and the "Chok yasha Sultan Mahmud!" resounded from thousands of throats in the mosques and on the public squares. The Ottoman dynasty had been saved as by a miracle. The sultan, who was then twenty-three years of age, was confronted by two dangerous opponents, the Serbs and Russians. The latter were supporting the Serbs and also the Montenegrins against the Turks and the French in Dalmatia. However, the war upon the Danube was continued with no great vigour. It was not until the Peace of Frederikshamn, of September 17th, 1809, when Russia acquired Finland from Sweden and secured a guarantee from Napoleon that the Polish kingdom should not be restored, that the Turkish War again took a prominent place in Russian policy. In 1810 Prince Bagration was replaced by Count Kamenskii as supreme commander over 80,000 men. He immediately crossed the Danube, and on June 3rd captured Bazarjik, which was followed by the conquest of Silistria, Sistova, Rustchuk, Giurgevo, and Nicopolis. The fear of Napoleon and of a

Polish rising prevented further enterprise. After the death of Kamenskii, Kutusoff, who was sixty-five years of age, utterly defeated the Turks on October 12th, 1811, at Slobodse and Rustchuk. This victory decided the war. The British fleet made a demonstration before the Dardanelles to prevent the sultan agreeing to the Continental embargo of Napoleon.

The Peace of Bucharest, May 12th, 1812, reconfirmed the conventions of Kütchuk-Kainarje and Jassy, ceded Bessarabia to Russia, and gave the Serbs an amnesty; greater independence, and an extension of territory. The brothers Murusi, the sultan's Phanariot negotiators, were executed upon their return home on account of the extravagance of the concessions made by them to the tsar.

The Russians had secured an influence in Serbia, which Austria had obstinately disdained. When, however, in May, 1813, the Russians appeared on the Oder and Elbe the Turkish army again advanced into Serbia; George Petrovitch fled to Russia by way of Austria. The Ottomans exacted a bitter vengeance upon the country, but on Palm Sunday, April 11th, 1815, Milos Obrenovitch appeared with the ancient banner of the voivodes. The people as a whole flocked to the standard,

and the Turks were left in possession only of their fortresses. On November 6th, 1817, Milos was recognised by the bishop, the Kneses and people as voivode; while Karageorge, who had returned to the country to ally himself with the Greek Hetæria, was murdered. Almost contemporary with the



THE SULTANS SELIM III. AND MAHMUD II.

Sultan of Turkey, Selim III. made an effort to overthrow the dangerous power of the Janissaries, but the attempt ended in disaster, Selim being deposed and assassinated in 1808. He was succeeded on the throne by Mahmud II., during whose reign Greece established its independence. Mahmud suppressed the Janissary troops.

Society of the Philomusoi, which was founded in Athens in 1812, arose in Greece the secret confraternity of the "philiki," whose energies after some years brought about the open struggle for freedom. Three young Greeks—Skuphas of Arta, Tzakaloph of Janina, and Anagnostopulos of Andritzena—founded the new Hetæria at

Odessa in 1814, and swore "to arrive at a decision between themselves and the enemies of their country only by means of fire and sword." Oaths of appalling solemnity united this growing band of comrades. It aimed at complete separation from Turkey, and the revival of the old Byzantine Empire. This yearning for liberation

The Lost Freedom of The Greeks

proceeded from and was sustained by an intellectual renaissance of the nation. From the time of the conquest of Byzantium by the Turks the Greeks had been deprived of all political freedom. But under the ecclesiastical protection of their patriarch in Phanar and in monasteries, at Athos and Janina in Epirus, and in the theological school of the Peloponnese at Dimitzana, the spark of culture and freedom had glowed amongst the ashes, and was kept alive in the language of the Church and the Gospel.

As was the case with the Armenians and the Jews, superior intelligence and dexterity secured the highest positions for the Greeks in the immediate proximity of the Padishah. After the position of first interpreter of the Porte had fallen into their hands, at the end of the seventeenth century, all negotiations concerning foreign policy were carried on through them; they were preferred for ambassadorial posts in foreign courts, and from the eighteenth century the Porte made a practice of choosing from their numbers the hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia.

The opinion of an English diplomatist upon these "Phanariots," shortly before the outbreak of the Greek Revolution, is well known: "Under the oppression exercised by Turkish despotism with a daily increasing force, the Greek character acquired a readiness for subterfuge and a perversity of judgment on questions of morality, which a continuance of servitude gradually developed to an habitual double dealing and treachery, which strikes

Greece Devastated By Enemies

the foreigner from the first moment." However, the Greeks looked anxiously to Russian champions and liberators, notwithstanding all the apparent privileges received from the Porte, from the time of the Peace of Poshtarevatz, when the whole of Morea fell into the possession of the Turks. In the devastation which Russia's attempt to liberate the Morea had brought down upon Greece in 1770, when Hellas and Peloponnese suffered inhuman devas-

tation from the Albanians whom the Turks called in, Athens and the islands had been spared; in 1779 the Turks found themselves obliged to send Hasan Pasha to destroy the unbridled Albanians at Tripolitsa. In the Peace of Kütchuk-Kainarje in 1774, Russia had again been obliged to abandon the Greeks to the Ottomans, though the Turkish yoke became lighter as the power of the Porte grew feebler.

The Hellenes enriched themselves by means of commerce; the sails of the merchantmen sent out by the islands covered the Mediterranean. During the French Revolution almost the entire Levant trade of the Venetians and the French fell into their hands. The number of Greek sailors was estimated at ten thousand. In their struggles with the pirates their ships had always sailed prepared for war, and they had produced a race of warriors stout-hearted and capable, like the Armatoles, who served in the armies of Europe. In the mountain ranges of Mania, of Albania, and Thessaly still survived the independent spirit of the wandering shepherds, or "klepts," who

The Fate Of a Greek Patriot

had never bowed to the Ottoman sword. The children of the rich merchants who traded with the coasts of Europe studied in Western schools, and readily absorbed the free ideals of the American Union and the French Revolution. In the year 1796, Constantine Rhigas of Pheræ sketched in Vienna a plan for the rising of his nation, and secured an enthusiastic support for his aims, which he sang in fiery ballads.

When he was planning to enter into relations with Bonaparte, whom he regarded as the hero of freedom, he was arrested in Trieste in 1798, and handed over by the Austrian police, with five of his companions, to the Pasha of Belgrade, who executed him. He died the death of a hero, with the words: "I have sown the seed, and my nation will reap the sweet fruit." Adamantios Korais, 1748-1833, of Smyrna was working in Paris, together with his associates, before the fall of Napoleon, to bring about the intellectual renaissance of the Greeks, the "Palin-genesia." The only thing wanting to these associations was a leader, as was also the case with the Serbs.

This leader was eventually provided by Russia. Alexander Ypsilanti, born of a noble Phanariot family, was a grandson of the hospodar of Wallachia of the same

THE CROSS AND THE CRESCENT

name who had been murdered by the Turks in 1805 at the age of eighty; he was a son of that Constantine Ypsilanti who, having supported the Servian insurrection, had been deposed from the post of hospodar of Wallachia, and had fled into exile. As the tsar's adjutant during the Vienna Congress, he had inspired that monarch with enthusiasm for the Hetæria.

Relying upon the silent consent of his master, he went to Kishineff, in Bessarabia, in September, 1820, with the object of communicating with the leaders of the federation in the Danubian principalities, in Constantinople, and upon the mainland. Availing himself of the difficulties caused to the Porte by the revolt of Ali Pasha of Janina, Alexander Ypsilanti, accompanied by his brother Constantine and Prince Cantakuzenos, crossed the Pruth on March 6th, 1821, entered Jassy, sent a report on the same night to the tsar, who was awaiting the result of the congress at Laibach, and forthwith issued an appeal to the Greek nation. On March 12th he started for Wallachia; not until April 9th did he reach Bucharest

How the Tsar Regarded The Greeks

with 5,000 men. But from that moment the movement proved unfortunate. The tsar, whose hands were tied by the Holy Alliance and the influence of legitimist theories, declared the Greeks to be rebels, and the Russian consul in Jassy openly disapproved of the Phanariot enterprise. It now became manifest how feeble was the popularity of these leaders on the Danube. They were opposed by the Boyars, the peasants fell away from them, the Serbs held back, and treachery reigned in their own camp. To no purpose did the "Sacred Band" display its heroism at Dragashani, in Little Wallachia, on June 19th, 1821, against the superior forces of the Pasha of Silistria and Braila.

On June 26th, Ypsilanti escaped to Austrian territory, where he spent the best years of his life at Munkács and Theresienstadt in sorrowful imprisonment; his health broke down, and he died shortly after his liberation on January 31st, 1828. The last of the ill-fated band of heroes, Georgakis, the son of Nikolaos, blew himself up on September 20th, in the monastery of Sekko, Moldavia. The fantastic ideal of a greater Greece, embracing not only the classic Hellas, but also the Danube states of Byzantine Greece, thus disappeared for ever. The

Morea was already in full revolt against the Turks. On April 4th, 1821, the insurgents took Kalamate, the capital of Messenia, and Patras raised the flag of the Cross. The fire of revolt spread on every side, and destruction raged among the Moslems. The insurrection was led by the national hero, Theodore Kolokotroni, a bold adventurer and able general, though his followers often did not obey their head; and the fleet of the islands did excellent service. The successes of the Greeks aroused boundless fury in Constantinople. Intense religious hatred was kindled in the Divan, and at the feast of Easter, April 22nd, the Patriarch Gregory of Constantinople and three metropolitans were hanged to the doors of their churches. In Constantinople and Asia Minor, in the Morea, and on the islands, Islam wreaked its fury on the Christians.

Enthusiasm for the Greek cause spread throughout the whole of Europe. The noblest minds championed the cause of the warriors, who were inspired by their noble past with the pride of an indestructible nationality, and were defending the Cross against the Crescent. Since the occupation of Athens by the Venetians in 1688, the eyes of educated Europe had turned to the city of Athene. The Venetian engineers, Vermada and Felice, had then drawn up an accurate plan of the Acropolis and of the town, which was published by Francesco Fanelli in his "Atene Attica," 1707.

Du Cange wrote his "History of the Empire of Constantinople under the Frankish Emperors" in 1657, and in 1680 his "Historia Byzantina." Since the days of George, Duke of Buckingham, 1592-1628, and Thomas, Earl of Arundel, 1586-1646, a taste for the collection of examples of Greek art had been increasing in England. Wealthy peers sent their agents to Greece and the East, or journeyed thither themselves, as did Lord Claremont, who commissioned Richard Dalton to make sketches of the Greek monuments and works of art in 1749. James Stewart and Nicholas Revett published sketches of "The Antiquities of Athens" in 1751. In 1776 appeared Richard Chandler's "Travels in Greece." In 1734 the Society of Dilettanti had been founded in London with avowedly Philhellenic objects. In 1764 appeared Winkelman's "History of Ancient Art," and

Greek Art In Fashion

in 1787 Edward Gibbon completed his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." From 1812 onwards Beethoven's opera, "The Ruins of Athens," had aroused tears and sympathy in every feeling heart. Numberless memories and recollections now carried away the sympathies of Europe, which had only just shaken off

the yoke of the Corsican conqueror. In 1821 Philhellenic unions were formed upon all sides to support the "heroes of Marathon and Salamis" with money and arms. The banker, Eynard of Geneva, the Würtemberg General Norman, the Frenchman Comte Harcourt, the United States, England, King Ludwig I. of Bavaria, an artistic enthusiast, and the painter Heidegger sent money, arms, and ships, or volunteer bands. The populations of Europe were inspired by the Greek songs of Wilhelm Müller and the verses of Lord Byron "The mountains look on Marathon, and Marathon looks on the sea," and later by his heroic death, April 19th, 1824, at Missolonghi. Even Goethe, the prince of poets, with all his indifference to politics, was fascinated by the fervour of the Greek and Servian popular songs, and cast his mighty word into the scale of humanity.

The Russian people had felt ever since the beginning of the Hellenic war of independence the warmest sympathy for their oppressed brethren, and after the horrors of April 22nd the Government could no longer resist the exasperation felt against the Turks; a storm of indignation swept through the civilised world.

The Russian ambassador, Baron Stroganoff, a Philhellene, spoke vigorously for the Christians, and suspended relations with the Porte in June; and Capodistrias announced to the world, in his Note of June 28th, an ultimatum to Turkey that the Turks were no longer entitled to remain in Europe. A mood very displeasing to Metternich had come over the fickle

tsar; the Cabinets of Vienna and St. James saw with astonishment that Stroganoff left Constantinople in August. Metternich once more laid stress on the fact that the triumph of the Greek revolution was a defeat of the Crown, while Capodistrias was for the support of the Greeks and for war against Turkey. The Porte, well aware of the discord of the European Cabinets, showed little willingness to give way and agree to their demands.

Kolokotroni had invested the Arcadian fortress of Tripolitza since the end of April, 1821. All Turkish attempts to relieve the garrison proved futile, while the militia had been drilled into efficient soldiers, and on October 5th, 1821, Tripolitza fell. The Greeks perpetrated gross barbarities. Demetrius Ypsilanti, Alexander's brother, who also had hitherto served in Russia, had been "Archistrategos" since June of that year; but he possessed little reputation and could not prevent outrages. The continued quarrels and jealousy between the leaders of the soldiers and of the civilians crippled the power of the insurgents. Alexander Mavrogordato, a man of far-reaching imagination, undertook, together with Theodore Negri, the task of giving Hellas a fixed political system. In November, 1821, Western and Eastern Hellas, and in December the Morea, received constitutions.

The National Assembly summoned by Demetrius Ypsilanti to Argos was transferred to Piadha, near the old Epidaurus, and proclaimed on January 13th, 1822, the independence of the Hellenic nation and a provisional constitution, which prepared the

ground for a monarchy. While it broke with the Hetæria, it appointed Mavrogordato as Proedros (president) of the executive council to be at the head of affairs, and in an edict of January 27th it justified the Greek insurrection in the eyes of Europe. Corinth became the seat of government. But the old discord, selfishness, and pride of the several leaders precluded any prospect of a favourable issue to the insurrection. Kurshid Pasha, after the fall of Ali Pasha of Janina, which freed the Turkish army of occupation in Albania, subjugated the Suliotes.

As a result of the objectless instigation of Chios to revolt, a fleet landed in April under Kara Ali, and the island was barbarously chastised. Indignation at the Turkish misrule once more filled the European nations, and they hailed with joy the annihilation of Kara Ali's fleet by Andreas Miaouli and Constantine Kanari on June 19th. In July a large Turkish army under Mahmud Dramali overran Greece from Phocis to Attica and Argos. The Greek Government fled from Corinth. In spite of all the courage of Mavrogordato and General Count Normann-Ehrenfels, famous for the attack on Kitzen, Suli was lost, owing to the

THE CROSS AND THE CRESCENT

defeat at Peta on July 16-17, and Western Hellas was again threatened. The bold Markos Botzaris fell on August 21st, 1823, with his Suliotes, in the course of a sortie against the besiegers of Missolonghi.

In his necessity the sultan now summoned to his aid his most formidable vassal, Mehemet Ali of Egypt. He first sent his son Ibrahim to Candia for the suppression of the revolt, in command of his troops, who had been trained by French officers. This leader then appeared in the Morea, February 22nd, 1825, where the bayonet and his cavalry gave him a great superiority over the Greeks, who, though brave, were badly disciplined and armed. None the less the

Greeks vigorously protested against the protocol of peace, which was issued by the Powers, of August 24th, 1824, recommending them to submit to the Porte and promising the sultan's pardon, after almost the whole population of the Island of Psara had been slaughtered on July 4th. Three parties were formed amongst the Greeks themselves, one under Mavrogordato leaning upon England, that of Capodistrias leaning upon Russia, and that of Kolettis leaning upon France. British influence prevailed. On December 21st, 1825, the Tsar Alexander died at Taganrog, and the youthful Nicholas I. ascended the throne.

He quickly suppressed a military revolution in St. Petersburg, and showed his determination to break down the influence of Metternich. Canning, whose whole sympathies were with the Greeks, now sent the Duke of Wellington to St. Petersburg, and on April 4th, 1826, Great Britain and Russia signed a protocol, constituting Greece, like Serbia, a tributary vassal state of the Porte, with a certain measure of independence.

Charles X. of France agreed to these proposals, as his admiration had been aroused by the heroic defence of Missolonghi, where Byron had fallen. Austria alone secretly instigated the sultan to suppress the Greek revolt. Even the

help given to the Greeks at that time by Lord Cochrane and General Church, by Colonels Fabvier, Vautier, and Heydeck, did not stop the Turkish advance. On June 5th, 1827, the Acropolis again capitulated, and with it the whole of Greece was once again lost to the Hellenes.

The Sultan in a New Guise

However, a bold attack delivered at a most unexpected point shook the throne of the sultan. On May 28th, 1826, Mahmud II. issued the Hatti-sherif concerning the reform of the Janissaries. Upon the resistance of these latter they were met on the Etmeydan by the well-equipped imperial army, supported on this occasion by the Ulema and the people, and were

mown down with grape-shot. The sultan forthwith began the formation of a new corps upon European models. It was an event of the most far-reaching importance for the empire when Mahmud first appeared at the head of the faithful in an overcoat, European trousers, boots, and a red fez instead of a turban. His triumph, however, was premature, his army was momentarily weakened, and the reforms were not carried out. The invader was already knocking once again at the door of the empire.

On October 6th, 1826, his plenipotentiaries signed an agreement at Akkerman, agreeing on all points

to the Russian demands for Serbia and the Danubian principalities, but refusing that for Greek freedom. In vain did the sultan send an ultimatum to the Powers on June 10th, 1827, representing that the right of settling the Greek problem was his alone. On April 11th, 1827, Capodistrias became President of the free state of Corfu, under Russian influence, and Russia, Britain, and France determined to concentrate their fleets in Greek waters on July 6th, a month before the death of Canning, which filled Greece with lamentation. The result of the movements was the battle of Navarino, October 20th, one of the most murderous naval actions in the whole of history; in



BYRON AS A GREEK SOLDIER

The brave fight for independence made by Greece against the Turks stirred the enthusiasm of Europe. That he might assist the Greeks, the poet Byron arrived at Missolonghi on January 4th, 1824, and died on April 19th.

The Heroic Death of Lord Byron

Charles X. of France agreed to these proposals, as his admiration had been aroused by the heroic defence of Missolonghi, where Byron had fallen. Austria alone secretly instigated the sultan to suppress the Greek revolt. Even the



THE BAY OF NAVARINO AT THE TIME OF THE GREEK FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

four hours nearly 120 Turkish warships and transports were destroyed. This "untoward event," as Wellington called it—to the wrath of all Canningites—implied a further triumph for Russian policy, which had already acquired Grusia, Imeretia—Colchis, 1811, and Gulistan, 1813, in Asia, and had secured its rear in Upper Armenia by the acquisition of Etchmiadzin, the centre of the Armenian Church, in the Peace of Turkmanchai, 1828. Capodistrias, elected to the presidency of Greece, entered on that office in January. However, the sultan proved more obstinate than ever. In a solemn

Hatti-sherif he proclaimed in all the mosques his firm intention to secure his independence by war with Russia, "which for the last fifty or sixty years had been the chief enemy of the Porte." He was without competent officers, and his chief need was an army, which he had intended to create had he been granted time. Thus the main power of the Porte, as at the present day, consisted in the unruly hordes of Asia, whose natural impetuosity could not replace the lack of European discipline and tactical skill. "Pluck up all your courage," Mahmud then wrote to his Grand Vizir at the



THE "MURDEROUS" NAVAL BATTLE OF NAVARINO ON OCTOBER 20TH, 1827



THE CAPITULATION OF THE TURKISH STRONGHOLD VARNA ON OCTOBER 10TH, 1828
From the drawing by Zweigle

military headquarters, "for the danger is great." On May 7th the Russians crossed the Pruth in Europe, and on June 4th, the Arpachai in Asia. Ivan Paskevitch conquered the district of Kars and Achalzich, between the Upper Kur and Araxes, and secured a firm base of operations against Erzeroum. The Russians on the Danube advanced more slowly.

The Grand Vizir's Army in Flight

It was not until the fall of Braila, on June 17th, and of Varna, on October 11th, 1828, that they ventured to attack the natural fortress of the Balkans. But the approach of winter suspended the indecisive struggle.

A second campaign was therefore necessary to secure a decision. In Eastern Roumelia the Russians seized the harbour of Sizebolu, February 15th, 1829, in order to provision their army. On February

24th, Diebich took over the supreme command, crossed the Danube in May, and on June 11th defeated and put to flight, by means of his superior artillery, the army of the Grand Vizir Reshid Mehemed, at Kulevcha. Silistria then surrendered, June 26th, and in thirteen days, July 14th-26th, Diebich crossed the Balkans with two army corps; while on July 7th Paskevitch had occupied Erzeroum in Asia. The passage of this mountain barrier, which was regarded as impregnable, produced an overwhelming impression upon the Turks, many of whom regarded the Russian success as a deserved punishment for the sultan's reforms. Diebich "Sabalkanski" advanced to Adrianople. However, Mustafa, Pasha of Bosnia, was already advancing. Fearful diseases devastated the Russian army, which was reduced to 20,000 men. None the less Diebich joined hands with Sizebolu on the Black Sea, and with Eros on the Ægean Sea, although the British fleet appeared in the Dardanelles to protect the capital, from which the Russians were scarce thirty miles distant.

Both sides were sincerely anxious for peace. However, the sultan's courage was naturally shaken by the discovery of an extensive conspiracy among the old orthodox party. The Peace of Adrianople, secured by the mediation of the Prussian

general, on September 14th, offered conditions sufficiently severe. Before the war the tsar had issued a manifesto promising to make no conquests. Now, in August, 1828, he demanded possession of the Danube islands, of the Asiatic coast from Kuban to Nikolaja, the fortresses and districts of Atzshur, Achalzich, and Achalkalaki, with new privileges and frontiers for Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia. The sultan, under pressure of necessity, confirmed the London Convention of July 6th, 1821, in the tenth article of the peace. The president, Capodistrias, received new subsidies, and loans from the Powers; moreover, on July 19th, 1828, the Powers in London determined upon an expedition to the Morea, the conduct of which was entrusted to France. Ibrahim retired,



GENERAL. DIEBICH

A Russian field marshal, he fought in many campaigns, and in the Turkish war of 1829 was given the surname of "Sabalkanski," which signifies "Crosier of the Balkans."

while General Maison occupied the Peninsula, September 7th. The Greek army, composed of Palikars, troops of the line, and Philhellenes, was now armed with European weapons; it won a series of victories at the close of 1828 at Steveniko, Martini, Salona, Lutraki, and Vonizza, and by May, 1829, captured Lepanto, Missolonghi, and Anatoliko. In 1828 the Cretan revolt again broke out, with successful results.

On July 23rd, 1829, the National Assembly, tired of internal dissensions, which had repeatedly resulted in civil war, conferred dictatorial powers upon the president. The Peace of Adrianople was concluded on September 14th, 1829; this extended Russia's territory in Asia, opened the Black Sea to Russian trade, and obtained for Greece a recognition of its independence from the

Independence of Greece Established

Porte. The Western Powers did not at all wish it to become a sovereign Power under Russian influence, and it was finally agreed, on February 3rd, 1830, that the independent state should be confined to as narrow limits as possible, from the mouth of the Aspropotamos to the mouth of the Spercheias, the Porte assenting on April 24th.

VLADIMIR MILKOWICZ
HEINRICH ZIMMERER



FALL OF THE BOURBON MONARCHY

LOUIS PHILIPPE "KING OF THE FRENCH"

THE French were the first nation to put an end to the weak policy of the Restorations. Their privileged position as the "pioneers of civilisation" they used with that light-hearted energy and vigour by which their national character is peculiarly distinguished, while maintaining the dexterity and the distinction which has invariably marked their public action. The cup of the Bourbons was full to overflowing. It was not that their powers of administration were in any material degree inferior to those of other contemporary royal houses; such a view of the situation would be entirely mistaken.

They were, however, in no direct connection with their people, and were unable to enter into relations with the ruling society of Paris. The restored emigrés, the descendants of the noble families of the period of Louis XV. and XVI., whose members had lost their lives

The Legacy Of the Revolution

under the knife of the guillotine, were unable to appreciate the spirit which animated the France of Napoleon Bonaparte. This spirit, however, had availed itself of the interim which had been granted definitely to establish its position, and had become a social power which could no longer be set aside. Family connections in a large number of cases, and the ties of social intercourse, ever influential in France, had brought the Bonapartists into direct relations with the army, and with the generals and officers of the emperor who had been retired on scanty pensions.

The floating capital, which had grown to an enormous extent, was in its hands, and was indispensable to the Government if it was to free itself from the burden of a foreign occupation. By the decree of April 27th, 1825, the reduced noble families whose goods had been confiscated by the nation were relieved by the grant of \$200,000,000. The decree, however, did not imply their restoration to the social position they had formerly occupied; the

emigrant families might be the pensioners of the nation, but could no longer be the leading figures of a society which thought them tiresome and somewhat out of date. Louis XVIII., a well-disposed monarch, and not without ability, died on September

16th, 1824, and was succeeded by his brother Charles X., who had, as Count of Artois, incurred the odium of every Euro-

pean court for his obtrusiveness, his avowed contempt for the people, and for his crotchety and inconsistent character; he now addressed himself with entire success to the task of destroying what remnants of popularity the Bourbon family had retained. He was, however, tolerably well received upon his accession. The abolition of the censorship of the Press had gained him the enthusiastic praise of Victor Hugo, but his liberal tendencies disappeared after a short period. Jesuitical priests played upon his weak and conceited mind with the object of securing a paramount position in France under his protection.

The French, however, nicknamed him, from the words of Béranger, the bold song writer, "Charles le Simple" when he had himself crowned in Rheims after the old Carolingian custom. His persecution of the liberal Press increased the influence of the journalists. The Chambers showed no hesitation in rejecting the law of censorship introduced by his Minister, Villèle. When he dissolved them, barricades were again raised in Paris and volleys fired upon citizens. Villèle could no longer remain at the helm. Martignac, the soul of the new

A New Ministry in Power

Ministry which entered on office January 5th, 1828, was a man of honour, and especially adapted to act as mediator.

His clear intellect raised him a head and shoulders above the mass of the Royalists. He wished for moderation and progress, but he never possessed Charles's affection, and was no statesman. Charles opposed Martignac's diplomacy with the help of his

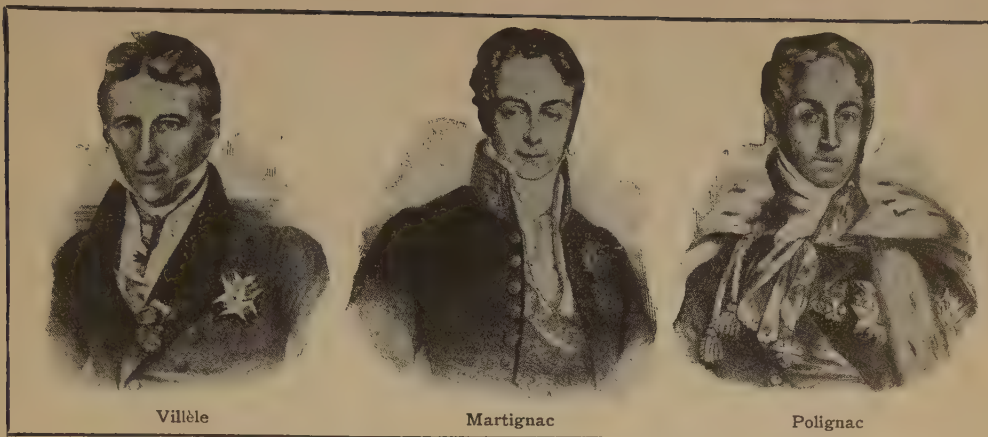
confidants, Polignac and others; and while Martignac seemed to the king to be "too little of a Villèle," public opinion accused him of being "too much of a Villèle." His laws as to elections and the Press seemed too liberal to Charles; his interference in the Church and the schools roused the fury of the Jesuits; and the Abbé Lamennais, who had been won back by them, compared the king with Nero and Diocletian. Lamennais attacked the Gallican Church of "atheistic" France, called the constitutional monarchy of Charles the most abominable despotism which had ever burdened humanity, and scathingly assailed the ordinances which

Charles had issued in June, 1828, relating to religious brotherhoods and clerical education. Martignac's government, he said, demoralised society, and the moment was near in which the oppressed people must have recourse to force, in order to rise up in the name of the infallible Pope against the atheistic king. Martignac's Cabinet could claim an important foreign success when the Marquis de Maison, who led an expeditionary corps to the Morea, compelled the Egyptians, under Ibrahim Pasha, to retreat in August, 1828, and thwarted Metternich's plan of a quadruple alliance for the forcible pacification of Russia and Turkey. But when Martignac



CHARLES X., KING OF FRANCE

On the death of Louis XVIII. in 1824, his brother, Charles X., succeeded to the throne. Prior to that, the direction of affairs had been largely in his hands owing to the weakness of the king, and by his obtrusiveness and his avowed contempt for the people he had incurred the odium of every European court. Though he was fairly well received upon his accession, he quickly alienated the sympathies of his people, and he was compelled to abdicate in 1830.



THREE NOTABLE MINISTERS OF FRANCE UNDER CHARLES X.

The rapidly-growing unpopularity of the French king, Charles X., was shared by the Ministry of Villèle, which was defeated at the polls. Martignac, the soul of the new Ministry, which entered office on January 5th, 1828, aimed at moderation and progress and met with opposition from Charles. When Martignac withdrew, in 1829, his place was taken by Polignac, but his position as head of the Bourbon Ministry did not commend itself to the people of France, and the revolt against the rule of Charles soon drove that monarch from the throne, thus ending the Bourbon regime.

wished to decentralise the French administration, and brought in Fills for this purpose in February, 1829, he was deserted by everyone. The extreme Right allied itself with the Left; Martignac withdrew the proposals in April, and on August 8th, 1829, Polignac took his place.

The name of Jules Polignac seemed to the country a presage of coups d'état and anti-constitutional reaction. The new Ministry included not a single popular representative amongst its members. A cry of indignation was heard, and the Press made the most violent attacks on the new Minister. The Duke of Broglie placed himself at the head of the society formed to defend the charter, called "Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera"; republicans, eager for the fray, grouped themselves round Louis Blanqui, Etienne Arago, and Armand Barbès.

The newspaper, "National," began its work on behalf of the Orleans family, for whom Talleyrand, Thiers, Jacques Laffite the banker, and Adelaide, the sister of Duke Louis Philippe, cleared the road. Even Metternich, Wellington, and the Emperor Nicholas advised that no coup d'état should be made against the Charta. Charles, however, remained the untaught emigrant of Coblenz, and did not understand the new era; he saw in every constitutionalist a supporter of the revolution-

The Dreamer Of the Restoration

ary party and a Jacobin. Polignac was the dreamer of the restoration, a fanatic without any worldly wisdom, whom delusions almost removed from the world of reality, who considered himself, with his limited capacity, to be infallible. The Virgin had appeared to him and

commanded him to cut off the head of the hydra of democracy and infidelity.

Polignac, originally only Minister of Foreign Affairs, became on November 17th, 1829, President of the Cabinet Council. In order to gain over the nation, which was hostile to him, he tried to achieve foreign successes for it. He laid stress on the principle of the freedom of the ocean as opposed to Great Britain's claims to maritime supremacy, and sketched a fantastic map of the Europe of the future; if he could not transform this into reality, at all events military laurels should be won at the first opportunity which presented itself.

The Dey of Algiers had been offended by the French, and had aimed a blow at their consul, Deval, during an audience. Since he would not listen to any remonstrances, France made preparations by land and sea. In June, 1830, the Minister of War, Count Bourmont, landed with 37,000 men near Sidi-Ferruch, defeated the Algerians, sacked their camp, and entered the capital on July 6th, where he captured much treasure. He banished the Dey, and was promoted to be marshal of France. Algiers became French, but Charles and Polignac were not destined to enjoy the victory.

The new elections, for which writs were issued after the Chamber of Deputies had demanded the dismissal of Polignac, proved unfavourable to the Ministry and forced the king either to change the Ministry or make some change in the constitution. The Jesuits at that time had not yet adequately organised their political system,



ALGIERS AS IT WAS IN THE YEAR 1830 WHEN TAKEN BY THE FRENCH
From an engraving of the period

and were in France more obscure than in Belgium and Germany. However, they thought themselves sure of their ground, and advised the king to adopt the latter alternative, notwithstanding the objections of certain members of his house, including the dauphine Marie Ther se.

Meanwhile, the Press and the parties in opposition became more confident; Royer-Collard candidly assured Charles that the Chamber would oppose every one of his Ministers. Charles, however, only listened to Polignac's boastful confidence, and at the opening of the Chambers on March 2nd, 1830, in his speech from the throne he threatened the opposition in such unmistakable terms that doctrinaires as well as ultra-Liberals detected the unsheathing of the royal sword. Pierre Antoine Berryer, the most brilliant orator of legitimacy, and perhaps the greatest French orator of the century, had a lively passage of arms in the debate on the address with François Guizot, the clever leader of the doctrinaires, and was defeated; the Chamber, by 221 votes against 181, accepted on March 16th a peremptory answer to the address, which informed the monarch that his Ministers did not possess the confidence of the nation and that no harmony existed between the Government and the Chamber. Charles, however, saw that the monarchy itself was at stake, declared his resolutions

unalterable, and insisted that he would never allow his Crown to be humiliated. He prorogued the Chambers on March 19th until September 1st, and dismissed prefects and officials; whereupon the 221 were fêted throughout France. Charles in some perturbation then demanded from his Ministers a statement of the situation. But Polignac's secret memorandum of April 14th lulled his suspicions again.

It said that only a small fraction of the nation was revolutionary and could not be dangerous; the charter was the gospel, and a peaceful arrangement was easy. Charles dissolved the Chambers on May 16th, and summoned a new one for August 3rd. Instead of recalling Villèle, he strengthened the Ministry by followers of Polignac. On May 19th De Chantelauze and Count Peyronnet came in as Minister of Justice and Minister of the Interior.

The appointment of Peyronnet was, in Charles' own words, a slap in the face for public opinion, for there was hardly an individual more hated in France; he now continually advised exceptional measures and urged a coup d'état against the provisions of the Charta. In order to facilitate the victory of the Government at the new elections, he explained in his proclamation to the people on June 13th that he would not give in. But the society "Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera" secured

FALL OF THE BOURBON MONARCHY

the re-election of the 221; the opposition reached the number of 272; the Ministry, on the other hand, had only 145 votes.

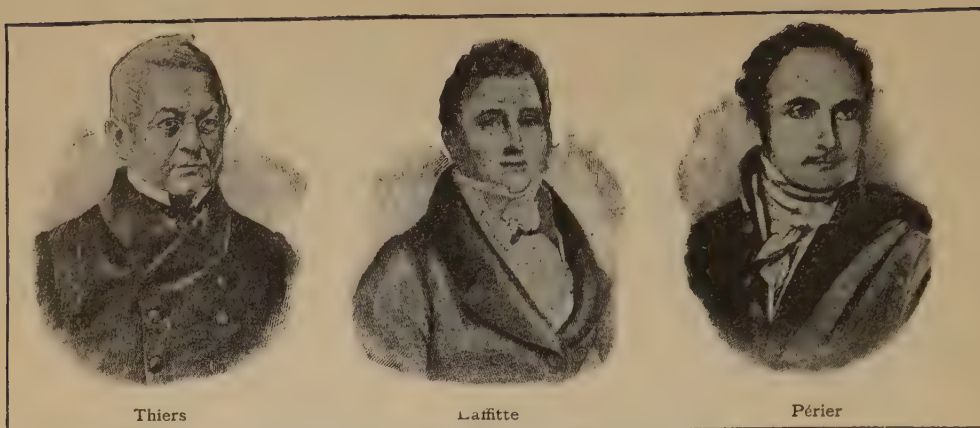
Disorders were visible in the whole of France. Troops were sent to quiet them, but the Press of every shade of opinion fanned the flame. Charles saw rising before him the shadow of his brother, whom weak concessions had brought to the guillotine; spoke of a dictatorship; and, being entirely under Polignac's influence, inclined towards the plan of

adopting exceptional measures and re-asserting his position as king. On July 26th five royal ordinances were published. In these the freedom of the Press as established by law was greatly limited; the Chambers of Deputies, though only just elected, were again dissolved; a new law for reorganising the elections was proclaimed, and a chamber to be chosen in accordance with this method was summoned for September 28th. In other words, war was declared



THE CAPTURE OF THE HOTEL DE VILLE BY THE CITIZENS OF PARIS

The Paris Revolution of 1830 was brief but decisive, ending in the dethronement of Charles X. For three days—from July 26th till the 29th—Paris was in a state of revolution. The populace attacked the Hôtel de Ville and the Tuilleries, the capture of the former, after a spirited defence by the National Guard, being shown in the above picture.



LEADERS IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1830

The best known political writer in France at the time, Adolphe Thiers, wrote the "Histoire de la Révolution Française," which obtained a rapid popularity. An opponent of the Polignac administration, he declared for a change of dynasty, and in his liberal policy was supported by the financiers Jacques Laffitte, and Casimir Périet, who had a large following, enjoying unlimited influence among the property-owning citizens, who were joined by some of the nobility.

upon the constitution. According to paragraph 14 of the charter, the king "is chief head of the state. He has command of the military and naval forces; can declare war, conclude peace, alliances, and commercial treaties; has the right of making appointments to every office in the public service, and of issuing the necessary regulations and decrees for the execution of the laws and the security of the state." Had the king, as indeed was maintained by the journals supporting the Ministry, ventured to claim the power of ruling through his own decrees, for which he alone was responsible, then all regulations as to the state of the legislature and the subordination of the executive would have been entirely meaningless. Paris, desiring freedom, was clear upon this point, and immediately set itself with determination to the task of resistance. The first day began with the demonstrations of the printers, who found their occupation considerably reduced by the Press censorship. This movement was accompanied by tumultuous demonstrations of dissatisfaction on the part of the general public in the Palais Royal, and the windows of the unpopular Minister's house were broken. On the morning of the second day the liberal newspapers appeared without even an attempt to gain the necessary authorisation from the authorities. They contained a manifesto couched in identical language and including the

following sentence: "In the present state of affairs obedience ceases to be a duty." The author of this composition was Adolphe Thiers, at that time the best known political writer in France, born in Marseilles, April 15th, 1797, and practising as advocate in Aix in 1820. In 1821 he came to Paris and entered the office of the "Constitutionnel," and co-operated in the foundation of several periodicals, writing at the same time his "Histoire de la Révolution Française," in ten volumes, 1823-1827. This work was

rather a piece of journalism than a scientific history. It attained rapid popularity among the liberal bourgeois as it emphasised the great successes and the valuable achievements of the Revolution, while discountenancing the aberrations of the lamentable excesses of an anarchical society; constitutionalism and its preservation were shown to be the results of all the struggles and sacrifices which France had undergone to secure freedom and power of self-determination to nations

at large. Thiers also supported the view of the members that the charter of 1814 provided sufficient guarantees for the preservation and exercise of the rights of the people. These, however, must be retained in their entirety and protected from the destructive influences of malicious misinterpretation. Such protection he considered impossible under the government of Charles X. He was equally distrustful of that monarch's son, the Duke



LAFAYETTE

Author of the "Rights of Man" theory, and the patriarch of the Revolution, he commanded the National Guard in the rising of 1830.

FALL OF THE BOURBON MONARCHY

of Angoulême, and had already pretty plainly declared for a change of dynasty and the deposition of the royal line of the House of Bourbon in favour of the Orleans branch. Thiers and his journalistic friends were supported by a number of the advocates present in Paris, including the financiers Jacques Laffitte and Casimir Périer. They also possessed a considerable following and enjoyed unlimited influence among the property-owning citizens, who were again joined by the independent nobility excluded from court. They gave advice upon the issue of manifestoes, while Marmont, the Duke of Ragusa and military commander in Paris, strove, with the few troops at his disposal, to suppress the noisy gatherings of the dissatisfied element, which had considerably increased by July 27th. Paris began to take up arms on the following night. On the 28th, thousands of workmen, students from the polytechnic schools, doctors, and citizens of every profession, were fighting behind numerous barricades, which resisted all the efforts of the troops. Marmont recognised his inability to deal with the revolt, and advised the king, who was staying with his family and Ministers in Saint Cloud, to withdraw the ordinances. Even then a rapid decision might have caused a change of feeling in Paris, and have saved the Bourbons, at any rate for the moment; but neither the king nor Polignac suspected the serious danger confronting them, and never supposed that the Parisians would be able to stand against 12,000 troops of the line. This,

Paris in Arms against the King

indeed, was the number that Marmont may have concentrated from the garrisons in the immediate neighbourhood. In view of the well-known capacity of the Parisians for street fighting, their bravery and determination, this force would scarce have been sufficient, even granting their discipline to have been unexceptionable, and assuming their readiness to

support the king's cause to the last. The troops, however, were by no means in love with the Bourbon hierarchy, and no one felt any inclination to risk his life on behalf of such a ridiculous coxcomb as Polignac, against whom the revolt appeared

The Soldiery Desert to the Revolters

chiefly directed. The regiments advancing upon Paris from the neighbouring provinces halted in the suburbs. Within Paris itself two regiments of the line were won over by the brother of Laffitte, the financier, and deserted to the revolters. During the forenoon of July 29th, Marmont continued to hold the Louvre and the Tuileries with a few thousand men. In the afternoon, however, a number of armed detachments made their

way into the Louvre through a gap caused by the retreat of a Swiss battalion, and Marmont was forced to retire into the Champs Elysées. In the evening the marshal rode off to Saint Cloud with the news that the movement in Paris could no longer be suppressed by force, and that the king's only course of action was to open negotiations with the leaders of the revolt. Marmont had done all he could for the Bourbon monarchy with the very inadequate forcè at his disposal, and was now forced to endure the aspersions of treachery uttered by the Duke of



LOUIS PHILIPPE, KING OF FRANCE
After the Revolution of 1830, which drove Charles X. from the throne, Louis Philippe, the eldest son of Philip "Égalité," received the crown, and under her "citizen king" France regained some of her old prosperity.

Angoulême before the guard. This member of the Bourbon family, who had been none too brilliantly gifted by Providence, was entirely spoiled by the ultra legitimist rulers and others, who praised his Spanish campaign as a brilliant military achievement, and compared the attack on the Trocadero to Marengo and Austerlitz. A prey to the many illusions emanating from the brain of the "sons of Saint Louis," it was left to his somewhat nobler and larger-minded father to inform him that even kings might condescend to return thanks, at any rate to men who had risked their lives in their defence.

Marmont was, moreover, mistaken in his idea that Charles could retain his throne for his family by negotiations, by

the dismissal of Polignac, by the recognition of recent elections, or even by abdication in favour of his grandson Henry, afterwards Count of Chambord. The fate of the Bourbons was decided on July 30th, and the only question for solution was whether their place should be taken by a republic or by a liberal constitutional monarchy under the princes of Orleans.

Louis Philippe, son of the Duke of Orleans and of the Princess Louise Marie Adelaide of Penthièvre, had been given on his birth, October 6th, 1773, the title of the Duke of Valois, and afterwards of Duke of Chartres. During the Revolution

visited almost every country in Europe, and in North America had enjoyed the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the democratic state and its powers of solving the greatest tasks without the support of princes or standing armies.

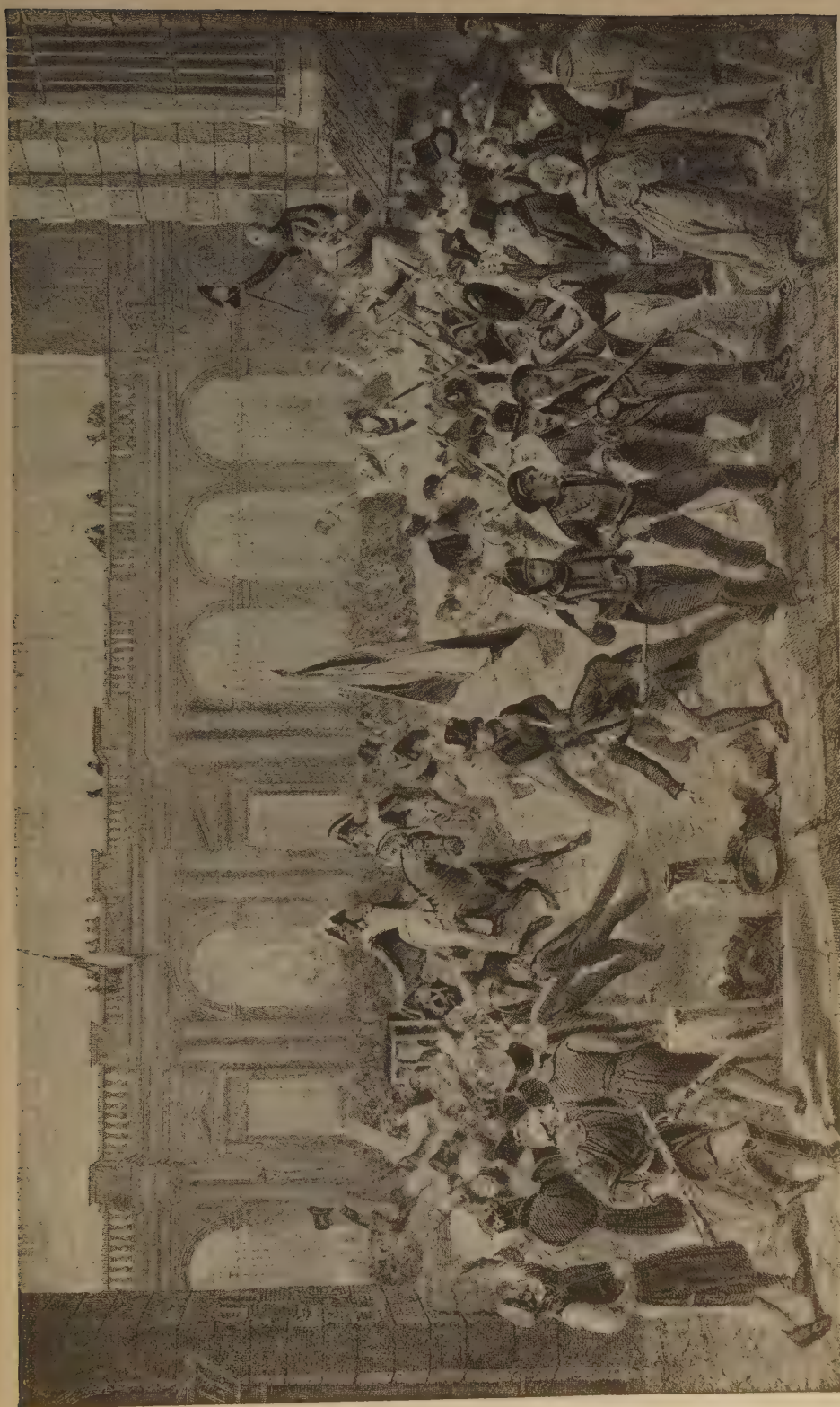
Consequently upon his return to France he was considered a Liberal, was both hated and feared by the royal family, and became highly popular with the people, the more so as he lived a very simple life notwithstanding his regained wealth; he associated with the citizens, invited their children to play with his sons and daughters, and in wet weather



THE DEPUTIES OFFERING THE LIEUTENANCY OF FRANCE TO THE DUKE OF ORLEANS
Meeting at the Bourbon Palace on July 30th, 1830, the deputies offered the "lieutenancy of the kingdom" to the Duke of Orleans, who had become popular with the people. He at first hesitated, but on the following day, acting, it is said, on the advice of Talleyrand, accepted the office. Reading from left to right, the figures in the above picture are: Aug. Périer, Aug. Hilarion de Kératry, Bérard, Baron B. Delessert, Duke of Orleans, General Sebastiani, A. de St. Aignan, Charles Dupin, André Gallot, Dugas-Montbel, Duchaffaud, General Count Mathieu Dumas, Bernard de Rennes.

he had called himself General Egalité, and Duke of Orleans after the death of his father, the miserable libertine who had voted for the death of Louis XVI. As he had been supported by Dumouriez in his candidature for the throne, he was obliged to leave France after the flight of that leader. He had then been forced to lead a very wandering life, and even to earn his bread in Switzerland as a school-master. Forgiveness for his father's sins and for his own secession to the revolvers had long been withheld by the royal house, until he was at length recognised as the head of the House of Orleans. He had

would put up his umbrella and go to the market and talk with the saleswomen. He had become a very capable man of business, and was highly esteemed in the financial world. Complicity on his part in the overthrow of his relatives cannot be proved—such action was indeed unnecessary; but there can be no doubt that he desired their fall, and turned it to his own advantage. In his retreat at Raincy at Neuilly he received the message of Laffitte and the information from Thiers in person that the Chamber would appoint him lieutenant-general to the king and invest him with full power.



LOUIS PHILIPPE LEAVING THE PALAIS ROYAL FOR THE HÔTEL DE VILLE AFTER HIS ELECTION
Following upon his election as Lieutenant-General of France, Louis Philippe had his doubts as to how the acceptance of this office would be received by the people of France, in spite of the popularity which he had earned for himself with the people, and he decided boldly to face the situation by going through Paris from the Palais Royal to the Hôtel de Ville. The public seemed on the verge of rising against the new ruler, but no adverse movement took place, and at the Hôtel de Ville Louis Philippe was received with applause.

From the painting by Horace Vernet

He then returned to Paris, and was there entrusted by Charles X. with that office in his own name and as representative of Henry V., who was still a minor. He conformed his further procedure to

The Doom of the Bourbon Monarchy

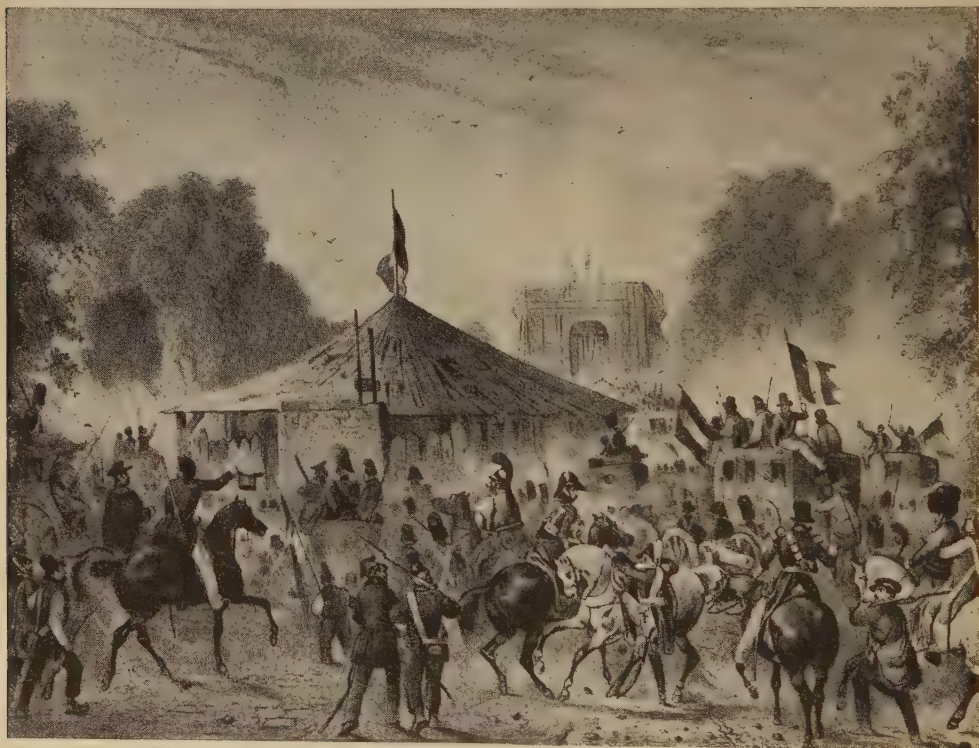
the spirit of these commands as long as he deemed this course of action favourable to his own interests. As soon as he became convinced that the king's word was powerless, he announced the monarch's abdication, but kept silence upon the fact that he had abdicated in favour of his grandson. No doubt the representations of his adherents that he alone could save France from a republic largely contributed to the determination of his decision.

On July 31st it was definitely decided that France should be permanently relieved of the Bourbons who had been imposed upon her; however, concerning the future constitution widely divergent opinions prevailed. The decision lay with the Marquess of Lafayette, the author of

the "Rights of Man" theory, the patriarch of the Revolution, who had already taken over the command of the National Guard on the 29th, at the request of the Chamber of Deputies. The Republicans, who had been responsible for all the work of slaughter, and had inspired the people to take up arms, reposed full confidence in him as a man after their own heart, and entrusted him with the office of dictator. The rich bourgeoisie, and the journalists in connection with them, were, however, afraid of a Republican victory and of the political ideals and social questions which this party might advance for solution.

France's "Citizen King"

That liberalism which first became a political force in France is distinguished by a tendency to regulate freedom in proportion to social rank, and to make the exercise of political rights conditional upon education and income. The financial magnates of Paris expected to enter unhindered into the inheritance of the



THE MARCH OF THE NATIONAL GUARD TO RAMBOUILLET

Realising that the nation was at last tired of the Bourbon dynasty, Charles X. abdicated in favour of his young grandson Henry V.; but France preferred Louis Philippe, and he was called to the throne. He naturally wished to have his inconvenient cousin out of the country, and to hasten his departure a march of the National Guard to Rambouillet, where Charles was at that time residing, was organised. The march was more like a holiday procession than an intimidating movement, being joined by crowds of people, some on vehicles and others on foot, singing the Marseillaise and shouting "Vive la liberté!" The movement, however, had the desired result, Charles leaving France for England.



LOUIS PHILIPPE TAKING THE OATH OF THE CONSTITUTION ON AUGUST 9TH, 1830
Before a brilliant assembly of the Chambers, as shown in the above picture, Louis Philippe took the oath of the Constitution on August 9th, 1830, and from that time entitled himself "The King of the French."

Legitimists, and permanently to secure the powers of government so soon as peace had been restored. For this purpose they required a constitutional king of their own opinions, and Louis Philippe was their only choice. He probably had no difficulty in fathoming their designs, but he hoped when once established on the throne to be able to dictate his own terms and address himself forthwith to the task of reducing the Republican party to impotence. He proceeded in a solemn procession to the town hall, with the object of winning over Lafayette by receiving the supreme power from his hands. The old leader considered this procedure entirely natural, constituted himself plenipotentiary of the French nation, and concluded an alliance with the "citizen-king," whom he introduced, tricolour in hand, to the people as his own candidate.

In less than a week the new constitution had been drawn out in detail. It was to be "the direct expression of the rights of the French nation"; the king became head of the state by the national will, and was to swear to observe the constitution upon his accession. The two Chambers were retained; an elected deputy was to sit for five years, and the limits of age for the passive and the active franchise were fixed respectively at thirty and twenty-five years. The right of giving

effect to the different tendencies which were indispensable to the existence of a constitutional monarchy as conceived by liberalism was reserved for the legislature. Such were the provisions for trial by jury of offences against the Press laws, for the responsibility of Ministers, for full liberty to teachers, for compulsory education in the elementary schools, for the yearly vote of the conscription, and so forth. The deputies chosen at the last election passed the proposals by a large majority, 219 against 38. Of the peers, eighty-nine were won over to their side; eighteen alone, including Chateaubriand, the novelist of the romantic school, supported the rights of Henry V.

In the meantime, Charles had retired from Saint Cloud to Rambouillet, retaining the Guards and certain regiments which had remained faithful; he once again announced his abdication, and that of Angoulême, to the Duke of Orleans, and ordered him to take up the government in the name of Henry V. To this demand Louis Philippe sent no answer; he confined his efforts to getting his inconvenient cousin out of the country, which he already saw at his own feet. When his representations produced no effect in this direction, his adherents organised a march of the National Guard to Rambouillet, a movement which, though more like a

France's
New
Constitution

The Ex-king
Charles at
Rambouillet

holiday procession than an intimidating movement, brought about the desired result. The Bourbons and their parasites showed not a spark of knightly spirit; not the smallest attempt was made to teach the insolent Parisians a lesson, or to let them feel the weight of the "Legitimist" sword. With ostentatious delibera-

The Death of Charles X.

tion a move was made from Rambouillet to Cherbourg without awakening the smallest sign of sympathy. Charles X. betook himself for the moment to England.

On November 6th, 1836, he died in Görz, where the Duke of Angoulême also passed away on June 3rd, 1844. To the Duchess Marie Caroline of Berry, the daughter of Francis I. of Naples, remained the task of stirring up the loyalists of La Vendée against the government of the treacherous Duke of Orleans, and of weaving, at the risk of her life, intrigues for civil war in France. In spite of her capture, November 7th, 1832, at Nantes, she might have been a source of serious embarrassment to Louis Philippe, and perhaps have turned his later difficulties to the advantage of her son, if she had not fallen into disfavour with her own family, and with the arrogant legitimists, on account of her secret marriage with a son of the Sicilian prince of Campofranco, the Conte Ettore Carlo Lucchesi Palli, to whom she bore a son, the later Duca della Grazia, while in captivity at Blaye, near Bordeaux. Her last son by her first marriage, the Count of Chambord, contented himself throughout his life with the proud consciousness of being the legal King of France; however, the resources of the good Henry were too limited for him to become dangerous to any government.

France had thus relieved herself of the Bourbons at little or no cost; she was now to try the experiment of living under the House of Orleans, and under a constitutional monarchy. The Republicans

France and its New Dynasty

were surprised at their desertion by Lafayette; they could not but observe that the mass of people who were insensible to political conviction, and accustomed to follow the influences of the moment, hailed with acclamation the new constitution adjusted by the prosperous Liberals. For the moment they retired into private life with ill-concealed expressions of dissatisfaction, and became the nucleus for a party of malcontents which was speedily

reinforced by recruits from every direction. "The King of the French," as the Duke of Orleans entitled himself from August 9th, 1830, at the very outset of his government stirred up a dangerous strife, and by doing so undermined his own position, which at first had seemed to be founded upon the national will. He ought to have honourably and openly enforced the "Republican institutions" which, upon Lafayette's theory, were meant to be the environment of his royal power; he ought to have appeared as representing the will of the nation, and should in any case have left his fate exclusively in the hands of the people. He attempted, however, to secure his recognition from the great Powers, to assert his claims to consideration among the other dynasties of Europe, and to gain their confidence for himself and France. Prince Metternich supported him in these attempts as soon as he observed that the influences of the Left had been nullified, and that the new king was making a serious effort to suppress that party. The Austrian chancellor fully recognised that Louis Philippe, in preventing

Successors of the Bourbons

the formation of a Republic by his intervention, had done good service to the cause of reaction; he readily thanked him for his erection of a constitutional throne, whereby the monarchies had been spared the necessity of again taking the field against a Republican France. The Bonapartists had proposed to bring forward an opposition candidate to Louis Philippe in the person of the highly gifted and ambitious son of Napoleon I., "le fils de l'homme," and the Archduchess Marie Louise, who had been brought up under the care of his grandfather in Vienna.

The untimely death of the excellent Duke of Reichstadt, who succumbed to a galloping consumption on July 22nd, 1832, which was not, as often stated, the result of excessive self-indulgence, freed "the citizen-king" from a danger which had threatened to increase with every year. At the end of August England recognised unconditionally and without reserve the new government in France; her example was followed by Austria and Prussia, to the extreme vexation of the Tsar Nicholas I. The House of Orleans might thus far consider itself at least tolerated as the successor of the French Bourbons.

HANS VON ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST
ARTHUR KLEINSCHMIDT

THE
RE-MAKING
OF
EUROPE



EUROPE
AFTER
WATERLOO
VII

THE NEW REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD NATIONALIST AND CONSTITUTIONAL MOVEMENTS IN THE 'THIRTIES

THE events of 1830 in Paris introduced a new revolutionary period in Europe which was to produce far more comprehensive and permanent transformations than the Revolution of 1789. From that date was broken the spell of the reactionary theory which forbade all efforts for the identification of monarchical and popular rights, and demanded blind submission to the decrees of the government.

This tyranny had been abolished by the will of a people which, notwithstanding internal dissensions, was united in its opposition to the Bourbons. Thirty or forty thousand men, with no military organisation and without preparation of any kind, had defeated in street fighting twelve thousand troops of the line, under the command of an experienced general, a marshal of the Grand Army of Napoleon I. Though gained by bloodshed, the victory was not misused or stained by atrocities

of any kind; at no time was any attempt made to introduce a condition of anarchy. Upon the capture of the Louvre by hands of armed citizens, little damage had been done, and the artistic treasures of the palace had been safely removed from the advance of the attacking party. In the course of a fortnight a new constitution had been organised by the joint action of the leading citizens, a new regime had been established in every branch of the administration, and a new dynasty had been entrusted with supreme power. It had been shown that revolutions did not of necessity imply the destruction of social order, but might also become a means to the attainment of political rights.

Proof had thus been given that it was possible for a people to impose its will upon selfish and misguided governments, even when protected by armed force. The so-called conservative Great Powers were not united among themselves, and

were therefore too weak to exclude a nation from the exercise of its natural right of self-government when that nation was ready to stake its blood and treasure on the issue. Other peoples living under conditions apparently or actually intolerable might be tempted to follow

Causes of National Friction

this example and to revolt. The weight of a foreign yoke, a term implying not only the rule of a conqueror king, but also that of a foreigner legally in possession of the throne, is more than ever galling if not supported upon a community of interests.

The strong aversion which springs from the contact of characters fundamentally discordant can never be overcome even by consideration of the mutual advantages to be gained from the union, however great these advantages may be. Repugnance and animosity, purely sentimental in their origin, and impossible of suppression by any process of intellectual exercise, are influences as important in national as in individual life. Irritated ambition, exaggerated pride, the under and over estimation of defects and advantages, are so many causes of national friction, with tremendous struggles and political convulsions as their consequence.

To prefer national sentiment to political necessity is naturally an erroneous doctrine, because contrary to the fundamental laws of civilisation, which define man's task as the conquest of natural forces by his intellectual power for his own good. Yet

such a doctrine is based at least upon the ascertained fact that, notwithstanding ages of intellectual progress,

instinct is more powerful than reason, and that the influences of instinct must be remembered both by nations and individuals in the pursuit of their several needs. In nineteenth-century Europe the development of inherent national powers was

entirely justified, if only because for centuries it had been neglected and thwarted, or had advanced, if at all, by a process highly irregular. Many European countries had developed a political vitality under, and as a consequence of, monarchical government; and if this vitality was to become the realisation of the popular will

The Nations In Process of Organisation it must first gain assurance of its own value and importance, and acquire the right of self-government. It was to be

tested in a series of trials which would prove its vital power and capacity, or would at least determine the degree of dependency which should govern its relations to other forces.

Hence it is that national revolutions are the substratum of European political history after the Vienna Congress. Hence it is that cabinet governments were gradually forced to undertake tasks of national importance which had never before even attracted their notice. Hence, too, such nations as were vigorous and capable of development must be organised and tested before entering upon the struggle for the transformation of society—a struggle which ultimately overshadowed national aspirations and became itself the chief aim and object of civilised endeavour.

The oppression of an alien rule to which Europe had been forced to submit was, if not entirely overthrown, at any rate shaken to its foundations. The tyranny under which the Christian inhabitants of the Balkan countries had groaned since the middle of the fifteenth century, and which had entirely checked every tendency to progress, was now in process of dissolution. Among the Slav races of the Balkans the Servians had freed themselves by their own power, and had founded the beginnings of a national community. With unexampled heroism, which had risen almost to the point of self-immolation, the Greeks had saved their nationality, and had united a considerable portion of their

Greek Nationality Saved

numbers into a self-contained state. In Germany and Italy the national movement, together with the political, had been

crushed in the name of the conservative Great Powers and their "sacred" alliances; in this case it was only to be expected that the influence of the French Revolution would produce some tangible effect. It was, however, in two countries, where systems unusually artificial had been created by the arbitrary action of dynasties

and diplomatists, that these influences became earliest and most permanently operative: in the new kingdom of the United Netherlands, and in Poland under the Russian protectorate.

In 1813 and 1815, the Dutch had taken an honourable share in the general struggle for liberation from the French yoke; they had formed a constitution which, while providing a sufficient measure of self-government to the nine provinces of their kingdom, united those nine into a uniform body politic. They had abolished their aristocratic republic, which had been replaced by a limited monarchy; the son of their last hereditary stadtholder, Prince William Frederic of Orange, had been made king, with the title of William I., and so far everything had been done that conservative diplomacy could possibly desire. Conservatism, however, declined to allow the Dutch constitution to continue its course of historical development, and proceeded to ruin it by the artificial addition of Belgium—a proceeding which may well serve as an example of the incompetent bureaucratic policy of Prince Metternich. The Orange king

Belgian Union with Holland

naturally regarded this unexpected accession of territory as a recognition of his own high capacity, and considered that he could best serve the interests of the Great Powers by treating the Belgians, whom he considered as Frenchmen, as subjects of inferior rank.

Many disabilities were laid upon them by the administration, which was chiefly in the hands of Dutchmen. Dutch trade had begun to revive, and Belgian industries found no support in Holland. Day by day it became clearer to the Belgians that union with Holland was for them a disastrous mistake, and they proceeded to demand separation. Not only by the Catholic Conservative party, but also by the Liberals, the difference of religious belief was thought to accentuate the opposition of interests. The attitude of hostility to their Protestant neighbours which the Catholic provinces of the Netherlands had adopted during 150 years of Spanish government had never been entirely given up, and was now resumed, after a short armistice.

Without any special preparation, the ferment became visible on the occasion of a performance of the "Revolution Opera" completed in 1828, "The Dumb Girl of Portici," by D. F. E. Auber, on August 25th,

THE NEW REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

1830. Personal intervention might even then perhaps have saved the political union of the Netherland countries. The king, however, made no honourable attempt to secure the confidence of the Belgians, and any possibility of agreement was removed by the attempt to seize Brussels, which he was persuaded to make through Prince Frederic, who led 10,000 men at his command. On November 10th, 1830, the National Congress decided in favour of the introduction of a constitutional monarchy, and for the exclusion of the House of Orange in favour of a new dynasty. Here, also, the expression of popular will failed to coincide with the hopes of the Revolution leaders, who were inclined to republicanism.

The Liberal coteries, who were forced in Belgium to act in concert with the Church, preferred government under a constitutional monarchy; if a republic were formed, an ultramontane majority would inevitably secure tyrannical supremacy, and all freedom of thought would be impossible. A royal family, if not so intellectually incapable as the Bourbons, would never consent to bind itself hand and foot to please any party, but, while respecting the rights of the minority, would unite with them in opposition to any attempted perversion of power.

The ready proposal of the Belgians to accept a monarchical government was received with satisfaction by the Great Powers, who were reluctantly considering the necessity of opposing the Revolution by force. The Tsar Nicholas had already made up his mind to raise his arm against the West; his attention, however, was soon occupied by far more pressing questions within his own dominions. Metternich and Frederic William III. were disinclined, for financial reasons, to raise

contingents of troops; the scanty forces at the command of Austria were required in Italy, where the Carbonari were known to be in a state of ferment. Louis Philippe decided the general direction of his policy by declining to listen to the Radical proposals for a union of Belgium with France, and thereby strengthened that confidence which he had already won among the Conservative cabinets.

The British proposal to call a conference at London for the adjustment of the Dutch-Belgian difficulty was received with general approbation. On December 20th the independence of Belgium was recognised by this assembly, and the temporary government in Brussels was

Declaration of Belgian Independence

invited through ambassadors to negotiate with the conference. The choice of the new king caused no great difficulty; the claims of Orange, Orleans, and Bavarian candidates were considered and rejected, and the general approval fell upon Prince Leopold George of Coburg, a widower, who had been previously married to Charlotte of England. On June 4th, 1831, the National Congress appointed him King of the Belgians, and he entered upon his dignity in July.

It proved a more difficult task to induce the King of Holland to agree to an acceptable compromise with Belgium and to renounce his claims to Luxemburg. In the session of October 15th, 1831, the conference passed twenty-four articles, proposing a partition of Luxemburg, and fixing Belgium's yearly contribution to the Netherland national debt at 8,400,000 gulden. On two occasions it became necessary to send French troops as far as Antwerp to protect Belgium, a weak military power, from reconquest by Holland; and on each occasion diplomatic

negotiation induced the Dutch to retire from the land which they had occupied.

It was not until 1838 that peace between Belgium and Holland was definitely concluded; King William had fruitlessly strained the resources of his state to the utmost, and for the increased severity of the conditions imposed upon him he had merely his own obstinacy to thank. Belgium's share of the payment towards the interest due upon the common national debt was ultimately fixed at 5,000,000 gulden. On August 9th, 1832, King Leopold married Louise of Orleans, the eldest daughter of Louis Philippe; though not himself a Catholic, he had his sons baptised into that faith, and thus became the founder of a new Catholic dynasty in Europe, which rapidly acquired importance



WILLIAM I. OF HOLLAND
On the readjustment of European affairs that followed the fall of Napoleon, Belgium and Holland were united under one sovereign, William I., who abdicated in 1840.

through the politic and dignified conduct of Leopold I. What the Belgians had gained without any unusual effort Poland was unable to attain in spite of the streams of blood which she poured forth in her struggle with Russia. She had been a nation on an equality with Russia, with a constitution of her own;

Poland under Russian Oppression her resistance now reduced her to the position of a province of the empire, deprived of all political rights, and subjected to a government alike despotic and arbitrary. The popular will was unable to find expression, for the nation which it inspired had been warped and repressed by a wholly unnatural course of development; there was no unity, no social organism, to support the expansion of classes and professions.

There were only two classes struggling for definite aims—the great territorial nobility, who were attracted by the possibility of restoring their exaggerated powers, which had depended on the exclusion of their inferiors from legal rights; and the small party of intelligent men among the Schlachta, the petty nobility, civil officials, military officers, teachers, etc., who had identified themselves with the principles of democracy, and were attempting to secure their realisation. Though its purity of blood was almost indisputable, the Polish race had sunk so low that the manufacturing and productive element of the population, the craftsmen and agricultural workers, had lost all feeling of national union and had nothing to hope from a national state.

Averse from exertion, incapable of achievement, and eaten up by preposterous self-conceit, Polish society, for centuries the sole exponent of national culture, was inaccessible to the effect of any deep moral awakening; hence national movement in the true sense of the term was impossible. At the outset the Polish Revolution was

The Poles Strike for Freedom marked by some display of resolution and enthusiasm. It was, however, a movement animated rather by ill-feeling and injured pride than originating in the irritation caused by intolerable oppression. It is true that the government was for the most part in the hands of the Russians, but there is no reason to suppose that it was in any way more unjust or more corrupt than the monarchical republic that had passed away. It cannot be said that

the Russian administration prevented the Poles from recognising the defective results of their social development, from working to remove those defects, to relieve the burdens of the labouring classes, and to found a community endowed with some measure of vitality, the advantages of which were plainly to be seen in the neighbouring Prussian districts. The moderate independence which Alexander I. had left to the Polish National Assembly was greater than that possessed by the Prussian provincial assemblies. The Poles possessed the means for relieving the legislature of the arrogance of the nobles, whom no monarchy, however powerful, had been able to check, and thus freeing the people from the weight of an oppression far more intolerable than the arbitrary rule of individuals, officials, and commanders.

Yet, was there ever a time when the much-lauded patriotism of the Poles attempted to deal with questions of this nature? So long as they failed to recognise their duty in this respect, their patriotism, founded upon a vanity which had risen to the point of monomania, was valueless to the nation at large. Events

Wars of the Polish Revolution proved that the struggle between Poland and Russia cannot be described as purposeless. The revolutionary party had long been quietly working, and when the progress of events in France became known, was immediately inflamed to action. Its first practical steps were generally attended with a high measure of success.

After the storming of the Belvedere, November 29th, 1830, occupied by the governor, the Grand Duke Constantine, that personage was so far intimidated as to evacuate Warsaw with his troops. On December 5th, 1830, a provisional government was already in existence. On January 25th, 1831, the assembly declared the deposition of the House of Romanoff, and in February a Polish army of 78,000 men was confronting 100,000 Russians, who had been concentrated on the frontiers of Old Poland under Diebitsch-Sabalkanski, and his general staff officer, Karl Friedrich, Count of Toll. These achievements were the unaided work of the nobility; their military organisation had been quickly and admirably successful.

Their commander-in-chief, Prince Michael Radziwill, who had served under Thaddeus Kosciuszko and Napoleon, had several bold and capable leaders at his disposal.

THE NEW REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

If at the same time a popular rising had taken place throughout the country, and a people's war in the true sense of the word had been begun, it is impossible to estimate the extent of the difficulties with which the Russian Government would have had to deal. Notwithstanding the victories of Bialolenka and Grochow, February 24th and 25th, 1831, Diebitsch did not dare to advance upon Warsaw, fearing to be blockaded in that town; he waited for reinforcements, and even began negotiations, considering his position extremely unfavourable. However, Volhynia and Podolia took no serious part in the revolt. The deputies of the Warsaw government found scattered adherents in every place they visited; but the spirit of enterprise and the capacity for struggle disappeared upon their departure. It was only in Lithuania that any public rising on an extensive scale took place.

On May 26th, Diebitsch, in spite of a heroic defence, inflicted a severe defeat at Ostrolenka upon the main Polish army under Jan Boncza Skrzynecki. Henceforward the military advantage was decidedly on the side of the Russians. The outbreak of cholera, to which Diebitsch succumbed on June 10th, might perhaps have produced a turn of fortune favourable to the Poles. Count Ivan Feodovitch Paskevitch-Erivanski, who now assumed the chief command, had but 50,000 men at his disposal, and would hardly have dared to advance from Pultusk if the numerous guerrilla bands of the Poles had done their duty and had been properly supported by the population. Never, however, was there any general rising; terrified by the ravages of the cholera, the mob declined to obey the authorities, and their patriotism was not proof against their panic. Skrzynecki and his successor, Henry Dembinski, had 50,000 men under their colours when they attempted to resist the advance of Paskevitch upon Warsaw; but within the capital itself a feud had broken out between the aristocrats and the democrats, who were represented

among the five members of the civil government by the historian Joachim Lelevel, after the dictatorship of Joseph Chlopicki had not only abolished but utterly shattered the supremacy of the nobles. The government, at the head of which was the senatorial president, Prince

End of the Polish Dream of Freedom

Adam George Czartoryyski, was forced to resign, and the purely democratic administration which succeeded fell into general disrepute. Military operations suffered from lack of concerted leadership. The storming of Warsaw on September 6th and 7th, carried out by Paskevitch and Toll, with 70,000 Russians against 40,000 Poles, decided the struggle. The smaller divisions still on foot, under the Genoese Girolamo Ramorino, Mathias Rybinski, Rozycki, and others, met with no support from the population, and were speedily forced to retreat beyond the frontier.

The Polish dream of freedom was at an end. The Kingdom of Poland, to which Alexander I. had granted nominal independence, became a Russian province in 1832 by a constitutional edict of February 26th; henceforward its history was a history of oppression and stern and cruel tyranny. However, the consequent suffering failed to produce any purifying effect upon the nation, though European liberalism, with extraordinary



KING OF THE BELGIANS

When the independence of Belgium was recognised, the choice of a new king fell upon Prince Leopold George of Coburg, and on July 4th, 1831, the National Congress appointed him King of the Belgians.

unanimity, manifested a sympathy which, in Germany, rose to the point of ridiculous and hysterical sentimentalism.

It was by conspiracies, secret unions, and political intrigues of every kind, by degrading mendicancy and sponging, that these "patriots" thought to recover freedom and independence for their native land. Careless of the consequences and untaught by suffering, in 1846 they instigated revolts in Posen and in the little free state of Cracow, which was occupied by Austria at the request of Russia, and eventually incorporated with the province of Galicia. The peasant revolt, which was characterised by unexampled ferocity and cruelty, made it plain to the world at large that it was not the Russian, the



Skrzynecki

Paskevitch

Constantine

LEADERS IN THE POLISH-RUSSIAN WARS

General Jan Boncza Skrzynecki was in command of the main Polish army at Ostrolenka, where it suffered defeat; Count Ivan Fedovitch Paskevitch commanded the Russian troops opposed to Skrzynecki and Dembinski, crushing the Poles and taking Warsaw; while the Grand Duke Constantine, brother of the Tsar of Russia and governor of Warsaw, after the storming of the Belvedere on November 29th, 1830, was so far intimidated as to evacuate Warsaw.

Austrian, or the Prussian whom the Polish peasant considered his deadly enemy and oppressor, but the Polish noble.

The revolutionary party in connection with the Revolution of July brought little to pass in Italy except abortive conspiracies and a general state of disturbance. The nation as a whole was inspired by no feeling of nationalism; the moderate party kept aloof from the intrigues of the Carbonari, who continued their activities in secret after the subjugation of Piedmont and Naples by the Austrians in 1821. The chief Austrian adherents were to be found in the Church states; there, however, an opposition union, that of the "Sanfedists," had been formed, with the countenance of the papacy. While striving for the maintenance of the papal power and the strengthening of religious feeling, the party occupied itself with the persecution of all Liberals, and rivalled the Carbonari in the use of poison and dagger for the attainment of its ends. Cardinal Consalvi had availed himself of the help of the Sanfedists; but he allowed their power to extend

only so far as it might be useful for the furtherance of his political objects. However, under the government of Pope Leo XII., 1823-1829, the influence of the party increased considerably, and led the Cardinal Rivarola, the legate of Ravenna, to severely punish the Carbonari in Faenza, a policy which contributed to increase the general restlessness with which Italy regarded the administration of the papacy.

Pius VIII., 1829-1830, and Cardinal Albani supported the union of the Sanfedists; their continued attempts at aggrandisement resulted in the temporary success of the revolution in Bologna. This movement had been long prepared, and broke out on February 4th, 1831, when Menotti in Parma



DUKE OF BRUNSWICK

When Charles, Duke of Brunswick, proved his incompetence, his brother William, at the request of Prussia, offered himself for the high office and was received with acclamation. King of Hanover, Ernest Augustus exhibited a weak narrow-mindedness by refusing the constitution between the nobility and the representatives of the peasants.



KING OF HANOVER

gave the signal for action. The Duke of Modena, Francis IV., imprisoned Menotti in his own house; feeling himself, however, too weak to deal with the movement, he fled into Austrian territory with his battalion of soldiers, and hastened to Vienna to appeal to Metternich for help. His example was followed by Pope Gregory XVI., elected on February 2nd, 1831, formerly

THE NEW REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

Bartolommeo Cappelleri, general of the Camaldulensian Order, whose supremacy was no longer recognised by the Umbrian towns which had broken into revolt, by the legation, or by the Marks.

The Austrian chancellor thought it advisable to maintain at any cost the protectorate exercised by the emperor in Italy; notwithstanding the threats of France, who declared that she would regard the advance of Austrian troops into the Church states

as a *casus belli*, he occupied Bologna, March 21st, after seizing Ferrara and Parma in the first days of March. Ancona was also forced to surrender; in this town the provisional government of the Romagna had taken refuge, together with Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, son of the King of Holland and of Hortense Beauharnais, who first came into connection with the revolutionary party at this date. The task of the Austrians was then brought to completion.

On July 15th they retired from the papal states, but were obliged to return on January 24th, 1832, in consequence of the new revolt which had been brought about by the cruelties of the papalini, or papal soldiers. Louis Philippe attempted to lend some show of support to the Italian Liberal party by occupying Ancona at the same time, February 22nd. Neither France nor Austria could oblige the Pope to introduce the reforms which he had promised into his administration. The ruling powers of the Curia were apprehensive of the reduction of their revenues,

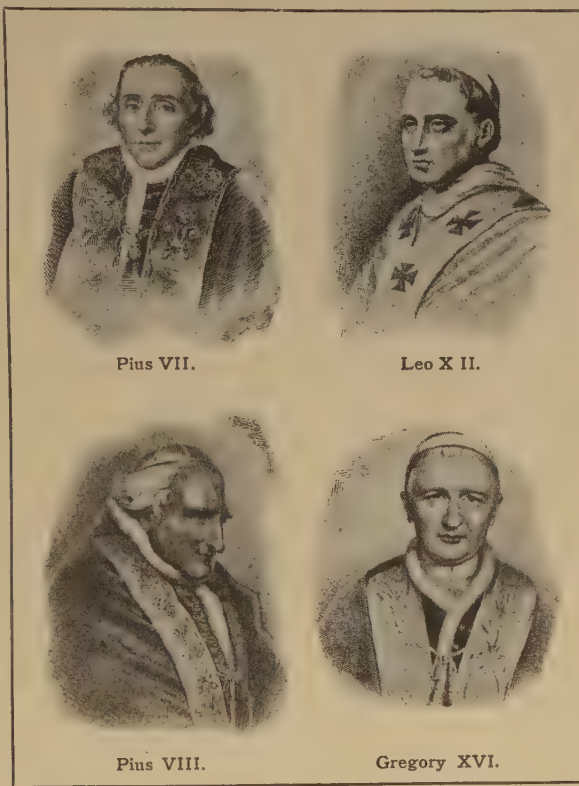
and steadily thwarted all measures of reorganisation. When Gregory XVI. enlisted two Swiss regiments for the maintenance of peace and order, the foreign troops evacuated his district in 1838.

In Germany the effects of the July Revolution varied according to differences of political condition, and fully represented the divergences of feeling and opinion prevailing in the separate provinces. There was no uniformity of thought, nor

had any tendency to nationalist movement become apparent. Liberal and Radical groups were to be found side by side, divided by no strict frontier line; moreover, operations in common were inconceivable, for no common object of endeavour had yet been found. In particular federal provinces special circumstances gave rise to revolts intended to produce a change in the relations subsisting between the rulers and the ruled.

Brunswick was a scene of events as fortunate for that state as they were rapid in development. Charles, Duke of Brunswick, who had begun his rule in 1823 as

a youth of nineteen years of age, showed himself totally incompetent to fulfil the duties of his high position. He conducted himself towards his relations of England and Hanover with an utter want of tact; and towards his subjects, whose constitutional rights he declined to recognise, he was equally haughty and dictatorial. After the events of July he had returned home from Paris, where he had spent his time in the grossest pleasures,



Pius VII.

Leo XII.

Pius VIII.

Gregory XVI.

A GROUP OF NINETEENTH CENTURY POPES

During the restless period in the first half of last century, St. Peter's Chair was occupied in turn by the Popes whose portraits are given above. Pius VII. died in 1823, and was succeeded by Leo XII. At his death, Pius VIII. became Pope, ruling only from March, 1829, till November, 1830. He was followed by the reactionary Gregory XVI.

and immediately opposed the nobles and the citizens as ruthlessly as ever. Disturbances broke out in consequence on September 7th, 1830, and so frightened the cowardly libertine that he evacuated his capital with the utmost possible speed and deserted his province. At the request of Prussia, his brother William, who had taken over the principality of Öls, offered himself to the people of Brunswick, who received him with acclamation. Notwithstanding the opposition of Metternich in the diet, the joint action of Prussia and England secured William's recognition as duke on December 2nd, after Charles had made himself the laughing-stock of Europe by a desperate attempt to cross the frontier of Brunswick with a small body of armed ruffians.

The people of Hesse forced their elector, William II., to summon the representatives of the Orders in September, 1830, and to assent to the constitution which they speedily drew up. On January 8th, 1831, the elector, in the presence of the Crown Prince Frederic William, signed the documents and handed them to the Orders; however, the people of Hesse were unable to secure constitutional government. They declined to allow the elector to reside among them in Cassel, with his mistress, Emilie Ortlöpp, whom he made Countess of Reichenbach in 1821, and afterwards Countess of Lessonitz; they forced him to withdraw to Hanover and to appoint the Crown Prince as co-regent, September 30th, 1831, but found they had merely fallen out of the frying-pan into the fire.

In August, 1831, Frederic William I. married Gertrude Lehmann, née Falkenstein, the wife of a lieutenant, who had been divorced by her husband in Bonn, made Countess of Schaumburg in 1831, and Princess of Hanau in 1853; as a result he quarrelled with his mother, the Princess Augusta of Prussia, and with the estates, who espoused the cause of the injured electress.

He was a malicious and stubborn tyrant, who broke his plighted word, deliberately introduced changes into the constitution through his Minister, Hans Daniel von Hassenpflug, whom he supported in his struggle with the estates until the Minister also insulted him and opposed his efforts at unlimited despotism. Hassenpflug left the service of Hesse in July, 1837, first entering the

civil service in Sigmaringen, November, 1838, then that of Luxemburg, June, 1839, ultimately taking a high place in the public administration of Prussia, 1841.

The people of Hesse then became convinced that their position had rather deteriorated than otherwise; the Landtag was continually at war with the government, and was repeatedly dissolved. The Liberals went to great trouble to claim their rights in endless appeals and proclamations to the Federal Council, but were naturally and invariably the losers in the struggle with the unscrupulous regent, who became elector and gained the enjoyment of the revenues from the demesnes and the trust property by the death of his father on November 20th, 1847. The Liberals were not anxious to resort to any violent steps which might have provoked the Federal Council to interference of an unpleasant kind; they were also unwilling to act in concert with the Radicals.

Even more helpless and timorous was the behaviour of the Hanoverians when their king, Ernest Augustus, who had contracted debts amounting to

several million thalers as Duke of Cumberland, was so narrow-minded as to reject the constitution which had

been arranged after long and difficult negotiations between the nobility and the representatives of the peasants. Seven professors of Göttingen, Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm, Dahlmann, Weber and Gervinus, Ewald and Albrecht, protested against the patent of November 1st, 1837, which absolved the state officials from their oaths of fidelity to the constitution.

The state prosecution and merciless dismissal of these professors aroused a general outcry throughout Germany against the effrontery and obstinacy of the Guelphs; none the less, the estates, who had been deprived of their rights, were too timid to make a bold and honourable stand against the powers oppressing them. A number of the electors consented, in accordance with the decrees of 1819, which were revived by the king, to carry through the elections for the General Assembly of the estates, thereby enabling the king to maintain that in form at least his state was constitutionally governed in the spirit of the Act of Federation. In vain did that indomitable champion of the popular rights, Johann Karl Tertern Stüve, burgo-master of Osnabrück, protest before the

**William
Duke of
Brunswick**

**The Tyrant
Frederic
William**

THE NEW REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

Federal Council against the illegal imposition of taxes by the Hanoverian government. The prevailing disunion enabled the faithless ruler to secure his victory; the compliance of his subjects gave a fairly plausible colouring to his arbitrary explanation of these unconstitutional acts; his policy was interpreted as a return to the old legal constitution, a return adopted, and therefore ratified, by the estates themselves.

The Saxons had displayed far greater inclination to riot and conspiracy; however, in that kingdom the transition from class privilege to constitutional government was completed without any serious rupture of the good relations between the people and the government; both King Anthony and his nephew Frederic Augustus II., whom he had appointed co-regent, possessed sufficient insight to recognise the advantages of a constitution; the co-operation of large sections of the community would define the distribution of those burdens which state necessities inevitably laid upon the shoulders of individuals. They supported the Minister Bernhard August of Lindenau, one of the wisest statesmen in Germany under the old reactionary regime, when he introduced the constitution of September 4th, 1831, which provided a sufficient measure of representation for the citizen classes, and protected the peasants from defraudation; they continued their support as long as he possessed the confidence of the Second Chamber. When his progressive

tendencies proved incompatible with the favour which the Saxon Court attempted to show the Catholic Church, the two princes considered in 1843 that they were able to dispense with his services. The

great rise in prosperity manifested in every department of public life under his government was invariably ascribed to his wise statesmanship and his great capacity.

Not entirely disconnected are those political phenomena which occurred in Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, and the Bavarian Palatinate, as results of the changes which had been brought to pass in France. In these provinces it became plain that liberalism, and the legislation it promoted, were incapable of satisfying the people as a whole, or of creating a body politic sufficiently strong to secure the progress

of sound economic development. Nowhere throughout Germany was the parliamentary spirit so native to the soil as in Baden, where the democrats, under the leadership of the Freiburg professors

Karl von Rotteck and Karl Theodor Welcker, the Heidelberg jurist Karl Joseph Mittermayer, and the Mannheim high justice Johann Adam von Itzstein, had become predominant in the Second Chamber. The constitutions of Bavaria and Hesse-Darmstadt gave full licence to the expression of public opinion in

the Press and at public meetings. But liberalism was impressed with the insufficiency of the means provided for the expression and execution of the popular will; it did not attempt to create an administrative policy



THE BROTHERS GRIMM

Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm, two prominent educationists of Göttingen, were among the professors dismissed in 1837 for protesting against the absolution of state officials from their oaths of fidelity to the constitution.



AUGUST OF LINDENAU

"One of the wisest statesmen in Germany," Bernhard August of Lindenau introduced the constitution of September 4th, 1831, which provided a sufficient measure of representation for the citizen classes, and protected the peasants. Karl Theodor Welcker was one of the Freiburg professors who became predominant in the Second Chamber.



KARL THEODOR WELCKER

which might have brought it into line with the practical needs of the poorer classes. It hoped to attain its political ends by unceasing efforts to limit the power of the Crown and by extending the possibilities of popular representation. The result was distrust on the part of the

Discontent dynasties, the government
Encouraged officials, and the classes in im-
by the Press mediate connection with them, while the discontented classes, who were invariably too numerous even in districts so blessed by Nature as these, were driven into the arms of the Radical agitators, who had immigrated from France, and in particular from Strassburg.

The very considerable freedom allowed to the Press had fostered the growth of a large number of obscure publications, which existed only to preach the rejection of all governmental measures, to discredit the monarchical party, and to exasperate the working classes against their more prosperous superiors. The numerous Polish refugees who were looking for some convenient and exciting form of occupation requiring no great expenditure of labour were exactly the tools and emissaries required by the leaders of the revolutionary movement, and to them the general sympathy with the fate of Poland had opened every door. The first disturbances broke out in Hesse-Darmstadt at the end of September, 1830, as the result of incorporation in the Prussian Customs Union, and were rapidly suppressed by force of arms; the animosity of the mob was, however, purposely fostered and exploited by the chiefs of a democratic conspiracy who were preparing for a general rising. In May, 1832, the Radicals prepared a popular meeting at the castle of Hambach near Neustadt on the Hardt. No disguise was made of their intention to unite the people for the overthrow of the throne and the erection of a democratic republic. The unusual occurrence of a popular manifestation proved a great attraction. The turgid outpourings, seasoned with violent

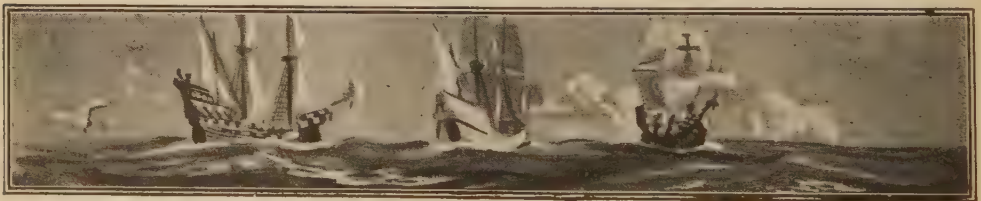
The Germans
Preparing for
Revolution it was the students who chiefly had to pay for their irresponsibility and lack of common sense; the measures of intimidation and revenge undertaken by the German Government at the demand of Metternich fell chiefly and terribly on the heads of the German students. No distinction was made between the youthful aberrations of these corps, which were inspired merely by an overpowering sense of national feeling, and the bloodthirsty designs of malevolent intriguers—for example, of the priest Friedrich Ludwig Weidig in Butzbach—or the unscrupulous folly of revolutionary monomaniacs, such as the Göttingen privat-dozent Von Rauschenplat.

invectives against every form of moderation, emanating from those crapulous scribblers who were transported with delight at finding in the works of Heinrich Heine and Lewis Baruch Börnes inducements to high treason and anti-monarchical feeling, inflamed minds only too accessible to passion and excitement. As vintage advanced feeling grew higher, and attracted the students, including the various student corps which had regained large numbers of adherents, the remembrance of the persecutions of the 'twenties having been gradually obliterated.

At Christmas-time, 1832, an assembly of the accredited representatives of these corps in Stuttgart was induced to accede to the proposal to share in the forthcoming popular rising. The result was that after the émeute set on foot by the democrats in Frankfort-on-Main on April 3rd, 1833, when an attempt was made to seize the federal palace and the bullion there stored,

The Terrible
Fate of
the Students it was the students who chiefly had to pay for their irresponsibility and lack of common sense; the measures of intimidation and revenge undertaken by the German Government at the demand of Metternich fell chiefly and terribly on the heads of the German students. No distinction was made between the youthful aberrations of these corps, which were inspired merely by an overpowering sense of national feeling, and the bloodthirsty designs of malevolent intriguers—for example, of the priest Friedrich Ludwig Weidig in Butzbach—or the unscrupulous folly of revolutionary monomaniacs, such as the Göttingen privat-dozent Von Rauschenplat.

Hundreds of young men were consigned for years to the tortures of horrible and pestilential dungeons by the cold-blooded cruelty of red-tape indifferentism. The punitive measures of justice then enforced, far from creating a salutary feeling of fear, increased the existing animosity, as is proved by the horrors of the Revolution of 1848.



THE
RE-MAKING
OF
EUROPE



EUROPE
AFTER
WATERLOO
VIII

THE WELDING OF THE STATES

THE GERMAN FEDERATION AND THE GERMAN CUSTOMS UNION

DURING the period subsequent to the Congress of Vienna a highly important modification in the progress of German history took place, in spite of the fact that such expressions of popular feeling as had been manifested through the existing constitutional outlets had effected but little alteration in social and political life. This modification was not due to the diet, which, properly speaking, existed to protect the common interests of the German states collectively. It was the work of the Prussian Government, in which was concentrated the keenest insight into the various details of the public administration, and which had therefore become a centre of attraction for minds inclined to political thought and for statesmen of large ideals. In Germany the political movement had been preceded by a period of economic

**Economic
Progress
in Germany**

progress; the necessary preliminary to such a movement, a certain level of prosperity and financial power, had thus already been attained. This achievement was due to the excellent qualities of most of the German races, to their industry, their thrift, and their godliness. The capital necessary to the economic development of a people could only be gradually recovered and amassed after the enormous losses of the French war, by petty land-owners and the small handicraftsmen.

However, this unconscious national co-operation would not have availed to break the fetters in which the economic life of the nation had been chained for 300 years by provincial separatism. Of this oppression the disunited races were themselves largely unconscious; what one considered a burden, his neighbour regarded as an advantage. Of constitutional forms, of the process of economic development, the nation severally and collectively had long

since lost all understanding, and it was reserved for those to spread such knowledge who had acquired it by experience and intellectual toil. These two qualifications were wanting to the Austrian Government, which had formed the German Federation according to its own ideas. Even those who admire the diplomatic skill of Prince Metternich must admit that the Austrian chancellor displayed surprising ignorance and ineptitude in dealing with questions of internal administration.

His interest was entirely concentrated upon matters of immediate importance to the success of his foreign policy, upon the provision of money and recruits; of the necessities, the merits, and the defects of the inhabitants of that empire to which he is thought to have rendered such signal service, of the forces dormant in the state over which he ruled, he had not the remotest idea.

The members of the bureaucracy whom he had collected and employed were, with few exceptions, men of limited intelligence and poor education; cowardly and subservient to authority, they were so incompetent to initiate any improvement of existing circumstances that the first preliminary to any work of a generally beneficial nature was the task of breaking down their opposition. The Archduke John, the brother of the Emperor Francis,

**Archduke
John as
Reformer** a man fully conscious of the forces at work beneath the surface, a man of steady and persistent energy, suffered many a

bitter experience in his constant attempts to improve technical and scientific training, to benefit agriculture and the iron trades, co-operative enterprises, and savings banks. The Emperor Francis and his powerful Minister had one aversion in common,

which implied unconditional opposition to every form of human endeavour—an aversion to pronounced ability. Metternich's long employment of Gentz is to be explained by the imperative need for an intellect so pliable and so reliable in its operations, and also by the fact that Gentz would do anything for money; for a position of independent activity, for a chance of realising his own views or aims, he never had any desire. Men of independent thought, such as Johann Philipp of Wessenberg, were never permanently retained, even for foreign service. This statesman belonged to the little band of Austrian officials who entertained theories and proffered suggestions upon the future and the tasks before the Hapsburg monarchy, its position within the Federation, and upon further federal developments. His opinion upon questions of federal reform was disregarded, and he fell into bad odour at the London conference, when his convictions led him to take an independent position with reference to the quarrel between Belgium and Holland.

The fate of the German Federation lay entirely in the hands of Austria; and Austria is exclusively responsible for the ultimate fiasco of the Federation, which she eventually deserted. The form and character of this alliance, as also its after development, were the work of Metternich. People and Government asked for bread, and he gave them a stone. He conceived the state to be merely an institution officered and governed by police. When more than twenty millions of Germans declared themselves a commercial corporation with reference to the world at large, with the object of equalising the conditions of commercial competition, of preventing an overwhelming influx of foreign goods, and of opening the markets of the world to their own producers—in that memorable year of 1834 the Austrian Government, after inviting the federal representatives to months of conferences in Vienna, could find nothing of more pressing importance to bring forward than proposals for limiting the effectiveness of the provincial constitutions as

compared with the state governments, for increased severity in the censorship of the Press, and the surveillance of university students and their political activity.

Student interference in political life is utterly unnecessary, and can only be a source of mischief; but Metternich and his school were unable to grasp the fact that such interference ceases so



FREDERIC WILLIAM IV. Crowned King of Prussia at Königsberg in 1840, he promised the introduction of reforms, which were not carried out. Becoming insane in 1857, he died in 1861.

soon as political action takes a practical turn. If Austria were disappointed in her expectations of the German federal states, her feelings originated only in the fact that Prussia, together with Bavaria, Württemberg, Saxony, and Baden, entertained loftier views than she herself upon the nature of State existence and the duties attaching thereto.

The kingdom of Prussia had by no means developed in accordance with the expectations entertained by Metternich in 1813 and 1815; it was a military state, strong enough to repel any possible Russian onslaught, but badly "rounded off," and composed of such heterogeneous fragments of territory that it could not in its existing form aspire to predominance in Germany. Prussia was as yet unconscious of her high calling; she was wholly spellbound by Austrian federal policy, but none the less she had completed a task incomparably the most important national achievement since the attainment of religious freedom—the foundation of the pan-Germanic Customs Union.

Cotta, the greatest German book and newspaper publisher, and an able and important business man, had been able to shield the loyal and thoroughly patriotic views of Ludwig I. of Bavaria from the inroads of his occasionally violent paroxysms of personal vanity, and had secured the execution of the Act of May 27th, 1829, providing for a commercial treaty between Bavaria-Württemberg and Prussia with Hesse-Darmstadt, the first two states to join a federal customs union. The community of interests between North and South Germany, in which only far-seeing men, such as Friedrich List, the national economist, had believed, then became so incontestable a fact that the

Metternich's Conception of the State

Inauguration of a Federal Customs Union

THE GERMAN FEDERATION AND CUSTOMS UNION

commercial treaty took the form of a customs union, implying an area of uniform economic interests.

The "Central German Union," which was intended to dissolve the connection between Prussia and South Germany, and to neutralise the advantages thence derived, rapidly collapsed. It became clear that economic interests are stronger than political, and the dislike amounting to aversion of Prussia entertained by the Central German governments became friendliness as soon as anything was to be gained by a change of attitude—in other words, when it seemed possible to fill the state exchequers. The electorate of Hesse had taken the lead in opposing the Hohenzollern policy of customs federation; as early as 1831 she recognised that her policy of commercial isolation spelt ruin.

A similar process led to the dissolution of the so-called "Einbeck Convention" of March 27th, 1830, which had included Hanover, Brunswick, Oldenburg, and the electorate of Hesse. Saxony joined Prussia on March 30th, as did Thüringen on May 11th, 1833; on May 22nd, 1833, the

Bavarian-Württemberg and the Prussian groups were definitely united. On January 1st, 1834, the union included eighteen German states, with 23,000,000 inhabitants; in 1840 these numbers had risen to twenty-three states with 27,000,000 inhabitants. In 1841 the union was joined by Brunswick, and by Luxemburg in 1842; Hanover did not come in until September 7th, 1851, when she ceased to be an open market for British goods. The expenses of administration and of guarding the frontiers were met from a common fund. The profits were divided among the states within the union in proportion to their population. In 1834 the profits amounted to fifteen silver groschen, about thirty-six cents per head; in 1840, to more than twenty silver groschen, about half a dollar.

In the secondary and petty states public opinion had been almost entirely opposed to such unions. Prussia was afraid of the Saxon manufacturing industries, and Leipzig foresaw the decay of her great markets. The credit of completing this great national achievement belongs almost exclusively to the governments



THE STately COLOGNE CATHEDRAL

Photochrome

The foundations of this magnificent structure, regarded as one of the finest examples of Gothic architecture extant were laid in 1248; the work was renewed in 1842, and in 1880 the building was completed according to the original plan.

and to the expert advisers whom they called in. Austria now stood without the boundary of German economic unity. Metternich recognised too late that he had mistaken the power of this union. Proposals were mooted for the junction of Austria with the allied German states, but met with no response from the industrial and manufacturing interests. The people imagined that a process of division was even then beginning which was bound to end in political separation; but the importance of Prussia, which naturally took the lead in conducting the business of the union, notwithstanding the efforts of other members to preserve their own predominance and independence, became obvious even to those who had originally opposed the conclusion of the convention. The Würtemberg deputy and author, Paul Pfizer, recognised the necessity of a political union of the German states under Prussian hegemony, and saw that the separation of Austria was inevitable.

In 1845, in his "Thoughts upon Rights, State and Church," he expounded the programme which was eventually adopted by the whole nation, though only after long struggles and severe trials. "The conditions," he there said, "of German policy as a whole seem to point to a national alliance with Prussia and to an international alliance with the neighbouring Germanic states and with Austria, which is a first-class Power even apart from Germany. There can be no question of abolishing all political connection between Germany and Austria. In view of the danger threatening Germany on the east and west, nothing would be more foolish; no enemy or rival of Germany can be allowed to become paramount in Bohemia and Central Germany. But the complete incorporation of Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria, together with that of the Tyrol, Carinthia, and Styria, would be less advantageous to Germany than the retention of these countries by a power connected with her by blood relationship and an offensive and defensive alliance, a power whose arm can reach beyond the Alps on the one hand, and to the Black Sea on the other."

Prussia's Relations with Germany

For more than three centuries the latter had, in virtue of their dynastic power, become the representatives of the Romano-German Empire. Their historical position enabled them to lay claim to the leadership of the federation, though their power in this respect was purely external. Certain obstacles, however, lay in the way of any settlement. It was difficult to secure any feeling of personal friendship between the South Germans and the Prussians of the old province. Some measure of political reform was needed, as well for the consolidation of existing powers of defence as for the provision of security to the individual states which might then form some check upon the severity of Prussian administration.

Finally, there was the peculiar temperament of Frederic William IV., who had succeeded to the government of Prussia upon the death of his father, Frederic William III., on June 7th, 1840. In respect of creative power, artistic sense, and warm, deep feeling, his character can only be described as brilliant. He was of the ripe age of forty-five, and his first measures evoked general astonishment and enthusiasm. But he did not possess the strong grasp of his great ancestors and their power of guiding the ship through critical dangers unaided. He had not that inward consciousness of strength and that decisiveness which shrink from no responsibility; least of all had he a true appreciation of the time and the forces at work.

Prussia's great need was a constitution which would enable her to send up to the central government a representative assembly from all the provinces, such assembly to have the power of voting taxes and conscriptions, of supervising the finances, and of legislating in conjunction with the Crown. On May 22nd, 1815, Frederic William III. had made some promises in this direction; but these remained unfulfilled, as the government could not agree upon the amount of power which might be delegated to an imperial parliament without endangering the position of the executive. Such danger undoubtedly existed.

The organisation of the newly-formed provincial federation was a process which necessarily affected private interests and customs peculiar to the individual areas which had formerly been indepen-

dent sections of the empire, and were now forced into alliance with other districts with which little or no connection had previously existed. The conflicting views and the partisanship inseparable from parliamentary institutions would have checked the quiet, steady work of the Prussian bureaucracy, and would in any case have produced a continual and unnecessary agitation. The improvements in the financial condition created by the better regulation of the national debt, by the limitation of military expenditure, and the introduction of a graduated system of taxation, could not have been more successfully or expeditiously carried out than they were by such Ministers as Bülow and Klewitz.

So soon as the main part of this transformation of the Prussian state had been accomplished, prosperity began to return to the peasant and citizen classes, and the result of the customs regulations and the consequent extension of the market began to be felt. The citizens then began to feel their power and joined the inheritors of the rights formerly possessed by the numerous imperial and provincial orders in a demand for some share in the administration. It was found possible to emphasise these demands by reference to the example of the constitutional governments existing in neighbouring territories. The speeches delivered by Frederic William IV. at his coronation in Königsberg on September 10th, 1840, and at his reception of homage in Berlin on October 15th, 1840, in which he displayed oratorical powers unequalled by any previous prince, appeared to point to an immediate fulfilment of these desires.

The king was deeply moved by the outburst of national enthusiasm in Germany which was evoked by the unjustifiable menaces directed against Germany by France in the autumn of 1840 during the Eastern complications. The Minister, Thiers, who had been in office since March 1st, suddenly broke away from the Great Powers during the Turco-Egyptian war, and initiated a policy of his own in favour of Egypt—a short-sighted departure which obliged Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia to conclude the quadruple alliance of July 15th, 1840, with the object of compelling Mehemet Ali to accept the conditions of peace which they had arranged. With a logic peculiarly their own, the

French considered themselves justified in securing their immunity on the Continent, as they were powerless against England by sea. The old nonsensical argument of their right to the Rhine frontier was revived and they proceeded to mobilise their forces. The German nation made no attempt to disguise their anger at so insolent an act of aggression, and showed all readiness to support the proposals for armed resistance. Nikolaus Becker composed a song against the French which became extremely popular:

For free and German is the Rhine,
And German shall remain,
Until its waters overwhelm
The last of German name.

The nation were united in support of their princes, most of whom adopted a dignified and determined attitude towards France. Then was the time for Frederic William IV. to step forward. Supported by the warlike temper of every German race, with the exception of the Austrians, who were in financial difficulties, and by the popularity which his speeches had gained for him, he might have intimidated France both at the moment and for the future. However, he confined himself to the introduction of reforms in the federal military constitution at Vienna, and thus spared Austria the humiliation of openly confessing her weakness. The result of his efforts was the introduction of a regular inspection of the federal contingents and the occupation of Ulm and Rastatt as bases for the concentration and movements of future federal armies.

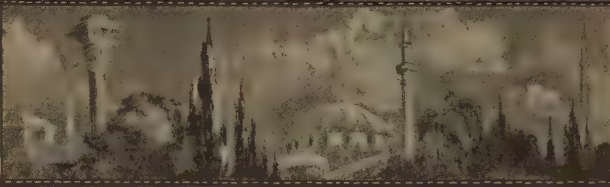
Thus was lost a most favourable opportunity for securing the federal predominance of Prussia by means of her military power, for she could have concentrated a respectable force upon the German frontier more quickly than any other member of the Federation. Moreover, the attitude of Prussia at the London conference was distinctly modest and in no way such as a Great Power should have adopted. The king's lofty words at the laying of the foundation stone of Cologne Cathedral on September 4th, 1842, produced no deception as to his lack of political decision. Whenever a special effort was expected or demanded in an hour of crisis, Frederic William's powers proved unequal to the occasion, and the confidence which the nation reposed in him was deceived.

HANS VON ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST



THE MASSACRE OF THE MAMELUKES BY MEHEMET ALI IN 1811

From the painting by Bida in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



THE NEW KINGDOM OF GREECE RUSSIA AND THE SUBLIME PORTE

AFTER the Porte had given its consent to the protocol of February 3rd, 1830, the Great Powers of Europe addressed themselves to the task of reorganising the Greek kingdom. Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, even Acarnania, remained under Turkish supremacy; but a considerable portion of the Greek people, forming a national entity, though limited in extent, was now able to begin a new and free existence as a completely independent state.

This success had been attained by the remarkable tenacity of the Greek nation, by the continued support of Great Britain, and, above all, by the pressure which the Russian co-religionists of the Greeks had brought to bear upon the Turkish military power. The work of liberation was greatly hindered by the diplomacy of the other Great Powers, and particularly by the support given to the

Austria's Support of the Turks Turks, the old arch enemies of Christendom, by Catholic Austria. To Austria it is due that the Greek question remained so long unsolved; that instead of developing its inherent strength the Greek nation occupied itself with the unification of its different tribes, and that the Turkish state, which was hostile to civilisation, justified its existence only by means of the bayonets of Anatolian regiments, and existed only on sufferance as a foreign body within the political system of Europe. Once again the obstacle to a thorough and comprehensive reform of the political conditions within the Balkan Peninsula was the puerile fear of the power inherent in a self-determining nation, and, in a secondary degree, a desire for the maintenance or extension of influence which might be useful in the peninsula.

The true basis of such influence was not as yet understood. It is not the statesmanship of ambassadors and attachés which gives a nation influence abroad, but its power to assert its will when its interest

so demands. National influence rests upon the forces which the state can command, upon the industry of its traders, the value and utility of its products, the creative power of its labour and capital. The Greeks were now confronted with

Greece After its Wars the difficult task of concentrating their forces, accommodating themselves to a new political system, and making their independence a practical reality; for this purpose it was necessary to create new administrative machinery, and for this there was an entire dearth of the necessary material. The problem was further complicated by the fact that a desperately contested war had not only unsettled the country, but reduced it almost to desolation. The noblest and the bravest of the nation had fallen upon the battlefields or under the attacks of the Janissaries and Albanians, or had been slaughtered and hurled into the flames of burning towns and villages, after the extortion of their money, the destruction of their property, and the ruin of their prosperity.

The contribution of the European Powers to facilitate the work of reconstruction consisted of a king under age and twelve million dollars at a high rate of interest. Prince Leopold of Coburg, the first candidate for the Greek throne, had unfortunately renounced his project; he would have proved a capable and benevolent ruler, and would perhaps have adapted himself to the peculiar characteristics of Greek life and thought, with the

Problem of the Greek Throne eventual result of providing a starting-point for the introduction of more civilised and more modern methods. In consequence of his retirement, the presidency of Capodistrias continued for some time, until the murder of this statesman, who had deserved well of his people, on October 9th, 1831; then followed the short reign of his brother Augustine, who did not enjoy

the recognition of the constitutional party, the Syntagmatikoi. Ultimately, by working on the vanity of King Ludwig of Bavaria, European diplomacy persuaded this monarch to authorise his son Otto, born on June 1st, 1815, to accept the Greek throne. The government was to be carried on by three Bavarian officials

Otto until the youth attained his
King of majority. This settlement was
Greece brought about by the London "Quadruple Convention" on May 7th, 1832, and is one of the most ill-considered pieces of work ever performed by the statesmen of the old school.

Of the young prince's capacity as a ruler not even his father can have had the smallest idea; yet he was handed over to fate, to sacrifice the best years of his life in a hopeless struggle for power and recognition. The Greeks were fooled with promises impossible of fulfilment, and inspired with mistrust and hatred for their "benefactors." King Otto and his councillors had not the patience to secure through the National Assembly a gradual development of such conditions as would have made constitutional government possible; they would not devote themselves to the task of superintendence, of pacification, of disentangling the various complications, and restraining party action within the bounds of legality.

The Bavarian officials, who might perhaps have done good service in Würzburg or Amberg, were unable to accommodate themselves to their Greek environment; their mistakes aroused a passionate animosity against the Germans, resulting in their complete expulsion from Hellas in 1843. On March 16th, 1844, King Otto was obliged to agree to the introduction of a new constitutional scheme, the advantages of which were hidden to him by the fact that it merely aroused new party struggles and parliamentary discord. Consequently he did not observe

The Greeks this constitution with sufficient
Dismiss conscientiousness to regain the
Their King national respect. Disturbances in the East and the Crimean

War proved so many additional obstacles to his efforts, which were ended by a revolt in October, 1862, when the Greeks declined to admit their king within the Piræus as he was returning from the Morea, and thus unceremoniously dismissed him from their service. In 1830, Greece was definitively separated from

Turkey; and at the same time the insolence of the Dey of Algiers, hitherto under the Ottoman suzerainty, gave the Bourbon monarchy the chance of trying to recover its prestige with the nation by the seizure of Algeria. The piratical activity of the Barbary States was brought to an end. In Turkey also that movement was now beginning, which will be considered later, the literary and political revolution of the Young Turkish party.

The indefatigable Mahmud, however, again resumed his efforts to secure the unity of the empire. But he was forced to give way to his Pasha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, one of the most important rulers whom the East had produced for a long time. He was born in 1769 at Kavala, in Roumelia, opposite the island of Thasos. He had gone to Egypt in 1800 with some Albanian mercenaries; in the struggle with the French, English, and Mamelukes he had raised himself to supremacy, had conquered the Wahabites, subjugated Arabia and Nubia, and created a highly competent army by means of military reform upon a large scale. When Mahmud II. declined to meet his extensive demands

Russian in return for the help he had
Help for rendered against the Greeks,
the Turks Ibrahim, an adopted son of Mehemet, a general of the highest class, invaded Syria in 1831, defeated the Turks on three occasions, conquered Akka, 1832, and advanced to Kiutahia, in Asia Minor, in 1833. Mahmud appealed to Russia for help. Russia forthwith sent 15,000 men to the Bosphorus, whilst the fleets of France and England jealously watched the Dardanelles. Mehemet Ali was obliged to make peace on May 4th, 1833, and was driven back behind the Taurus.

The most important result of these events, however, was the recompense which the Sultan was induced to give to the Russians for their help. He had been shown the letters of the French Ambassador, which revealed the intention of the Cabinet of the Tuileries to replace the Ottoman dynasty by that of Mehemet. The result was the convention of Hunkyar-Skalessi, the imperial stairs on the Bosphorus, July 8th, or May 26th, 1833. In this agreement the terrified Sultan made a supplementary promise to close the Dardanelles in future against every Power that was hostile to Russia. When this one-sided convention, concluded in defiance of all international rights, became



THE BOY KING OF GREECE: OTTO I. ENTERING NAUPLIA ON JANUARY 25TH, 1833

Defeating the Turks and regaining their liberty in 1828, the Greeks accepted Otto, the youthful son of King Ludwig of Bavaria, as their king in 1832. Only seventeen years of age when he came to the throne, Otto displayed but little capacity for government, and his reign was far from being a success. In 1862 he was compelled to leave Greece.

known, the Western Powers were naturally irritated, and Prince Metternich wittily designated the sultan as "le sublime portier des Dardanelles au service du tsar." The naval Powers withdrew their fleets from the Dardanelles, after entering a protest against this embargo. Meanwhile, the will of the tsar was supreme

Where the Tsar was Supreme both in Athens and Stamboul. Obeying his instructions, Mahmud refused to allow the Austrians to blast the rocks

on the Danube at Orsova, or to permit his subjects to make use of the ships of the Austria-Hungarian Lloyd Company, founded in Trieste in 1836; notwithstanding this prohibition the company was able to resume with success the old commercial relations of the Venetians with the Levant. The Russian ambassador discountenanced the wishes of the grand vizir and of the seraskier, who applied to the Prussian ambassador, Count Königsmark, with a request for Prussian officers to be sent out, in view of a reorganisation of the army, which was in fact carried out under the advice of Moltke.

In 1837 the first bridge over the Golden Horn was built, between Unkapau and Asabkapusi; not until 1845 and 1877 was the new bridge constructed which is known as the Valide, after the mother of Abd ul-Mejid. On August 16th, 1838, the British ambassador Ponsonby secured the completion, in the house of Reshid Pasha at Balta-Nin on the Bosphorus, of that treaty respecting trade and customs duties, which has remained the model of all succeeding agreements. By way of recompense the British fleet accompanied the Turkish fleet during all its manoeuvres in the Mediterranean, until its secession to Mehemed Ali. War was declared upon him by Sultan Mahmud in May, 1839, when the Druses had revolted against the Syrian authorities in the Hauran. However, the sultan died on July 1st,

Death of Sultan Mahmud before he could receive the news of the total defeat of his army at Nisib on June 24th, and the desertion of his fleet in Alexandria on July 14th. At a later period, after his return to the Sublime Porte, Moltke vindicated the capacity which Hafiz Pasha had shown in face of the lack of discipline prevailing in his army, although the seraskier had treated the suggestions of the Prussian officers with contempt. Ibrahim did not pursue his master's troops,

as his own soldiers were too exhausted to undertake any further movements. Mahmud II. died a martyr to his own ideas and plans; even his greatest reforms remained in embryo. However, his work lives after him; he was the founder of a new period for Turkey, as Peter the Great, with whom he liked to be compared, had been for Russia. The difficulty of the political situation, the incapacity of his predecessors, the slavery imposed by the domestic government and court etiquette, were the real source of those obstacles which often caused him such despondency that he sought consolation in drunkenness, to the utter destruction of his powers.

Abd ul-Mejid, 1839-1861, the son of Mahmud, undertook at the age of sixteen the government of a state which would irrevocably have fallen into the power of the Pasha of Egypt had not the ambitious plans of France been thwarted by the conclusion of the Quadruple Alliance on July 15th, 1840, between England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia. The interference of the alliance forced the victorious Pasha Mehemed Ali to evacuate Syria; after the conclusion of peace he obtained the Island of Thasos,

The Sultan's Gift to the Pasha the cradle of his race, from the sultan, as an appanage of the viceroys of Egypt, in whose possession it still remains.

An important advance is denoted by the Hatti-sherif of Gülhane on November 3rd, 1839, which laid down certain principles, on which were to be based further special decrees. The reformation proclaimed as law what had in fact long been customary, the theoretical equality of the subjects of every nation, race, and religion before the law. It must be said that in the execution of this praiseworthy decree certain practical difficulties came to light. Reshid Pasha, the creator of the "hat," was not inspired by any real zeal for reform, but was anxious simply to use it as a means for gaining the favour of the Christian Powers.

As early as 1830, for example, a census had been undertaken, the first throughout the whole Turkish Empire, the results of which were valueless. No official would venture to search the interior of a Moslem house inhabited by women and children. It was, moreover, to the profit of the revenue officials to represent the number of houses and families in their district as lower than it really was, with the object of filling their pockets with the excess. The Porte, unable to secure the obedience

THE NEW KINGDOM OF GREECE AND THE SUBLIME PORTE

of the Syrians by a strong government like the military despotism of Ibrahim, was equally unable to win over the country by justice and good administration, for lack of one necessary condition, an honest official service. It was not to the "hat" of Gülhane of 1856, nor yet to the later Hatti-humayun, that reform was due, but to the European Powers associated to save the crescent. These Powers suggested the only permanent solution by supplying the watchword "A la franca"; and urged the Turks to acquire a completer knowledge of the West, to learn European languages and sciences, to introduce the institutions of the West.

Literature also had to follow this intellectual change. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, a poet endowed with the powers of the ancient East had appeared in Ghalib, and a court poet in the unfortunate Selim III. Heibet ullah Sultana, a sister of the Sultan Mahmud II., and aunt of the reforming Minister Fuad, also secured a measure of popularity. These writers were, however, unable to hinder the decay of old forms, or rather the dawn of a new period, the Turkish "modern age." The study of the languages of Eastern civilisation became neglected in view of the need of the study of the West. The new generation knew more of La Fontaine, Montesquieu, and Victor Hugo than of the Moslem classics. The political need of reform made men ambitious to secure recognition for the drafting of a diplomatic note rather than for the composition of a Kassited, or of a poem with a purpose. In the East as well as in the West mediæval poetry became a lost art. By the Dardanelles Convention, which was concluded with the Great Powers in London on July 13th, 1841, the Porte consented to keep the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus closed to foreign ships of war in the time of peace. By this act the Turkish Government gave a much desired support to Russian aims at predominance in the Black Sea. In the same year it was necessary to suppress revolts which had broken out in Crete and Bulgaria. In consequence of the incursions of Mehmet



SULTAN ABD UL-MEJID

In 1841 he concluded peace with Mehemet Ali of Egypt, and in 1853 his resistance to Russia's claims to a protectorate over his subjects led to the Crimean war.

Shah into the Arabian Irak, Suleimanieh, Bagdad, Kerbela, and Armenia, a war with Persia was threatened, and the dispute was only composed with difficulty by a peace commission summoned to meet at Erzeroum. Within the Danubian principalities the sovereign rights of the Porte were often in conflict with

Persecution of Protestant Armenians

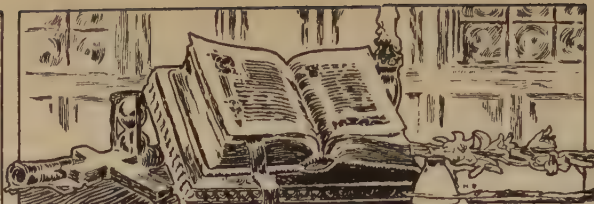
the protectorate powers of Russia. In Servia, Alexander Karageorgevitch was solemnly appointed bashbeg, or high prince of Servia, by the Porte on November 14th, 1842; Russia, however, succeeded in persuading Alexander voluntarily to abdicate his position, which was not confirmed until 1843 by Russia, after his re-election at Topchider, near Belgrade. The Roman Catholic—uniate—Armenians, who had already

endured a cruel persecution in 1828, secured toleration for their independent Church in 1835 and a representative of their own. A similar persecution, supported by Russia from Etshmiadsin, also broke out against the Protestant Armenians in 1845. It was not until November, 1850, that their liberation was secured by the energetic ambassador, Stratford Canning. Even more dangerous was the diplomatic breach between the Porte and Greece, 1847. This young state had grown insolent; supported by the Russian party which dominated the

Chamber of Deputies, Greece had availed herself of the helplessness of the Porte against Mehemet Ali, at the time when Abd ul-Mejid began his reign, to send help to the Cretans. The Prime Minister, Kolettis, 1844-1847, had repeatedly demanded the union of the Greeks. Continued friction ended in 1846 with a collision between the Turkish ambassador and the Greek king, with the breaking off of diplomatic relations, and with a revenge taken by the sultan upon his Greek subjects, which might almost have ended in war between Greece and Turkey, England and France. Not until September, 1847, was an understanding between the two neighbours secured, by the intervention of the tsar on the personal appeal of King Otto.

HANS VON ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST
HEINRICH ZIMMERER

THE
RE-MAKING
OF
EUROPE



EUROPE
AFTER
WATERLOO
X

THE STATE OF RELIGION IN EUROPE AND THE PROGRESS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

THE great revolutions which had taken place in the political world since 1789 were not calculated to produce satisfaction either among contemporaries or posterity. Disillusionment and fear of the degeneration of human nature, distrust of the capacity and the value of civic and political institutions, were the legacy from these movements. As men lost faith in political movement as a means of ameliorating the conditions of life or improving morality, so did they yearn for the contentments and the consolations of religion. "Many believe; all would like to believe," said Alexis de Tocqueville of France after the July Revolution. However, the germs of piety, "which, though uncertain in its objects, is powerful enough in its effects," had already sprung to life during the Napoleonic period. Throughout the nineteenth century there was a general yearning for the restoration of true Christian feeling. It was a desire that

Restored Power of the Catholic Church

evoked attempts at the formation of religious societies, often of a very extraordinary nature, without attaining any definite object; on the other hand, it opened the possibility of a magnificent development of the power of Catholicism.

The progress of the movement had made it plain that only a Church of this nature can be of vital importance to the history of the world, and that the revival of Christianity can be brought about upon no smaller basis than that which is held by this Church. The force of the movement which resulted in the intensification of papal supremacy enables us to estimate the power of reaction which was bound to occur, though the oppression of this supremacy may in turn become intolerable and the foundations of ultramontaniam and of its successes be shattered.

The restoration of power to the Catholic Church was partly due to the Jesuit Order, which had gradually acquired considerable and potent influence over the papacy; and the success it attained was by no

means artificial. Jesuitism has ideals; for it, religion is more than a department of politics. By the creation of a hierarchy within a temporal state it hopes to secure full scope for the beneficent activity of Christian doctrine confined within the discipline of the Church. For this purpose Jesuitism can employ any and every form of political government. It

The Policy of the Jesuits

has no special preference for monarchy, though it simulates such a preference for dynasties which it can use for its own purposes; it is equally ready to accommodate itself to the conditions of republican and parliamentary government. Materialism is no hindrance to the fulfilment of its task, the steady increase of the priestly power; for the grossest materialism may be accompanied by the most sincere faith, and this latter is one of its most valuable weapons. While fostering education and devotion, it shares in the hobbies of science, criticism and research. One maiden marked with the stigmata may seem of greater value to society than the well-meaning efforts of a hundred learned fathers.

On August 7th, 1814, Pope Pius VII. issued the encyclical *Sollicitudo omnium*, reconstituting the Society of Jesus, which retained its original constitution and those privileges which it had acquired since its foundation. At the Congress of Vienna Cardinal Consalvi had succeeded in convincing the Catholic and Protestant princes that the Jesuit Order would prove a means of support to the Legitimists, and

Jesuit Order Supported by the Papacy

would, in close connection with the papacy, undertake the interests of the royal houses—a device successfully employed even at the present day. This action of the papacy, a step as portentous for the destinies of Europe as any of those taken during the unhappy years of the first Peace of Paris, appeared at first comparatively unimportant. The new world power escaped notice until the highly gifted Dutchman, Johann Philip of Roothaan,

THE STATE OF RELIGION IN EUROPE

took over the direction on July 9th, 1829, and won the Germans over to the Order. The complaisance with which the French and the Italians lent their services for the attainment of specific objects deserves acknowledgment. But even more valuable than their diplomatic astuteness in the struggle against liberal free thought were the blind unreasoning obedience and the strong arms of Flanders, Westphalia, the Rhine districts and Bavaria. At the outset of the thirties the society possessed, in the persons of numerous young priests, the implements requisite for disturbing that harmony of the Churches which was founded upon religious toleration and mutual forbearance. By the same means the struggle against secular governments could be begun, where such powers had not already submitted by concordat to the Curia, as Bavaria had done in 1817.

The struggle raged with special fury in Prussia, though this state, considering its very modest pecuniary resources, had endowed the new-created Catholic bishoprics very handsomely. The Jesuits declined to tolerate a friendly agreement in things spiritual between the Catholics and Protestants in the Rhine territories, to allow the celebration of mixed marriages with the "passive assistance" of the Catholic pastor; they objected to the teaching of George Hermes, professor in the Catholic faculty at the new-created university of Bonn, who propounded to his numerous pupils the doctrine that belief in revelation necessarily implied the exercise of reason, and that the dictates of reason can not therefore be contradicted by dogma.

After the death of the excellent Archbishop Ferdinand of Cologne on August 2nd, 1835, the blind confidence of the government elevated the prebendary Klemens August Freiherr von Droste-Vischer to the Rhenish archbishopric. He had been removed from the general vicariate at Münster as a punishment for his firmness. In defiance of his previous promises, the ambiguity of which had passed unnoticed by the Minister Altenstein, the archbishop arbitrarily broke off the agreement concerning mixed marriages

arranged by his predecessor. His repeated transgression of his powers and his treatment of the Bonn professors obliged the Prussian Government to pronounce his deposition on November 14th, 1837, and forcibly to remove him from Cologne.

The Curia now protested in no measured terms against Prussia, and displayed a galling contempt for the Prussian ambassador, Bunsen, who had exchanged the profession of archæology for that of diplomacy. Prince Metternich had formerly been ready enough to claim the good services of the Berlin Cabinet whenever he required their support; his instructive diplomatic communications were now withheld, and with some secret satisfaction he observed the humiliation of his ally by Roman statecraft. The embarrassment of the Prussian adminis-

tration was increased both by the attitude of the Liberals, who, with doctrinaire shortsightedness, disputed the right of the government to arrest the bishop, and by the extension of the Catholic opposition to the ecclesiastical province of Posen-Gnesen, where the insubordination and disloyalty of the archbishop, Martin von Dunin, necessitated the imprisonment of that prelate also. Those ecclesiastical dignitaries who were under Jesuit influence proceeded to oppose such

supporters of peace as the prince-bishop of Breslau, Count Leopold of Sedlnitzky, in 1840, employing every form of inter-collegiate pressure which the labours of centuries had been able to excogitate. In many cases congregations were ordered to submit to tests of faith, with which they eventually declined compliance.

A more vigorous, and in its early stages a more promising, resistance arose within the bosom of the Church itself. This movement was aroused by the exhibition in October, 1844, of the "holy coat" in Trèves, a relic supposed to be one of Christ's garments, an imposture which had long before been demonstrated; an additional cause was the disorderly pilgrimage thereto promoted by Bishop Arnoldi. The chaplain, Ronge, characterised the exhibition as a scandal, and denounced



ARCHBISHOP OF COLOGNE
Archbishop Ferdinand worthily fulfilled the duties of his high office and died on August 2nd, 1835.

The Defiant Archbishop of Cologne

the "idolatrous worship of relics" as one of the causes of the spiritual and political humiliation of Germany. He thereby became the founder of a reform movement, which at once assumed a character serious enough to arouse hopes that the Catholic Church would now undergo the necessary process of reorganisation and

The Serious Influence of Jesuitism

separation, and would break away from the prevalent influence of Jesuitism. About two hundred "German Catholic" congregations were formed in the year 1845, and a Church council was held at Leipzig from March 23rd to 26th, with the object of finding a common basis for the constitution of the new Church.

However, it proved impossible to arrange a compromise between the insistence upon free thought of the one party and the desire for Catholic dogma manifested by the other. What was wanted by the freethinkers was a new idea, brilliant enough to attract the universal gaze and to distract attention from established custom and its separatist consequences. Great and strong characters were wanting, though these were indispensable for the direction and organisation of the different bodies who were attempting to secure their liberation from one of the most powerful influences that has ever imposed disciplinary authority upon an intellectually dormant humanity. As long as each party went its own way, proclaimed its own war-cry to be the only talisman of victory, and adopted new idols as its ensign, so long were they overpowered by the determined persistency of the Society of Jesus.

Within the Protestant Churches also a movement for intellectual independence arose, directed against the suppression of independent judgment, and the subjugation of thought to the decrees of the "Superiors." The movement was based upon the conviction that belief should be

Discoveries of Scientific Criticism

controlled by the dictates of reason and not by ecclesiastical councils. The Prussian Government limited the new movement to the utmost of its power; at the same time it was so far successful that the authorities avoided the promulgation of decrees likely to excite disturbance and practised a certain measure of toleration. The discoveries made by the scientific criticism of the evangelical school gave a further impulse in this direction, as these

results were utilised by Strauss in his "Life of Jesus," 1835, and his "Christian Dogma, explained in its Historical Development and in Conflict with Modern Science," 1840-1841, works which made an epoch in the literary world, and the importance of which remained undiminished by any measures of ecclesiastical repression.

Among the Romance peoples religious questions were of less importance than among the Germans. In Spain, such questions were treated purely as political matters; the foundation of a few Protestant congregations by Manuel Matamoros exercised no appreciable influence upon the intellectual development of the Spaniards. The apostasy of the Roman prelate Luigi Desancti to the Waldenses and the appearance of scattered evangelical societies produced no effect upon the position of the Catholic Church in Italy. In France, the liberal tendencies introduced by Lamartine and Victor Hugo remained a literary fashion; the efforts of Lacordaire and Montalembert to found national freedom upon papal absolutism were nullified by the general direction of Roman policy. There was, however, one phenomenon

Lamennais the Fiery Champion of the Papacy

deserving a closer attention—a phenomenon of higher importance than any displayed by the various attempts at religious reform during the nineteenth century, for the reason that its evolution displays the stages which mark the process of separation from Jesuitism.

Lamennais began his priestly career as the fiery champion of the papacy, to which he ascribed infallibility. He hoped to secure the recognition of its practical supremacy over all Christian governments. Claimed by Leo X. as the "last father of the Church," he furiously opposed the separatism of the French clergy, which was based on the "Gallican articles"; he attacked the government of Charles X. as being "a horrible despotism," and founded after the July Revolution a Christian-revolutionary periodical, "L'Avenir," with the motto, "Dieu et Liberté—le Pape et le Peuple." By his theory, not only was the Church to be independent of the State; it was also to be independent of State support, and the clergy were to be maintained by the voluntary offerings of the faithful.

This demand for the separation of Church and State necessarily brought Lamennais into connection with political democracy;

THE STATE OF RELIGION IN EUROPE

hence it was but a step to the position that the Church should be reconstructed upon a democratic basis. This fact was patent not only to the French episcopate, but also to Pope Gregory XVI., who condemned the doctrines of the "father of the Church," and, upon his formal submission, interdicted him from issuing any further publications. Lamennais, like Arnold of Brescia or

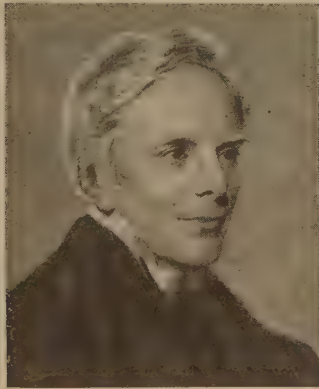
Religion in England and Scotland Girolamo Savonarola in earlier times, now recognised that this papacy needed help to fulfil the lofty aims with which he had credited it; he rejected it in his famous "Paroles d'un Croyant" in 1834, and found his way to that form of Christianity which is based upon brotherly love and philanthropy and aims at procuring an equal share for

greatly prized possession was, however, threatened by the system of the Established Church, which forced upon the congregations ministers who were not to their liking; but this was in itself merely incidental to the more important and comprehensive fact that the "establishment" was subject to civil control, and that questions affecting it might be carried for decision to a court which was Scottish only in the sense that it contained a Scottish element—the House of Peers.

The view rapidly gained ground that in matters regarded as spiritual the Church ought to be subject to no authority save its own; in other words, that it ought to be free from state control. But that view was not general, nor was the state prepared to recognise it. It only remained,



Newman



Keble



Pusey

LEADERS OF THE TRACTARIAN MOVEMENT

Inspired by the desire to "awaken into new life a Church which was becoming torpid by a revival of mediæval ideals and mediæval devotion," and with the aim of counteracting the "danger to religion arising from a sceptical criticism," the Tractarian movement in England had as its most notable champions Newman, Keble, and Pusey. Their teachings were in many quarters regarded as nothing but barely veiled "Popery," a view that was strengthened when Cardinal Newman went over to the Church of Rome, whither he was followed by many of his disciples.

men in the enjoyment of this world's goods. But in England and in Scotland there was considerable ferment on religious questions during the 'thirties and 'forties. German rationalism indeed would hardly have been permitted to obtain a foothold in either country; when respectability was at its zenith, German rationalism was not regarded as respectable. In Scotland the crucial question was not one of theology, but of Church government; in that country the national system of education combined with the national combativeness of character to make every cottar prepared to support his own religious tenets with a surprising wealth of scriptural erudition; and "spiritual independence" was fervently cherished. That

therefore, for the protesting portion of the community to sever itself from the state by departing from the Establishment and sacrificing its share in the endowments and privileges thereto pertaining. In the great Disruption of 1843 hundreds of ministers resigned their manse and churches rather than their principles; and the Free Church took its place side by side with the Established Church as a self-supporting religious body, although in point of doctrine there was no distinction between the two communities, which were both alike Calvinist in theology and Presbyterian in system.

The Tractarian movement in England was of a different type. On the one side, it was inspired by the desire to awaken

into new life a Church which was becoming torpid, by a revival of mediæval ideals and mediæval devotion, to be attained through insistence on mystical doctrines, on the apostolic character of the priesthood, on the authority of the fathers of the Church as against the miscellaneous unauthorised and ignorant interpretations of the Scriptures, and on the historic and aesthetic attractions of elaborate ceremonial. On another side it sought especially to counteract the danger to religion arising from a sceptical criticism, and from the attacks of the scientific spirit which declined to regard convictions adopted on authority as being knowledge.

The "Tracts for the Times," from which the movement took its name, the teaching of John Henry Newman, of Keble, and of Pusey, who were its most notable champions, alarmed the popular Protestantism—the more when Newman himself went over to the Church of Rome, whither he was followed by many of his disciples; and "Puseyism" was commonly regarded as nothing but barely veiled "Popery." Newman would have had many more imitators if the greatest of his colleagues had not maintained their view that the doctrines of "The Church" are those of the Anglican Church, and refused to sever themselves from her. They remained, and it will probably be admitted that while their movement inspired the clerical body—not only their adherents, but their opponents also—to a renewed activity at the time, it had the further effect ultimately, though not till after a considerable lapse of time, of attaching to itself a majority of the most energetic and the most intellectual of the clergy.

That Christian socialism to which Lamennais had been led by reason and experience was a by-product of the numerous attempts to settle the pressing question of social reform, attempts begun simultaneously in France and England,

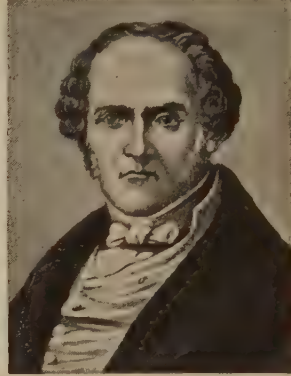
and resulting in a movement which soon affected every nation. The great revolution had accomplished nothing in this direction. The sum total of achievement hitherto was represented by certain dismal experiences of "State help" in the distribution of bread and the subsidising of bakers. The phrase inscribed in the

"Cahiers" of the deputies of the Third Estate in 1789 had now been realised in fact: "The voice of freedom has no message for the heart of the poor who die of hunger." Babeuf, the only French democrat who professed communistic views, was not understood by the masses, and his martyrdom, one of the most un-

necessary political murders of the Directory, had aroused no movement among those for whom it was undergone.

The general introduction of machinery in many manufactures, together with the more distant relations subsisting between employer and workman, had resulted in an astounding increase of misery among the journeymen labourers. The working classes, condemned to hopeless poverty and want, and threatened with the deprivation of the very necessities of existence, broke into riot and insurrection; factories were repeatedly destroyed in England at the beginning of the century; the silk weavers of Lyons in 1831 and the weavers of Silesia in 1844 rose against their masters. These facts aroused the consideration of the means by which the appalling miseries of a fate wholly undeserved could be obviated.

Among the wild theories and fantastic aberrations of Saint-Simon were to be found many ideas well worth consideration which could not fail to act as a stimulus to further thought. The pamphlet of 1814, "Réorganisation de la Société Européenne," had received no consideration from the Congress of Vienna, for it maintained that congresses were not



THE SOCIAL REFORMERS OWEN AND FOURIER

In the large spinning-works at New Lanark in Scotland, of which he was manager, Robert Owen put into practice his socialistic theories, but his experiment was not permanently successful. Equally futile and unsatisfactory was Charles Fourier's project of the "Phalanstère," a new social community having all things in common.

Factory Riots in England

England at the beginning of the century; the silk weavers of Lyons in 1831 and the weavers of Silesia in 1844 rose against their masters. These facts aroused the consideration of the means by which the appalling miseries of a fate wholly undeserved could be obviated.

THE STATE OF RELIGION IN EUROPE

the proper instrument for the permanent restoration of social peace and order. It was, however, plainly obvious that even after the much-vaunted "Restoration" the lines of social cleavage had rapidly widened and that the majority were oppressed with crying injustice.

Not wholly in vain did Saint-Simon repeatedly appeal to manufacturers, industrial potentates, business men, and financiers, with warnings against the prevailing sweating system; not in vain did he assert in his "Nouveau Christianisme," 1825, that every Church in exist-

Europe's Social Development ence had stultified its Christianity by suppressing the loftiest teaching of Christ, the doctrine of brotherly love.

No immediate influence was exerted upon the social development of Europe by Barthélemy Prosper Constantin's proposals for the emancipation of the flesh, and for the foundation of a new "theocratic-industrial state," or by Charles Fourier's project of the "Phalanstère," a new social community having all things in common, or by the Utopian dreams of communism expounded by Etienne Cabet in his "Voyage en Icarie." Such theorising merely cleared the way for more far-seeing thinkers, who, from their knowledge of existing institutions, could demonstrate their capacity of transformation.

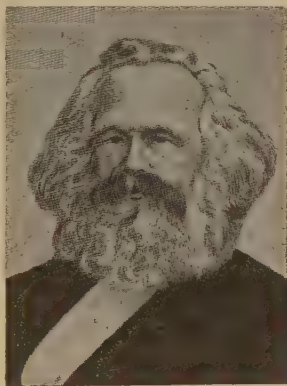
In Britain, Robert Owen, the manager of the great spinning-works at New Lanark, in Scotland, was the first to attempt the practical realisation of a philosophical social system. Owen's theories may be pronounced a definite advance, as demonstrating that capitalism as a basis of economics was not founded upon any law of Nature, but must be considered as the result of an historical development, and that competition is not an indispensable stimulus to production, but is an obstacle to the true utilisation of labour. The

facts thus ascertained were worked into a socialist system by the efforts of a German Jew, Karl Marx, born in 1818 at Trèves, a man fully equipped with Hegelian criticism, and possessed by an extraordinary yearning to discover the causes which had brought existing conditions of life to pass, a characteristic due, according to Werner Sombart, to "hypertrophy of intellectual energy."

He freed the social movement from the revolutionary spirit which had been its leading characteristic hitherto. He placed one definite object before the movement, the "nationalisation of means of production," the method of attaining this end being a vigorous class struggle. Expelled from German soil by the Prussian police, he was forced to take up residence in Paris, and afterwards in London. There he gained an accurate knowledge of the social conditions of Western Europe, devoting special attention to the important developments of the English trades-union struggles, and thus became specially qualified as the founder and guide of an international organisation of the proletariat, an indispensable condition of victory in the class struggle he had proclaimed. In collaboration with Friedrich Engel of Elberfeld he created the doctrine of

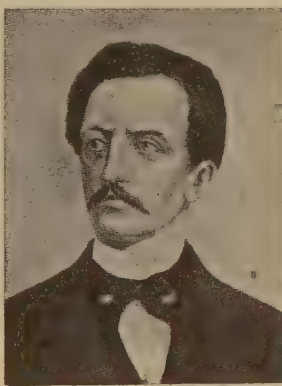
socialism, which remained the basis of the socialist movement to the end of the nineteenth century. That movement chiefly centred in Germany, after Ferdinand Lassalle had assured its triumph in the sixties. The social movement exerted but little political influence upon the events arising out of the July

Revolution; its influence, again, upon the revolutions of the year 1848 was almost inappreciable. It became, however, a modifying factor among the democratic parties, who were looking to political revolution for some transformation of existing public rights, and for some alteration of the proprietary system in their favour.



Marx
PIONEERS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

The founder and guide of an international organisation of the proletariat, Karl Marx, a German Jew, freed the social movement from its revolutionary spirit and placed before it the definite object of nationalisation of means of production. Ferdinand Lassalle was also a prominent worker in the cause of social democracy in Germany.



Lassalle



THE SPREAD OF LIBERALISM AND THE COLLAPSE OF METTERNICH'S SYSTEM

THE lack of initiative displayed by the King of Prussia was a valuable help to Metternich in carrying out his independent policy. The old chancellor in Vienna had become ever more profoundly impressed with the insane idea that Providence had specially deputed him to crush revolutions,

The Zenith of Metternich's Influence

to support the sacred thrones of Europe, Turkey included, and that he was the discoverer of a political system by which alone civilisation, morality, and religion could be secured. The great achievement of his better years was one never to be forgotten by Germany—the conversion of Austria to the alliance formed against the great Napoleon, and the alienation of the Emperor Francis from the son-in-law whose power was almost invincible when united with that of the Hapsburg emperor. At that time, however, Metternich was not the slave of a system; his action was the expression of his will, and he relied upon an accurate judgment of the personalities he employed, and an accurate estimation of the forces at his disposal.

As he grew old his self-conceit and an exaggerated estimate of his own powers led him blindly to follow those principles which had apparently determined his earlier policy in every political question which arose during the European supremacy which he was able to claim for a full decade after the Vienna Congress. His belief in the system—a belief of deep import to the destinies

The Tsar a Convert of Metternich

of Austria—was materially strengthened by the fact that Alexander I., who had long been an opponent of the system, came over to its support before his death and recognised it as the principle of the Holy Alliance. The consequence was a degeneration of the qualities which Metternich had formerly developed in himself. His clear appreciation of the situation and of the main

interests of Europe in the summer of 1813 had raised Austria to the most favourable position which she had occupied for centuries. Her decision determined the fate of Europe, and so she acquired power as great as it was unexpected.

This predominance was the work of Metternich, and so long as it endured the prince was able to maintain his influence. He, however, ascribed that influence to the superiority of his own intellect and to his incomparable system, neglecting the task of consolidating and securing the power already gained. Those acquisitions of territory which Metternich had obliged Austria to make were a source of mischief and weakness from the very outset. The Lombard-Venetian kingdom implied no increase of power, and its administration involved a constant drain of money and troops. The troops, again, which were drawn from an unwarlike

Death of the Emperor Francis I.

population, proved unreliable. The possession itself, necessitated interference in Italian affairs, and became a constant source of embarrassment and of useless expense. Valuable possessions, moreover, in South Germany already in the hands of the nation were abandoned out of consideration for this kingdom, and acquisitions likely to become highly profitable were declined. Within the kingdom a state of utter supineness prevailed in spite of the supervision bestowed upon it, and the incompetence of the administration condemned the state and its great natural advantages to impotence.

Far from producing any improvement, the death of the Emperor Francis I., on March 1st, 1835, caused a marked deterioration in the condition of the country. The Archdukes Charles and John were unable to override the supremacy of Metternich. As hitherto, they were unable to exercise any influence upon the government, which the ill-health and vacillation of Ferdinand I., the successor, had

THE COLLAPSE OF METTERNICH'S SYSTEM

practically reduced to a regency. Franz Anton, Count of Kolowrat-Liebsteinsky, attempted to breathe some life into the Council of State, but his efforts were thwarted by Metternich, who feared the forfeiture of his own power.

The Tsar Nicholas upon his visit to Töplitz and Vienna, in 1835, had remarked that Austria was no longer capable of guaranteeing a successful policy, and that her "system" could not be maintained in practice, remarks which had done no good. It was impossible to convince Metternich that the source of this weakness lay in himself and his determination to repress the very forces which should have been developed. The Archduke Lewis, the emperor's youngest uncle and a member of the State Conference, was averse to any innovation, and therefore inclined to uphold that convenient system which laid down the maintenance of existing institutions as the first principle of statesmanship.

Within Austria herself, however, the state of affairs had become intolerable. The government had so far decayed as to be incapable of putting forth that energy, the absence of which the Tsar had observed. The exchequer accounts betrayed an annual deficit of thirty million gulden, and the government was forced to claim the good offices of the class representatives, and, what was of capital importance, to summon the Hungarian Reichstag on different occasions. In that assembly the slumbering national life had been aroused to consciousness, and proceeded to supply the deficiencies of the government by acting in its own behalf. Count Széchényi gave an impetus to science and art and to other movements generally beneficial. Louis Kossuth, Franz Pulszky, and Franz Deák espoused the cause of constitutional reform.

A flood of political pamphlets published abroad, chiefly in Germany, exposed in full detail the misgovernment prevailing in Austria and the Crown territories. European attention was attracted to the instability of the conditions obtaining there, which seemed to betoken either the downfall of the state or a great popular rising. Austria's prestige among the other Great Powers had suffered a heavy blow by the Peace of Adrianople, and now sank yet lower. Metternich was forced to behold the growth of events, and the accomplishment of

deeds utterly incompatible with the fundamental principles of conservative statesmanship as laid down by the Congresses of Vienna, Carlsbad, Troppau, Laibach, and Verona.

The July Revolution and the triumph of liberalism in England under William IV. caused the downfall of Dom Miguel, "king" of Portugal, who had been induced by conservative diplomacy to abolish the constitutional measures introduced by his brother, Dom Pedro of Brazil. To this policy he devoted himself, to his own complete satisfaction. The revolts which broke out against him were ruthlessly suppressed, and thousands of Liberals were imprisoned, banished, or brought to the scaffold. Presuming upon his success and relying upon the favour of the Austrian court, he carried his aggrandisements so far as to oblige Britain and France to use force and to support the cause of Pedro, who had abdicated the throne of Brazil in favour of his son, Dom Pedro II., then six years of age, and was now asserting his claims to Portugal.

Pedro I. adhered to the constitutionalism which he had recognised over-seas as well as in Portugal, thus securing the support not only of all Portuguese Liberals, but also of European opinion, which had been aroused by the bloodthirsty tyranny of Miguel. The help of the British admiral, Charles Napier, who annihilated the Portuguese fleet at Cape San Vincent on July 5th, 1833, enabled Pedro to gain a decisive victory over Miguel, which the latter's allies among the French legitimists were unable to avert, though they hurried to his aid. His military and political confederate, Don Carlos of Spain, was equally powerless to help him.

In Spain, also, the struggle broke out between liberalism and the despotism which was supported by an uneducated and degenerate populace, and enjoyed the favour of the Great Powers of Eastern Europe. The conflagration began upon the death of King Ferdinand VII., on September 29th, 1833, the material cause being a dispute about the hereditary right to the throne resulting from the introduction of a new order of succession. The decree of 1713 had limited the succession to heirs in the male line; but the Pragmatic Sanction of March 20th, 1830, transferred the right to the king's daughters,

Isabella and Louise, by his marriage with Maria Christina of Naples. Don Carlos declined to recognise this arrangement, and on his brother's death attempted to secure his own recognition as king.

After the overthrow of Dom Miguel and his consequent retirement from Portugal, Don Carlos entered Spain in person with his adherents, who were chiefly composed of the Basques fighting for their special rights, "fueros," and the populations of Catalonia and Old Castile, who were under clerical influence. The Liberals gathered round the queen regent, Maria Christina, whose cause was adroitly and successfully upheld by the Minister, Martinez de la Rosa. The forces at the disposal of the government were utterly inadequate, and their fleet and army were in so impoverished a condition that they could make no head against the rebel movement. Under the leadership of Thomas Zumala-Carregui the Carlists won victory after victory, and would probably have secured possession of the capital had not the Basque general received a mortal wound before Bilbao.

Even then the victory of the "Cristinos" was by no means secure. The Radicals had seceded from the Liberals upon the question of the reintroduction of the constitution of 1812. The revolution of La Granja gave the Radicals complete influence over the queen regent; they obliged her to accept their own nominees, the Ministry of Calatrava, and to recognise the democratic constitution of June 8th, 1837. Their power was overthrown by Don Baldomero Espartero, who commanded the queen's troops in the Basque provinces. After a series of successful movements he forced the Basque general, Maroto, to conclude the capitulation of Vergara on August 29th, 1839. The party of Don Carlos had lost greatly both in numbers and strength, owing to the care-

**Queen Regent
Forced
to Abdicate**

lessness and pettifogging spirit of the pretender and the dissensions and domineering spirit of his immediate adherents, who seemed the very incarnation of all the legitimist foolishness in Europe. When Carlos abandoned the country on September 15th, 1839, General Cabrera continued fighting in his behalf; however, he also retired to French territory in July, 1840. The queen regent had lost all claims to respect by her intrigues with one of

her body-guard, and was forced to abdicate on October 12th. Espartero, who had been made Duke of Vittoria, was then entrusted by the Cortes with the regency.

The extreme progressive party, the Exaltados, failed to support him, although he had attempted to fall in with their views. They joined the Moderados, or moderate party, with the object of bringing about his fall. Queen Isabella was then declared of age, and ascended the throne. Under the Ministry of Don Ramon Maria Narvaez, Duke of Valencia, the constitution was changed in 1837 to meet the wishes of the Moderados, and constitutional government in Spain was thus abolished. Though his tenure of office was repeatedly interrupted, Narvaez succeeded in maintaining peace and order in Spain, even during the years of revolution, 1848-1849.

The moral support of the Great Powers and the invasion of the French army under the Duke of Angoulême had been powerless to check the arbitrary action of the Bourbons and clergy in Spain. No less transitory was the effect of the Austrian victories in Italy; the Italian

**Italy's
National
Disgrace**

people had now risen to full consciousness of the disgrace implied in the burden of a foreign yoke. The burden, indeed, had been lighter under Napoleon and his representatives than under the Austrians. The governments of Murat and Eugène had been careful to preserve at least a show of national feeling; their military power was drawn from the country itself, and consisted of Italian regiments officered with French, or with Italians who had served in French regiments. The French had been highly successful in their efforts to accommodate themselves to Italian manners and customs, and were largely helped by their common origin as Romance peoples. The Germans, on the other hand, with the Czechs, Magyars, and Croats, who formed the sole support of the Austrian supremacy in the Lombard-Venetian kingdom, knew but one mode of intercourse with the Italians—that of master and servant; any feeling of mutual respect or attempt at mutual accommodation was impossible.

A small number of better-educated Austrian officers and of better-class individuals in the rank and file, who were preferably composed of Slav regiments, found it to their advantage to maintain good relations with the native population;

but the domineering and occasionally brutal behaviour of the troops as a whole was not calculated to conciliate the Italians. The very difference of their uniforms from all styles previously known served to emphasise the foreign origin of these armed strangers. Ineradicable was the impression made by their language, which incessantly outraged the delicate Italian ear and its love of harmony.

Of any exchange of commodities, of any trade worth mentioning between the Italian provinces and the Austrian Crown lands, there was not a trace. The newly acquired land received nothing from its masters but their money. Italian consumption was confined to the limits of the national area of production; day by day it became clearer that Italy had nothing whatever in common with Austria, and was without inclination to enter into economic or intellectual relations with her. The sense of nationalism was strengthened by a growing irritation against the foreign rule; this feeling penetrated every class, and inspired the intellectual life and the national literature.

Vittorio Alfieri, the contemporary of Napoleon, was roused against the French yoke by the movement for liberation. His successors, Ugo Foscolo, Silvio Pellico, Giacomo Leopardi, created a purely nationalist enthusiasm. Their works gave passionate expression to the deep-rooted force of the desire for independence and for equality with other free peoples, to the shame felt by an oppressed nation, which was groaning under a yoke unworthy of so brilliantly gifted a people, and could not tear itself free. Every educated man felt and wept with them, and was touched with the purest sympathy for the unfortunate victims of policy, for the conspirators who were languishing in the Austrian fortresses.

Priests' Good Work for Italy

Highly valuable to the importance of the movement was the share taken by the priests, who zealously devoted themselves to the work of rousing the national spirit, and promised the support and practical help of the Catholic Church for the realisation of these ideals. It was Vincenzo Gioberti who first demonstrated

to the papacy its duty of founding the unity of the Italian nation. Mastai Ferretti, Bishop of Imola, now Pope Pius IX., the successor of Gregory XVI., who died June 1st, 1846, was in full sympathy with these views. To the Italians he was already known as a zealous

Austria Disappointed in the Papacy patriot, and his intentions were yet more definitely announced by the decree of amnesty issued July 17th,

1846, recalling 4,000 political exiles to the Church states. Conservative statesmen in general, and the Austrian Government in particular, had granted the Catholic Church high privileges within the state, and had looked to her for vigorous support in their suppression of all movement towards freedom. What more mortifying

situation for them than the state of war now subsisting between Austria and papal Italy! The Cabinet of Vienna was compelled to despatch reinforcements for service against the citizen guards which Pius IX. had called into existence in his towns, and therefore in Ferrara, which was in the occupation of Austrian troops.

When Christ's vicegerent upon earth took part in the revolt against the "legitimist"

power, no surprise need be felt at the action of that repentant sinner, Charles Albert of Sardinia. Formerly

involved with the Carbonari, he had grown sceptical upon the advantages of liberalism after the sad experiences of 1821. He now renounced that goodwill for Austria which he had hypocritically simulated since the beginning of his reign in 1831.

Turin had also become a centre of revolutionary intrigue. Opinion in that town pointed to Sardinia and its military strength as a better nucleus than the ruling papal government for a nation resolved to enter upon a war of liberation. Count Camillo Benso di Cavour, born August 10th, 1810, the editor of the journal "Il Risorgimento," strongly recommended the investment of Charles Albert and his army with the military guidance of the revolt. The Milan nobility were influenced by the court of Turin, as were the more youthful nationalists and the numerous secret societies



CHARLES ALBERT

Succeeding his father as King of Sardinia, he pursued a policy of moderation; but declaring war against Austria in 1848, in the following year he abdicated the throne.

which the July Revolution had brought into existence throughout Italy, by Giuseppe Mazzini, one of the most highly gifted and most dangerous leaders of the democratic party in Europe.

Austria was therefore obliged to make preparations for defending her Italian possessions by force of arms. The ad-

**Austria
Preparing
for War**

ministration as conducted by the amiable Archduke Rainer was without power or influence. On the other hand, Count

Radetzky had been at the head of the Austrian forces in the Lombard-Venetian kingdom since 1831. He was one of the first strategists of Europe, and no less distinguished for his powers of organisation; in short, he fully deserved the high confidence which the court and the whole army reposed in him. He was more than eighty years of age, for he had been born on November 4th, 1766, and had been present at the deliberations of the allies upon their movements in 1813; yet the time was drawing near when this aged general was to be the mainstay of the Austrian body politic, and the immutable corner-stone of that tottering structure.

A very appreciable danger menacing the progress of nations toward self-government had arisen within the Swiss Confederation, where the Jesuit Order had obtained much influence upon the government in several cantons. By the constitution of 1815 the federal members had acquired a considerable measure of independence, sufficient to permit the adoption of wholly discordant policies by the different governments. The Jesuits aimed at the revival of denominational institutions to be employed for far-reaching political objects, a movement which increased the difficulty of maintaining peace between the Catholic and the reformed congregations. Toleration in this matter was provided by the consti-

**The Jesuits
in the Swiss
Confederation**

tution, but its continuance naturally depended upon the abstention of either party from attempts at encroachment upon the territory of the other. In 1833 an unsuccessful attempt had been made to reform the principles of the federation and to introduce a uniform legal code and system of elementary education. The political movement then spread throughout the cantons, where the most manifold party subdivisions, ranging from conservative ultramontanists to

radical revolutionaries, were struggling for majorities and predominance. In Aargau a peasant revolt led by the monks against the liberal government was defeated, and the Church property was sold in 1841, while in Zürich the Conservatives were uppermost, and prevented the appointment of David Frederic Strauss to a professorship at the university.

In Lucerne the ultramontanists stretched their power to most inconsiderate extremes, calling in the Jesuits, who had established themselves in Freiburg, Schwyz, and Wallis, and placing the educational system in their care, October 24th, 1844. Two democratic assaults upon the government were unsuccessful, December 8th, 1844, and March 30th, 1845, but served to increase the excitement in the neighbouring cantons, where thousands of fugitives were nursing their hatred against the ultramontanes, who were led by the energetic peasant Peter Leu. The murder of Leu intensified the existing ill-feeling and ultimately led to the formation of a separate confederacy, composed of the cantons of Lucerne, Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, Zug, Freiburg,

**Switzerland's
Cantons
of Refuge**

and Wallis, the policy being under Jesuit control. This Catholic federation raised great hopes among conservative diplomatists. Could it be strengthened, it would probably become a permanent counterpoise to the liberal cantons, which had hitherto been a highly objectionable place of refuge to those peace-breakers who were hunted by the police of the Great Powers. At the Federal Assembly the liberal cantons were in the majority, and voted on July 20th, 1847, for the dissolution of the separate federation, and on September 3rd for the expulsion of the Jesuits from the area of the new federation.

At Metternich's proposal, the Great Powers demanded the appointment of a congress to deal with the situation. However, the diet, distrusting foreign interference, and with good reason, declined to accede to these demands, and proceeded to put the federal decision into execution against the disobedient cantons. Thanks to the careful forethought of the commander-in-chief, William Henry Dufour, the famous cartographer, who raised the federal military school at Thun to high distinction, and also to the rapidity with which the overwhelming numbers of the federal troops, 30,000 men, were mobilised, the "Sonderbund

THE COLLAPSE OF METTERNICH'S SYSTEM

war" was speedily brought to a close without bloodshed. Austrian help proved unavailing, and the cantons were eventually reduced to a state of impotence.

The new federal constitution of September 12th, 1848, then met with unanimous acceptance. The central power, which was considerably strengthened, now decided the foreign policy of the country, peace and war, and the conclusion of treaties, controlling also the coinage, and the postal and customs organisation, and maintaining the cantonal constitutions. The theories upon the nature of the Federal State propounded by the jurist professor, Dr. Johann Kaspar Bluntschli, were examined and adopted with advantageous results by the radical-liberal party, which possessed a majority in the constitutional diet.

Bluntschli had himself espoused the conservative-liberal cause after the war of the separate federation, which he had vainly tried to prevent. Forced to retire from the public life of his native town, he transferred his professional activities to Munich and Heidelberg. The developments of his political philosophy were not

**Metternich's
Lack
of Courage**

without their influence upon those fundamental principles which have given its special political character to the constitution of the North German Federation and of the modern German Empire. The Swiss Confederation provided a working example of the unification of special administrative forms, of special governmental rights, and of a legislature limited in respect of its sphere of action, in conjunction with a uniform system of conducting foreign policy. Only such a government can prefer an unchallenged claim to represent the state as a whole and to comprehend its different forces.

Metternich and the King of Prussia were neither of them courageous enough to support the exponents of their own principles in Switzerland. Prussia had a special inducement to such action in the fact of her sovereignty over the principality of Neuenburg, which had been occupied by the Liberals in connection with the movement against the separate federation, and had been received into the confederation as an independent canton. In the aristocracy and upper classes of the population Frederic William IV. had many faithful and devoted adherents, but he failed to seize so favourable an opportunity of defending his indisputable rights by occu-

pying his principality with a sufficient force of Prussian troops. His vacillation in the Neuenburg question was of a piece with the general uneasiness of his temper, which had begun with the rejection of his draft of a constitution for Prussia and the demands of the representatives of the estates for the institution of some form of constitution more honourable and in consonance with the rights of the people. But rarely have the preparations for imperial constitution been so thoroughly made or so protracted as they were in Prussia.

**Vacillating
King
of Prussia**

From the date of his accession the king had been occupied without cessation upon this question. The expert opinion of every adviser worth trusting was called in, and from 1844 commission meetings and negotiations continued uninterruptedly. The proposals submitted to the king emanated, in full accordance with conservative spirit, from the estates as constituted; they provided for the retention of such estates as were competent, and for the extension of their representation and sphere of action in conjunction with the citizen class; but this would not satisfy Frederic William.

The constitution drafted in 1842 by the Minister of the Interior, Count Arnim, was rejected by the king in consequence of the clauses providing for the legal and regular convocation of the constitutional estates. The king absolutely declined to recognise any rights appertaining to the subject as against the majesty of the ruler; he was therefore by no means inclined to make such rights a leading principle of the constitution. By the favour of the ruler, exerted by him in virtue of his divine right, the representatives of the original constitutional estates might from time to time receive a summons to tender their advice upon questions of public interest. As the people had every confidence in the wisdom and conscientiousness of their ruler,

**Frederic
William &
His People**

agreements providing for their co-operation were wholly superfluous. "No power on earth," he announced in his speech from the throne on April 11th, 1847, "would ever induce him to substitute a contractual form of constitution for those natural relations between king and people, which were strong, above all in Prussia, by reason of their inherent reality. Never under any circumstances would he allow a written

paper, a kind of second providence, governing by paragraphs and ousting the old sacred faith, to intervene between God and his country."

Such was the residuum of all the discussion upon the Christian state and the "hierarchical feudal monarchy of the Middle Ages," which had been the work of

The Prussian King a Victim of Delusion

the Swiss Lewis von Haller and his successors, the Berlin author Adam Müller, the Halle professor Hienrich Leo, and Frederic Julius Stahl, a Jew converted to Protestantism, whom Frederic William IV. had summoned from Erlangen to Berlin in 1840. By a wilful abuse of history the wild conceptions of these theorists were explained to be the proven facts of the feudal period and of feudal society. Constitutional systems were propounded as actual historical precedents which had never existed anywhere at any time.

The object of these efforts as declared by Stahl was the subjection of reason to revelation, the reintroduction of the Jewish theocracy into modern political life. Frederic William had allowed himself to be convinced that such was the Germanic theory of existence, and that he was forwarding the national movement by making his object the application of this theory to the government and administration of his state. He was a victim of the delusion that the source of national strength is to be found in the admiration of the intangible precedents of past ages, whereas the truth is that national strength must at every moment be employed to cope with fresh tasks, unknown to tradition and unprecedented. Notwithstanding the emphatic protest of the heir presumptive to the throne, Prince William of Prussia, to the Ministry, at the head of which was Ernest von Bodelschwingh, and though no single Minister gave an unqualified assent to the project, the king summoned the eight provincial Landtags to meet at Berlin

Meeting of the United Landtag

as a united Landtag for April 11th, 1847. Even before the opening of the assembly it became manifest that this constitutional concession, which the king considered a brilliant discovery, pleased nobody. The old Orders, which retained their previous rights, were as dissatisfied as the citizens outside the Orders, who wanted a share in the legislature and administration. The speech from the throne, a long-winded piece of conventional oratory, was marked

in part by a distinctly uncompromising tone. Instead of returning thanks for the concessions which had been made, the Landtag proceeded to draw up an address demanding the recognition of their rights.

The wording of the address was extremely moderate in tone, and so far mollified the king as to induce him to promise the convocation of another Landtag within the next four years; but further negotiations made it plain that both the representatives of the nobility and the city deputies, especially those from the industrial Rhine towns, were entirely convinced that the Landtag must persevere in demanding further constitutional concessions.

The value to the state of the citizen class was emphasised by Vincke of Westphalia, Beckerath of Krefeld, Camphausen of Cologne, and Hansemann of Aix-la-Chapelle. These were capitalists and employers of labour, and had therefore every right to speak. They were at the head of a majority which declined to assent to the formation of an annuity bank for relieving the peasants of forced labour, and to the proposal for a railway from Berlin to

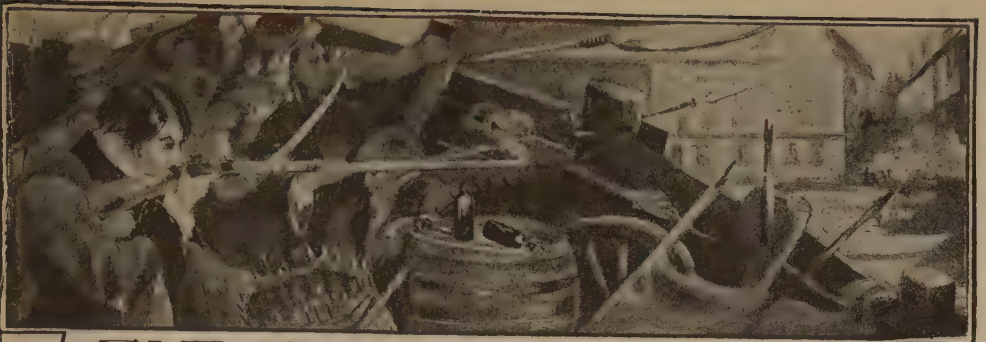
Dissension in the Landtag

Königsberg, the ground of refusal being that their assent was not recognised by the Crown Ministers as necessary for the ratification of the royal proposals, but was regarded merely as advice requested by the government on its own initiative.

The Landtag was then requested to proceed with the election of a committee to deal with the national debt. Such a committee would have been superfluous if financial authority had been vested in a Landtag meeting at regular intervals, and on this question the liberal majority split asunder. The party of Vincke-Hansemann declined to vote, the party of Camphausen-Beckerath voted under protest against this encroachment upon the rights of the Landtag, while the remainder, 284 timorous Liberals and Conservatives, voted unconditionally.

The conviction was thus forced upon Liberal Germany that the King of Prussia would not voluntarily concede any measure of constitutional reform, for the reason that he was resolved not to recognise the rights of the people. Prussia was not as yet capable of mastering that popular upheaval, the beginnings of which could be felt, and using its strength for the creation of a German Constitution to take the place of the incompetent and discredited Federation.

HANS VON ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST



EUROPE IN REVOLUTION

THE FALL OF LOUIS PHILIPPE

AND ITS EFFECTS THROUGHOUT EUROPE

THE monarchy of Louis Philippe of Orleans had become intolerable by reason of its dishonesty. The French cannot be blamed for considering the Orleans rulers as Bourbons in disguise. This scion of the old royal family was not a flourishing offshoot; rather was it an excrescence, with all the family failings and with none of its nobler qualities. Enthusiasm for such prudential, calculating, and unimpassioned rulers was impossible, whatever their education or their claims. Their bad taste and parsimony destroyed their credit as princes in France, and elsewhere their position was acknowledged rather out of politeness than from any sense of respect.

The "citizen-king" certainly made every effort to make his government popular and national. He showed both jealousy for French interests and gratitude to the Liberals who had placed him on the throne; he sent troops unsparingly to save the honour of France in Algiers. After seven years' warfare a completion was made of the conquest, which the French regarded as an extension of their power. The bold Bedouin sheikh, Abd el Kader, whose career has been described elsewhere, was forced to surrender to Lamoricière on December 22nd, 1847. Louis

**The Bedouin
Prisoner of
Louis Philippe**

Philippe imprisoned this noble son of the desert in France, although his son Henry, Duke of Aumâle, had promised, as Governor-general of Algiers, that he should have his choice of residence on Mohammedan territory. The king also despatched his son, the Duc de Joinville, to take part in the war against Morocco, and gave him a naval position of equal

importance to that which Aumâle held in the army. He swallowed the insults of Lord Palmerston in order to maintain the "entente cordiale" among the Western Powers. He calmly accepted the defeat of his diplomacy in the Turco-Egyptian

**Honour to
the dead
Napoleon**

quarrel, and surrendered such influence as he had acquired with Mehemet Ali in return for paramountcy in the Marquesas Islands and Tahiti. He married his son Anton, Duke of Montpensier, to the Infanta Louise of Spain, with some idea of reviving the dynastic connection between France and Spain.

While thus resuming the policy of Louis XIV., he was also at some pains to conciliate the Bonapartists, and by careful respect to the memory of Napoleon to give his government a national character. The remains of the great emperor were removed from St. Helena by permission of Britain and interred with great solemnity in the Church of the Invalides on December 15th, 1840. Louis Bonaparte, the nephew, had contrived to avoid capture by the Austrians at Ancona, and had proposed to seize his inheritance; twice he appeared within the French frontiers, at Strassburg on October 30th, 1836, and at Boulogne on August 6th, 1840, in readiness to ascend the throne of France.

He only succeeded in making himself ridiculous, and eventually paid for his temerity by imprisonment in the fortress of Ham. There he remained, condemned to occupy himself with writing articles upon the solution of the social question, the proposed Nicaraguan canal, etc., until his faithful follower, Dr. Conneau,

smuggled him into England under the name of Maurer Badinguet. Thus far the reign of Louis Philippe had been fairly successful; but the French were growing weary of it. They were not entirely without sympathy for the family to which they had given the throne, and showed some interest in the princes, who were usually to be found wherever any small success might be achieved. The public sorrow was unfeigned at the death of the eldest prince, Louis, Duke of Orleans, who was killed by a fall from a carriage on July



QUEEN OF THE FRENCH

The daughter of Ferdinand I., King of Naples and later of the Two Sicilies, Marie Amelie was married to Louis Philippe in the year 1809.

13th, 1842. These facts, however, did not produce any closer ties between the dynasty and the nation. Parliamentary life was restless and Ministries were constantly changing. Majorities in the Chambers were secured by artificial means, and by bribery in its most reprehensible forms. Conspiracies were discovered and suppressed, and plots for murder were made the occasion of the harshest measures against the Radicals; but no one of the great social groups could be induced to link its fortunes permanently with those of the House



THE ROYAL HOUSE OF ORLEANS: LOUIS PHILIPPE AND HIS FIVE SONS

In this picture, from the painting by Horace Vernet, Louis Philippe is shown with his sons, the Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Nemours, the Duke of Joinville, the Duke of Aumale, and the Duke of Montpensier, leaving the Palace of Versailles.

THE FALL OF LOUIS PHILIPPE

of Orleans. Unfortunately for himself, the king had reposed special confidence in the historian Guizot, the author of histories of the English revolution and of the French civilisation, who had occupied high offices in the state since the Restoration. He had belonged to the first Ministry of Louis Philippe, together with the Duc de Broglie; afterwards, he had several times held the post of Minister of Education, and had been in London during the quarrel with the British ambassador. After this affair, which brought him no credit, he returned to France, and on the fall of Thiers in October, 1840, became Minister of Foreign Affairs, with practical control of the foreign and domestic policy of France, subject to the king's personal intervention. His doctrinaire tendencies had gradually brought him over from the liberal to the conservative side and thrown him into violent opposition to his former colleagues, Thiers in particular. The acerbity of his character was not redeemed by his learning and his personal uprightness; his intellectual arrogance alienated the literary and political leaders of Parisian society. The Republican party had undergone many changes since the establishment of the July monarchy; it now exercised a greater power of attraction upon youthful talent, a quality which made it an even more dangerous force than did the revolts and conspiracies which it fostered from 1831 to 1838. These latter severely tested the capacity of the army for street warfare on several occasions. It was twice necessary to subdue Lyons, in November,

1831, and July, 1834, and the barricades erected in Paris in 1834 repelled the National Guards, and only fell before the regiments of the line under General Bugeaud. The Communist revolts in Paris under Armand Barbès and Louis Auguste Blanqui, in May, 1839, were more easily suppressed, though the Hôtel de Ville and the Palais de Justice had already fallen into the hands of the rebels.

These events confirmed Louis Philippe in his intention to erect a circle of fortifications round Paris, for protection against enemies from within rather than from without. Homicidal attempts were no longer perpetrated by individual desperadoes or bloodthirsty monomaniacs, such as the Corsican Joseph Fieschi, on July 28th, 1835, whose infernal machine killed eighteen people, including Marshal Mortier. They were undertaken in the service of republican propaganda, and were repeated with the object of terrorising the ruling classes, and so providing an occasion for the abolition of the monarchy. The doctrines of communism were then being



LOUIS PHILIPPE, KING OF THE FRENCH

disseminated throughout France and attracted the more interest as stock-exchange speculation increased; fortunes were made with incredible rapidity, and expenditure rose to the point of prodigality. Louis Blanc, nephew of the Corsican statesman Pozzo di Borgo, went a step further towards the transformation of social and economic life in his treatise "L'Organisation du Travail," which urged that collectivist manufactures in national factories should be substituted for the

efforts of the individual employer. The rise of communistic societies among the Republicans obliged the old-fashioned Democrats to organise in their turn; they attempted and easily secured an understanding with the advanced Liberals.

The "dynastic opposition," led by Odilon Barrot, to which Thiers occasionally gave a helping hand when he was out of office, strained every nerve to shake the public faith in the permanence of the July dynasty. The republican party in the

Second Chamber

was led by Alexandre Rollin

after the death of Etienne Garnier-Pagès and of Armand Carrel,

the leaders during the first decade of the

Orleans monarchy. A distinguished lawyer

and brilliant orator, Rollin soon over-

shadowed all other politicians who had aroused

any enthusiasm in the Parisians. His comparative

wealth enabled him to embark in journalistic

ventures; his paper "La Réforme" pointed

consistently and unhesitatingly to republicanism as

the only possible form of government

after the now imminent downfall of the

July monarchy. The action of the majority now destroyed such credit as the Chamber had possessed; they rejected proposals from the opposition forbidding deputies to accept posts or preferment from the Government, or to have an interest in manufacturing or commercial companies, the object being to put a stop to the undisguised corruption then rife. Constitutional members united with Republicans in demanding a fundamental reform of the

electoral system. Louis Blanc and Rollin raised the cry for universal suffrage. Banquets, where vigorous speeches were made in favour of electoral reform, were arranged in the autumn of 1847, and continued until the Government prohibited the banquet organised for February 22nd, 1848, in the Champs Elysées. However, Ch. M. Tannegui, Count Duchâtel, was induced to refrain from ordering the forcible dispersion of the meeting, the liberal opposition on their side giving up

the projected

banquet. A great crowd collected

on the appointed day in the Place Madeleine,

whence it had been arranged that a procession

should march to the Champs Elysées. The republican leaders

invited the crowd to march to the Houses of Parliament, and it

became necessary to call out

a regiment of cavalry for the dispersion of the rioters. This task

was successfully accomplished, but on the 23rd

the disturbances were renewed. Students and

workmen paraded the streets arm in arm,

shouting not only "Reform!" but

also "Down with Guizot!" These

cries were taken up by the National Guard, and the king, who had hitherto disregarded the movement, began to consider the outlook as serious; he dismissed Guizot and began to confer with Count Louis Matthieu Molé, a leader of the moderate Liberals, on the formation of a new Ministry. Thus far the anti-dynastic party had been successful, and now began to hope for an upright government on a purely constitutional basis. In this they would



THE DUKES OF ORLEANS AND AUMÂLE

The sons of Louis Philippe, they held commands in the army, and, like their brothers, "were usually to be found wherever any small success might be achieved." There was much public sorrow when the Duke of Orleans was killed by a fall from a carriage in 1842.



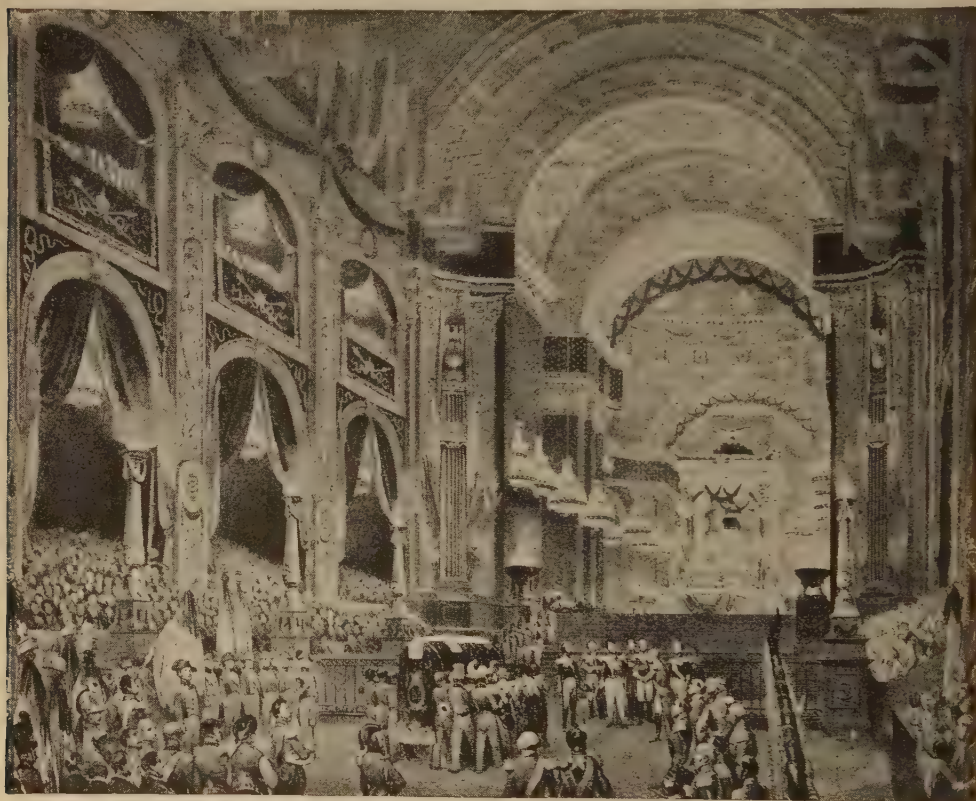
FRANCE HONOURING THE DEAD EMPEROR NAPOLEON'S REMAINS BEING BROUGHT BACK TO PARIS FOR BURIAL

Nineteen years after the death of Napoleon on the lonely isle of St. Helena, his remains, on December 15th, 1840, were brought back to Paris that they might finally repose "on the banks of the Seine, amidst the people whom he had loved so well." Reaching Courbevoie, by way of the Seine, the coffin was placed on a gigantic funeral car, and attended by an imposing military escort, passed by way of the Place de la Concorde and the bridge of that name to the Church of the Invalides amidst a crowd of six hundred thousand spectators.

have been entirely deceived, for uprightness was not one of the king's attributes. But on this point he was not to be tested.

On the evening of February 23rd the crowds which thronged the boulevards gave loud expression to their delight at the dismissal of Guizot. Meanwhile, the republican agents were busily collecting the inhabitants of the suburbs, who had been long prepared for a rising, and sending them forward to the more excited quarters of the city. They would not, in

of those incidents which are always possible when troops are subjected to the threats and taunts of the people, and in such a case attempts to apportion the blame are futile. The thing was done, and Paris rang with cries of "Murder! To arms!" About midnight the alarm bells of Nôtre Dame began to ring, and thousands flocked to raise the barricades. The morning of February 24th found Paris in revolution, ready to begin the struggle against the people's king. "Louis Philippe orders his



THE RECEPTION OF NAPOLEON'S BODY AT THE CHURCH OF THE INVALIDES

At the Church of the Invalides the body of Napoleon was received by Louis Philippe, the royal family, the archbishop and all the clergy of Paris. The sword and the hat of the emperor were laid on the coffin, which was then placed on a magnificent altar in the centre of the church, and after an impressive funeral service was lowered into the tomb.

all probability, have been able to transform the good-tempered and characteristic cheerfulness which now filled the streets of Paris to a more serious temper had not an unexpected occurrence filled the mob with horror and rage. A crowd of people had come in contact with the soldiers stationed before Guizot's house. Certain insolent youths proceeded to taunt the officer in command; a shot rang out, a volley followed, and numbers of the mockers lay weltering in their blood. It was but one

troops to fire on the people, like Charles X. Send him after his predecessor!" This proposal of the "Réforme" became the republican solution of the question.

The monarchy was now irrevocably lost; the man who should have saved it was asking help from the Liberals, who were as powerless as himself. A would-be ruler must know how to use his power, and must believe that his will is force in itself. When, at his wife's desire, the king appeared on horseback before his



THE TOMB OF NAPOLEON AT THE HOTEL DES INVALIDES IN PARIS

The magnificent tomb erected to Napoleon at the Hôtel des Invalides is a fitting memorial of the man who made Europe tremble and whose genius raised him to the pinnacle of power. A circular crypt, surrounded by twelve colossal figures symbolising his victories, contains the sarcophagus, which was hewn out of a single block of Siberian porphyry.



THE FLIGHT OF LOUIS PHILIPPE FROM PARIS IN 1848

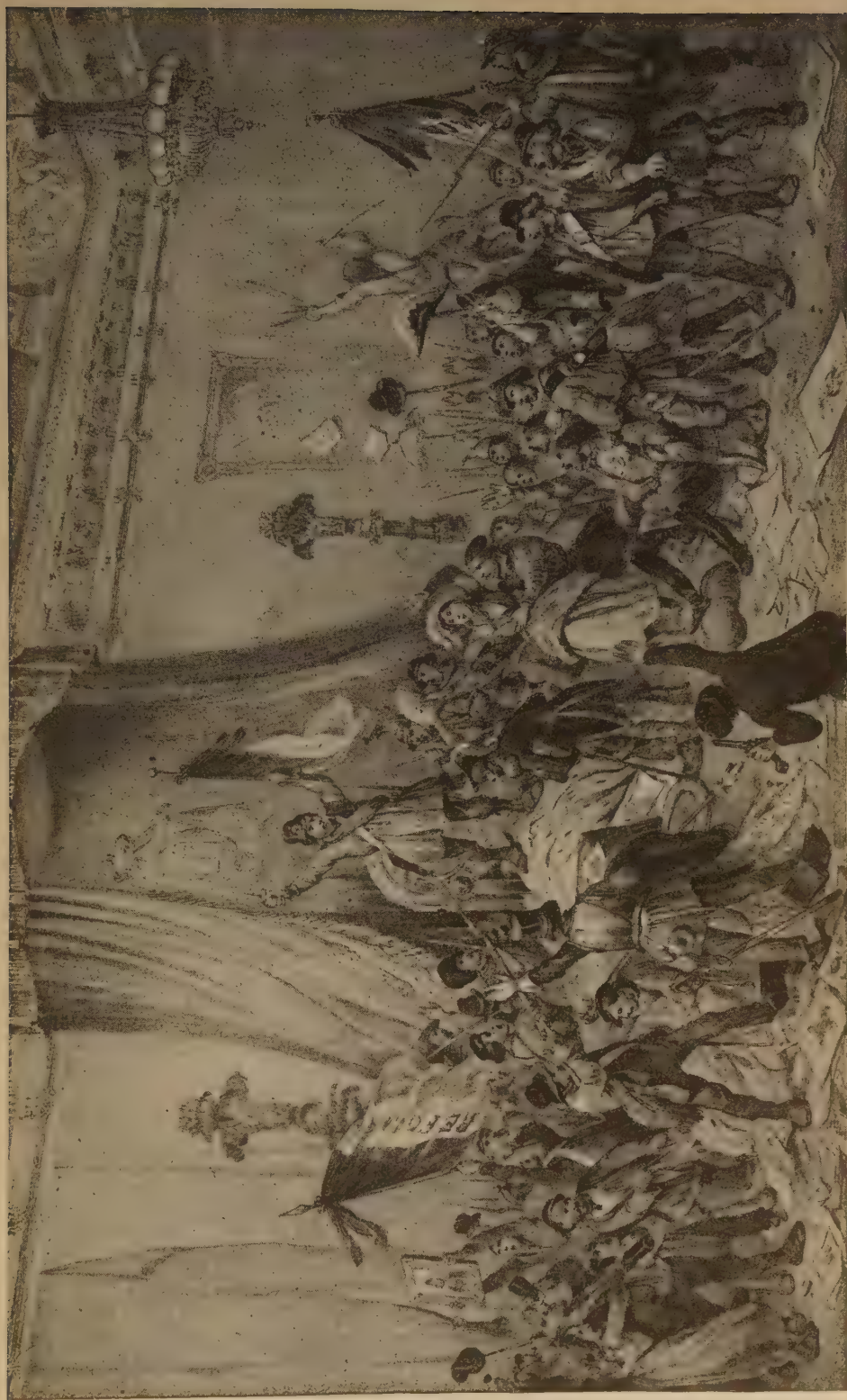
Events in Paris had again been leading up to a revolution, and on February 24th, 1848, the capital of France was once more the scene of a people's rising against the monarchy. Alarmed at the course of affairs, the king abdicated in favour of his grandson, the Count of Paris, and went off to St. Cloud with the queen, afterwards escaping to England.

regiments and the National Guard, he knew within himself that he was not capable of rousing the enthusiasm of his troops. Civilian clothes and an umbrella would have suited him better than sword and epaulettes. Louis Philippe thus abdicated in favour of his grandson, the Count of Paris, whom he left to the care of Charles, Duke of Nemours, took a portfolio of such papers as were valuable, and went away to St. Cloud with his wife. The bold daughter of Mecklenburg, Henriette of Orleans, brought her son, Louis Philippe, who was now the rightful king, into the Chamber of Deputies, where Odilon Barrot, in true knightly fashion, broke a lance on behalf of the king's rights and of constitutionalism. But the victors in the street fighting had made their way into the hall, their comrades were at that moment invading the Tuileries, and Legitimists and Democrats joined in deposing the House of Orleans and demanding the appointment of a provisional government. The question was dealt with by the "Christian moralist," poet, and diplomatist,



GUIZOT THE HISTORIAN
Eminent as an historian, Guizot became chief adviser to Louis Philippe on the dismissal of Thiers, and his reactionary policy did much to bring about the revolution of 1848.

Alphonse de Lamartine, whose "History of the Girondists" in eight volumes with its glorification of political murder had largely contributed to advance the revolutionary spirit in France. Though the electoral tickets had fallen into the greatest confusion, he contrived to produce a list of names which were backed by a strong body of supporters; these included Louis Garnier-Pagès, half-brother of the deceased Etienne, Ledru-Rollin, the astronomer Dominique François Arago, the Jewish lawyer Isak Crémieux, who was largely responsible for the abdication of Louis Philippe, and Lamartine himself. The list was approved. The body thus elected effected a timely junction with the party of Louis Blanc, who was given a place in the government with four republican consultative members. They then took possession of the Hôtel de Ville, filled up the official posts, and with the concurrence of the people declared France a republic on February 25th. The dethroned king and the members of his house were able, if not unmenaced, at any rate without danger,



THE PARIS REVOLUTION OF 1848: THE MOB IN THE THRONE ROOM OF THE TUILERIES

The above picture represents the scene of disorder and brutality which ensued in the Throne Room of the Tuileries after the flight of the king during the Revolution of 1848.

to reach the coasts of England and safety, or to cross the German frontier. The new government failed to satisfy the Socialists, who were determined, after definitely establishing the "right of labour," to insist upon the right of the wage they desired. The installation of state factories and navvy labour at two francs

Demands of the Socialists

a day was not enough for them; they formed hundreds of clubs under the direction of a central bureau, with the object of replacing the government for the time being by a committee of public safety, which should proceed to a general redistribution of property. Ledru-Rollin was not inclined to accept the offer of the presidency of such an extraordinary body; he and Lamartine, with the help of General Changarnier and the National Guards, entirely outmanœuvred the hordes which had made a premature attempt to storm the town hall, and forced them to surrender.

Peace was thus assured to Paris for the moment. The emissaries of the revolutionaries could not gain a hearing, and it was possible to go on with the elections, which were conducted on the principle of universal suffrage. Every 40,000 inhabitants elected a deputy; every department formed a uniform electorate. Lamartine, one of the 900 chosen, obtained 2,300,000 votes in ten departments. The Assembly was opened on May 4th.

To the organised enemies of monarchy the February Revolution was a call to undisguised activity; to the world at large it was a token that the times of peace were over, and that the long-expected movement would now inevitably break out. It is not always an easy matter to decide whether these several events originated in the inflammatory labours of revolutionaries designedly working in secret, or in some sudden outburst of feeling, some stimulus to action hitherto unknown. No less difficult is the task of

Active Enemies of Monarchy

deciding how far the conspirators were able personally to influence others of radical tendencies but outside their own organisations. These organisations were most important to France, Italy, Germany, and Poland. The central bureaux were in Paris and Switzerland, and the noble Giuseppe Mazzini, indisputably one of the purest and most devoted of Italian patriots, held most of the strings of this somewhat clumsy network. His journals "La

Giovine Europa" and "La Jeune Suisse" were as short-lived as the "Giovine Italia," published at Marseilles in 1831; but they incessantly urged the duty of union upon all those friends of humanity who were willing to share in the task of liberating peoples from the tyranny of monarchs.

From 1834 a special "union of exiles" had existed at Paris, which declared "the deposition and expulsion of monarchs an inevitable necessity," and looked for a revolution to break out in France or Germany, or a war between France and Germany or Russia, in the hope of assisting France in the attack upon the German rulers. Its organisation was as extraordinary as it was secret; there were "mountains," "national huts," "focal points," "circles," wherein preparation was to be made for the transformation of Germany in the interests of humanity.

The "righteous" had diverged from the "outlaws," and from 1840 were reunited with the "German union," which aimed at "the formation of a free state embracing the whole of Germany." The persecutions and continual "investigations" which the German Federation had carried on

Persecutions of the German Federation

since the riots at Frankfort had impeded, though not entirely broken off, communications between the central officials in Paris and their associates residing in Germany. From Switzerland came a continual stream of craftsmen, teachers, and authors, who were sworn in by the united Republicans. Karl Mathy, afterwards Minister of State for Baden, who had been Mazzini's colleague in Solothurn, was one of their members in 1840, when he was called to Carlsruhe to take up the post of editor of the "Landtagszeitung."

The deliberations of the united Landtag at Berlin had attracted the attention of the South German Liberals to the highly talented politicians in Prussia, on whose help they could rely in the event of a rearrangement of the relative positions of the German states. The idea of some common movement towards this end was mooted at a gathering of politicians at Heppenheim on October 16th, 1847, and it was determined to lay proposals for some change in the federal constitution before the assemblies of the individual states.

In the grand duchy of Baden the Democrats went even further at a meeting held at Offenburg on September 12th. Proceedings were conducted by a certain

THE FALL OF LOUIS PHILIPPE

lawyer of Mannheim, one Gustav von Struve, an overbearing individual of a Livonian family, and by Friedrich Hecker, an empty-headed prater, also an attorney, who had already displayed his incapacity for political action in the Baden Landtag.

To justifiable demands for the repeal of the decrees of Carlsbad, for national representation within the German Federation, for freedom of the Press, religious toleration, and full liberty to teachers, they added immature proposals, as to the practicable working of which no one had the smallest conception. They looked not only for a national system of defence and

members of the state. The king and poet, Ludwig I., had conceived a blind infatuation for the dancer Lola Montez, an Irish adventuress—Rosanna Gilbert—who masqueraded under a Spanish name.

This fact led to the downfall of the Ministry, which was clerical without exception; further consequences were street riots, unjustifiable measures against the students who declined to show respect to the dancing-woman, and finally bloody conflicts. It was not until the troops displayed entire indifference to the tyrannical orders which had been issued that the king yielded to the entreaties of the



EPISODE IN THE PARIS REVOLUTION: BURNING THE THRONE AT THE JULY COLUMN

fair taxation, but also for "the removal of the inequalities existing between capital and labour and the abolition of all privileges." Radicalism thus plumed itself upon its own veracity, and pointed out the path which the masses who listened to its allurements would take—a result of radical incapacity to distinguish between the practicable and the unattainable.

Immediately before the events of February in Paris were made known, the kingdom of Bavaria, and its capital in particular, were in a state of revolt and open war between the authorities and the

citizens, on February 11th, 1848, and removed from Munich this impossible beauty, who had been made a countess.

The first of those surprising phenomena in Germany which sprang from the impression created by the February Revolution was the session of the Federal Assembly on March 1st, 1848. Earlier occurrences in the immediate neighbourhood of Frankfurt no doubt materially influenced the course of events. In Baden, before his fate had fallen upon the July king, Karl Mathy had addressed the nation from the Chamber on February 23rd: "For thirty

years the Germans have tried moderation and in vain; they must now see whether violence will enable them to advance, and such violence is not to be limited to the states meeting-hall!" At a meeting of citizens at Mannheim on the 27th, an address was carried by Struve which thus formulated the most pressing questions: Universal military service with power to elect the officers, unrestrained freedom of the Press, trial by jury after the English model, and the immediate constitution of a German Parliament.

In Hesse-Darmstadt, a popular deputy in the Landtag, one Gagern, the second son of the former statesman of Nassau and the Netherlands, demanded that the Government should not only call a Parliament, but also create a central governing power for Germany. The request was inspired by the fear of an approaching war with France, which was then considered inevitable. It was fear of this war which suddenly convinced the high Federal Council at Frankfort-on-Main that the people were indispensable to their existence. On March 1st they issued "a federal decree to the German people," whose existence they had disregarded for three centuries, emphasising the need for unity between all the German races, and asserting their conviction that Germany must be raised to her due position among the nations of Europe.

On March 1st Herr von Struve led a gang of low-class followers in the pay of the Republicans, together with the deputies of the Baden towns, into the federal Chamber. Ejected thence, he turned upon the castle in Carlsruhe, his aim being to foment disturbances and bloody conflict, and so to intimidate the moderately minded majority. His plan was foiled by the firm attitude of the troops. But the abandonment of the project was not to be expected, and it was clear that the

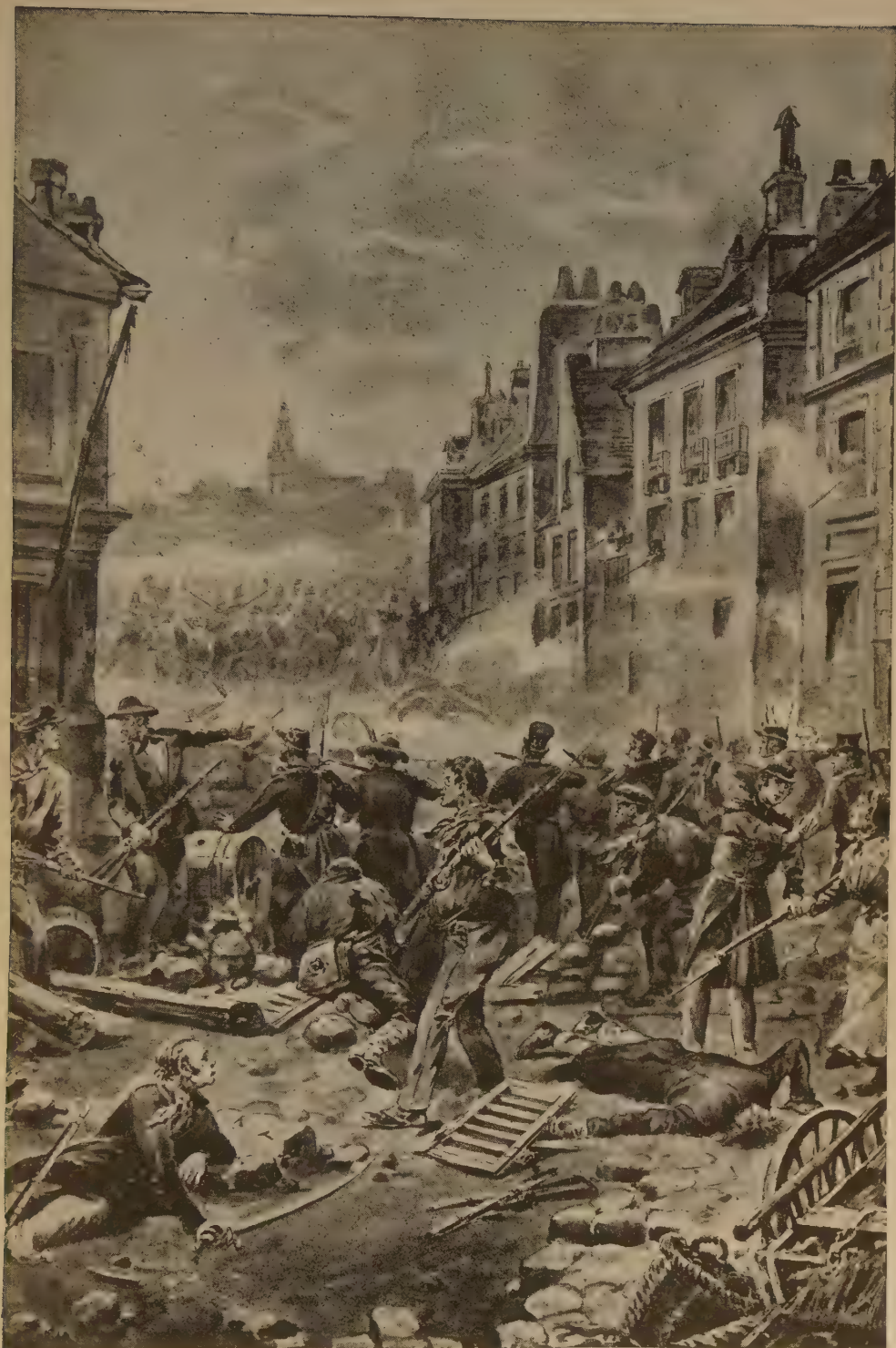
Radicalism the Check to Nationalism nationalist movement in Germany would meet with its most dangerous check in Radicalism. Telegrams from Paris and West Germany reached Munich, when the newly restored peace was again broken. The new Minister, State Councillor von Berks, was denounced as a tool of Lola Montez, and his dismissal was enforced. On March 6th, King Ludwig, in his usual poetical style, declared his readiness to satisfy the popular demands. However,

fresh disturbance was excited by the rumour that Lola Montez was anxious to return. Ludwig, who declined to be forced into the concession of any constitution upon liberal principles, lost heart and abdicated in favour of his son Maximilian II. He saw clearly that he could no longer resist the strength of the movement for the recognition of the people's rights. The political storm would unchain the potent forces of stupidity and folly which the interference of short-sighted majorities had created. When Ludwig retired into private life, Metternich had already fallen.

The first act of the Viennese, horrified at the victory of the Republicans in Paris, was to provide for the safety of their money-bags. The general mistrust of the Government was shown in the haste with which accounts were withdrawn from the public savings banks. It was not, however, the Austrians who pointed the moral to the authorities. On March 3rd, in the Hungarian Reichstag, Kossuth proposed that the emperor should be requested to introduce constitutional government into his provinces, and to grant Hungary the national self-government

Riots in the Streets of Vienna which was hers by right. In Vienna similar demands were advanced by the industrial unions, the legal and political reading clubs, and the students. It was hoped that a bold attitude would be taken by the provincial Landtag, which met on March 13th. When the anxious crowds promenading the streets learned that the representatives proposed to confine themselves to a demand for the formation of a committee of deputies from all the Crown provinces, they invaded the council chamber and forced the meeting to consent to the despatch of a deputation to lay the national desire for a free constitution before the emperor.

While the deputation was proceeding to the Hofburg the soldiers posted before the council chamber, including the Archduke Albert, eldest son of the Archduke Charles, who died in 1847, were insulted and pelted with stones. They replied with a volley. It was the loss of life thereby caused which made the movement a serious reality. The citizens of Vienna, startled out of their complacency, vied with the mob in the loudness of their cries against this "firing on defenceless men." Their behaviour was explained to Count Metternich in the Hofburg, not as an



FIGHTING IN THE STREETS OF PARIS DURING THE REVOLUTION OF FEBRUARY, 1848
From the drawing by Wegner

ordinary riot capable of suppression by a handful of police, but as a revolution with which he had now to deal. Nowhere would such a task have been easier than in Vienna had there been any corporation or individual capable of immediate action, and able to make some short and definite promise of change in the government system. There was, however, no nucleus round which a new government could be formed, Prince Metternich being wholly impracticable for such a purpose.

All the state councillors, the court dignitaries, and generally those whom chance or curiosity rather than definite purpose had gathered in the corridors and ante-chambers of the imperial castle, were unanimous in the opinion that the Chancellor of State must be sacrificed. This empty figure-head stood isolated amid the surrounding turmoil, unable to help himself or his perplexed advisers; he emitted a few sentences upon the last sacrifice that he could make for the monarchy and disappeared. He left no one to take up his power; no one able to represent him, able calmly and confidently to examine and decide upon the demands transmitted from the street to the council chamber. The Emperor Ferdinand was himself wholly incapable of grasping the real meaning of the events which had taken place in his immediate neighbourhood. The Archduke Ludwig, one of Metternich's now useless tools, was utterly perplexed by the conflict of voices and opinions.

In his fear of the excesses that the "Reds" might be expected to perpetrate, he lost sight of the means which might have been used to pacify the moderate party and induce them to maintain law and order. The authorisation for the arming of the students and citizens was extorted from him perforce, and he would hear nothing of concessions to be made by the dynasty to the people. Neither he nor Count Kolowrat Liebskinsky ventured

to draw up any programme for the introduction of constitutional principles. Even on March 14th they demurred to the word "constitution," and thought it possible to effect some compromise with the provincial deputations. Finally, on March 15th, the news of fresh scenes



LUDWIG I. OF BAVARIA

Ascending the throne in 1825, he pursued a policy of reaction, which led to public discontent, and in the year 1848 abdicated in favour of his son, Maximilian II.

induced the privy councillor of the royal family to issue the following declaration: "Provision has been made for summoning the deputies of all provincial estates in the shortest possible period, for the purpose of considering the constitution of the country, with increased representation of the citizen class and with due regard to the existing constitutions of the several estates." The responsible Ministry of Kolowrat-Ficquelmont, formed on March 18th, included among Metternich's worn-out tools one man only possessed of the knowledge requisite for the drafting of a constitution in detail; this was the Minister of the Interior, Pillersdorf, who was as weak and feeble in character as in bodily health.

In Hungary the destructive process was far more comprehensive and imposing. On March 14th Louis Kossuth in the Reichstag at Pressburg secured the announcement of the freedom of the Press, and called for a system of national defence for Hungary, to be based upon the general duty of military service. Meanwhile, his adherents, consisting of students, authors, and "jurats"—idle lawyers—seized the reins of government in Ofenpest, and replaced the town council by a committee of public safety, composed of radical members by preference. On the 15th the State Assembly of the Reichstag was transformed into a National Assembly.

Henceforward its conclusions were to be communicated to the magnates, whose consent was to be unnecessary.

On the same day a deputation of the Hungarian Reichstag, accompanied by jurats, arrived at Vienna, where Magyars



THE KING'S FAVOURITE

With this Irish adventuress, who masqueraded under the name of Lola Montez, Ludwig I. became infatuated, but was compelled to remove her from Munich.

THE FALL OF LOUIS PHILIPPE

and Germans swore to the fellowship with all pomp and enthusiasm. The deputation secured the concession of an independent and responsible Ministry for Hungary.

This was installed on March 23rd by the Archduke Palatine Stephen, and united the popular representatives among Hungarian politicians, such as Batthyány and Széchenyi, with Prince Paul Eszterházy, Josef von Eötvös, Franz von Deák, and Louis Kossuth. After a few days' deliberation the Reichstag practically abolished the old constitution. The rights of the lords were abrogated, and equality of political rights given to citizens of towns; the right of electing to the Reichstag was conceded to "the adherents of legally recognised religions"; laws were passed regulating the Press and the National Guards. The country was almost in a state of anarchy, as the old provincial administrations and local authorities had been abolished and replaced by committees of public safety, according to the precedent set at Pest. The example of Austria influenced the course of events throughout Germany; there the desire for a free constitution grew hotter, and especially so in Berlin.

The taxation committees were assembled in that town when the results of the February Revolution became known. The king dismissed them on March 7th, declaring himself inclined to summon the united Landtag at regular intervals. The declaration failed to give satisfaction. On the same day a popular meeting had resolved to request the king forthwith to convoke the Assembly. In the quiet town public life became more than usually lively. The working classes were excited by the agitators sent down to them; in inns and cafés newspapers were read aloud and speeches made. The king was expecting an outbreak of war with France. He sent his confidential military adviser, Radowitz, at full speed to Vienna to arrange measures of defence with Metternich. He proposed temporarily to entrust the command of the Prussian troops upon the Rhine to the somewhat unpopular Prince William of Prussia. However, he was warned that

the excitement prevailing among the population of the Rhine province would only be increased by the appearance of the prince. Despatches from Vienna further announced the fall of Metternich. The king now resolved to summon the united Landtag to Berlin on April 17th;

Mobs at the Royal Palace in Berlin

he considered, no doubt, that Prussia could very well exercise her patience for a month. On March 15th the first of many riotous crowds assembled before the royal castle, much excited by the news from Vienna. Deputations constantly arrived from the provinces to give expression to the desire of the population for some constitutional definition of their rights. The king went a step further and altered the date of the meeting of the Landtag to April 2nd;

but in the patent of March 18th he explained his action by reference only to his duties as federal ruler, and to his intention of proposing a federal reform, to include "temporary federal representation of all German countries." He even recognised that "such federal representation implies a form of constitution applicable to all German countries," but made no definite promise as to any form of constitution for Prussia. Nevertheless, in the afternoon he was cheered by the crowd before the castle. But the leaders of

the mob, who desired a rising to secure their own criminal objects, turned gratitude into uproar and bloodshed. The troops concentrated in the castle under General von Prittwitz were busy until midnight clearing the streets.

The authorities had 12,000 men at their disposal, and could easily have stormed the barricades next morning; but the king's military advisers were unable to agree upon their action, and his anxiety and nervousness were increased by the invited and uninvited citizens who made their way into the castle. He therefore ordered the troops to cease firing, and the next day, after receiving a deputation of citizens, commanded the troops to concentrate upon the castle, and finally to retire to barracks. The arguments of such Liberals as Vincke, and of the Berlin town



MAXIMILIAN II.—BAVARIA
He ascended the throne on his father's abdication in 1848. A noble-minded man, he made an excellent king, ruling his people on the ideal grounds of "Christian philosophy."

Germany Preparing for War

Germany made. The king was expecting an outbreak of war with France. He sent his confidential military adviser, Radowitz, at full speed to Vienna to arrange measures of defence with Metternich. He proposed temporarily to entrust the command of the Prussian troops upon the Rhine to the somewhat unpopular Prince William of Prussia. However, he was warned that

councillors, induced the king to this ill-advised step, the full importance of which he failed to recognise. It implied the retreat of the monarchical power before a riotous mob inspired only by blind antipathy to law and order, who, far from thanking the king for sparing their guilt, proclaimed the

The German States' Distrust of the King

retreat of the troops as a victory for themselves, and continued to heap scorn and insult upon king and troops alike. A new Ministry was formed on March 19th, the leadership being taken by Arnim. On the 29th his place was taken by Ludolf Camphausen, president of the Cologne Chamber of Commerce, who was joined by Hanseman and the leaders of the liberal nobility, Alfred von Auerswald, Count Maximilian of Schwerin, and Heinrich Alexander of Arnim.

The Ministry would have had no difficulty in forming a constitution for the state had not the king reduced the monarchy to helplessness by his display of ineptitude. That honest enthusiasm for the national cause which had led him on March 21st to escort the banner of black, red, and gold on horseback through the streets of Berlin, far from winning the popular favour for him, was scorned and flouted by the Republicans. The energy displayed in summoning the Parliament was too rapid a change, made the German states distrustful, and exposed him to degrading refusals, which embittered his mind and lowered his dignity in the eyes of his own people.

The united Landtag met on April 2nd, 1848, and determined upon the convocation of a National Assembly, for the purpose of forming a constitution upon the basis of universal suffrage. To this the Government agreed, at the same time insisting that the Prussian constitution was a matter for arrangement between themselves and the Assembly. During the elections, which took place simultaneously with those to the German Parliament, the democrats uttered their war-cry, to the effect that the resolutions of the Prussian National Assembly required no ratification. Thus the popular claim to a share in the administration disappeared, and was

overshadowed by the struggle for supremacy waged by the masses under the guidance of ambitious agitators.

On March 5th, 1848, fifty-one of the better known German politicians met at Heidelberg upon their own initiative by invitation; their object was to discuss what common action they should take to guide a general national movement in Germany. Most of them belonged to the Rhine states; but Prussia, Würtemberg, and Bavaria were represented, and an Austrian writer who happened to be on the spot joined the meeting in order to place it in relation with Austria. The twenty representatives from Baden included the radical democrat Hecker, who even then spoke of the introduction of a republican constitution as a wish of the German people. He, however, was obliged to

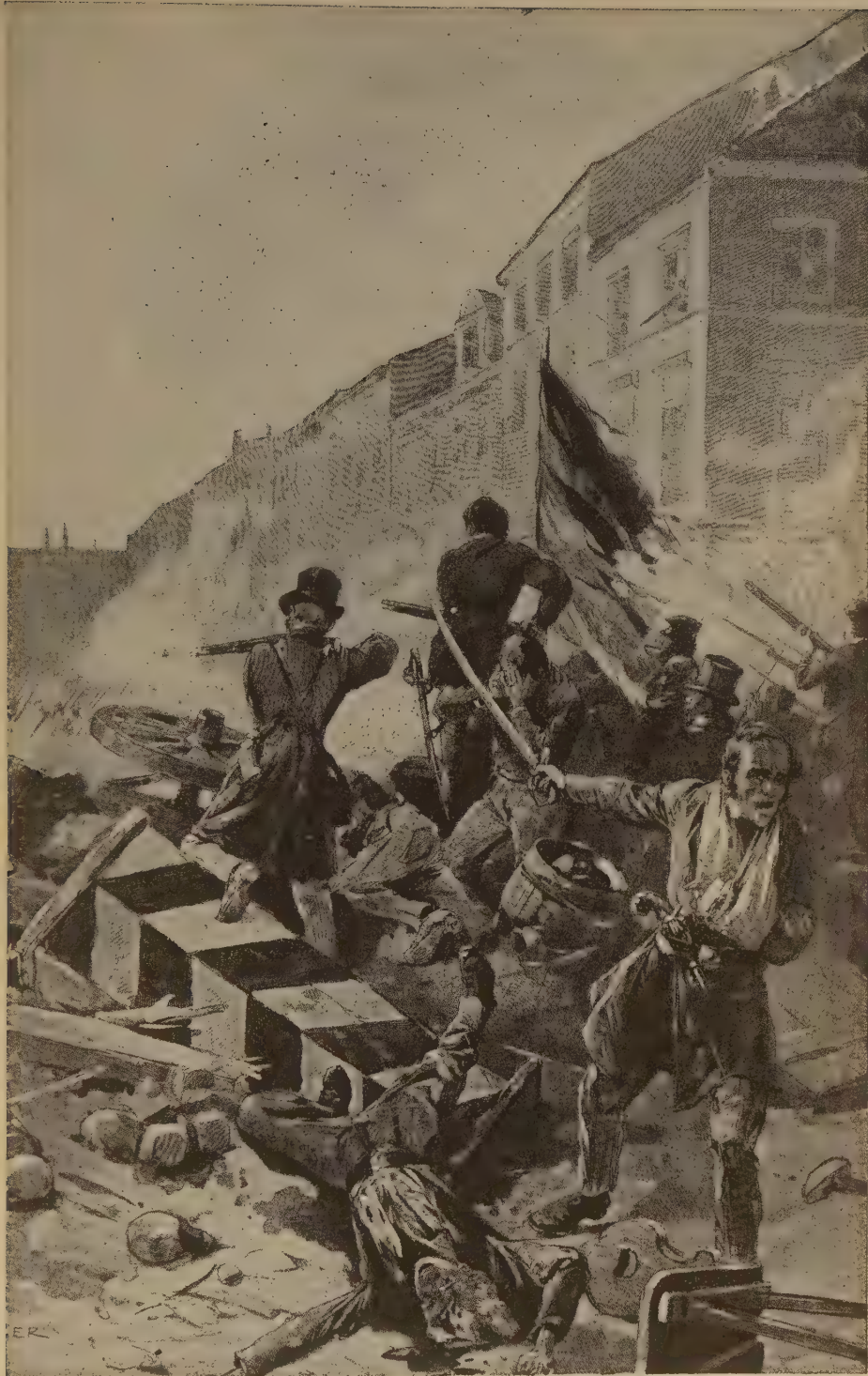


FRIEDRICH DAHLMANN

This distinguished German historian was appointed Professor of History at Bonn in 1842, and was at the head of the constitutional Liberals in the movement of 1848.

support the resolution of the majority, to the effect that the German nation must first have the opportunity of making its voice heard, for which purpose preparation must be made for the convocation of a German National Assembly. All were agreed upon the futility of waiting for the Federal Council to take action; they must bring their influence to bear upon the council and the German government by their own energy, by the use of accomplished facts, and by specific demands. A committee of seven members was appointed to invite a conference on March 30th, at Frankfort-on-Main, "of all past or present members of provincial councils and members of legislative assemblies in all German countries," together with other public men of special influence. This "preliminary conference" was then to arrive at some resolutions for the election of the German National Assembly. Both the Federal Assembly and the majority of the German governments viewed these proceedings with favourable eyes; they saw that the nation was at the highest pitch of excitement, and would be prevented from rushing into violence by occupation in political matters. The results of the Parisian revolution led them to think the overthrow of every existing form of government perfectly possible.

The Saving Force of Politics



FIGHTING AT THE BARRICADES IN BERLIN ON MARCH 18TH, 1848

From the drawing by C. Becker

The only remaining course was to treat with the Liberals and enlist their support for the existing states and dynasties by the concession of constitutional rights. Only in Hanover and in the electorate of Hesse were there difficulties at the outset. However, the fall of Metternich shattered even the pride of Ernest Augustus and of the Elector Frederic William.

**Liberal
Movements in
Saxony**

Baden sent the Freiburg professor Karl Welcker to Frankfort. On March 7th he proposed on behalf of his Government the convocation of a German Parliament to discuss and carry out the reform of the federal constitution in conjunction with the representatives of the Government. In Hesse-Darmstadt, Gagern made a similar proposal in the Chamber. The King of Württemberg called one of the members of the Heidelberg conference, Friedrich Romer, to the head of a new Ministry, to which Paul Pfizer also belonged.

In Saxony, Frederic Augustus, after unnecessarily alarming the inhabitants of Leipzig by the concentration of troops, was obliged to give way, to dissolve the Ministry of Könneritz, and to entrust the conduct of government business to the leader of the Progressive Party in the Second Chamber, Alexander Braun. Of the Liberals in Saxony, the largest following was that of Robert Blum, formerly theatre secretary, bookseller, and town councillor of Leipzig. He was one of those trusted public characters who were summoned to the preliminary conference, and directed the attention of his associates to the national tasks immediately confronting the German people. In the patent convoking the united Landtag for March 18th, even the King of Prussia had declared the formation of a "temporary federal representation of the states of all German countries" to be a pressing necessity; hence from that quarter no opposition to the national undertaking of the Heidelberg meeting was to be expected. Five hundred representatives from all parts of Germany met at Frankfort-on-Main for the conference in the last days of March; they were received with every manifestation of delight and respect. The first general session was held in the Church of St. Paul, under the presidency of the Heidelberg jurist, Anton Mittermayer, a Bavarian by birth; the conference was then invited to come to a decision upon one

**Conference
of the
German States**

of the most important questions of German politics. The committee of seven had drawn up a programme dealing with the mode of election to the German National Assembly, and formulating a number of fundamental principles for adoption in the forthcoming federal constitution. These demanded a federal chief with responsible Ministers, a senate of the individual states, a popular representative house with one deputy to every 70,000 inhabitants of a German federal state, a united army, and representation abroad; a uniformity in the customs systems, in the means of communication, in civil and criminal legislation.

This premature haste is to be ascribed to the scanty political experience of the German and his love for the cut and dried; it gave the Radicals, who had assembled in force from Baden, Darmstadt, Frankfort, and Nassau, under Struve and Hecker, an opportunity of demanding similar resolutions upon the future constitution of Germany. Hecker gave an explanation of the so-called "principles" propounded by Struve, demanding the disbanding of the standing army, the abolition of officials, taxation, and the hereditary monarchy, and the

**Deliberations
of the Frankfort
Conference**

institution of a Parliament elected without restriction under a president similarly elected, all to be united by a federal constitution on the model of the Free States of North America. Until the German democracy had secured legislation upon these and many other points, the Frankfort conference should be kept on foot, and the government of Germany continued by an executive committee elected by universal suffrage.

Instead of receiving these delectable puerilities with the proper amount of amusement, or satirising them as they deserved, the moderate Democrats and Liberals were inveigled into serious discussion with the Radicals. Reports of an insignificant street fight aroused their fears and forebodings, and both sides condescended to abuse and personal violence. Finally, the clearer-sighted members of the conference succeeded in confining the debate to the subjects preliminary to the convocation of the parliament.

The programme of the committee of seven and the "principles" of the Radicals were alike excluded from discussion. Hecker's proposition for the permanent constitution of the conference was rejected by 368 votes to 143, and it was decided to elect a

committee of fifty members to continue the business of the preliminary parliament.

On the question of this business great divergence of opinion prevailed. The majority of the members were convinced that the people should now be left to decide its own fate, and to determine the legislature which was to secure the recognition of its rights. A small minority were agreed with Gagern upon the necessity of keeping in touch with the Government and the Federal Council, and constructing the new constitution by some form of union between the national representatives and the existing executive officials. This was the first serious misconception of the Liberal party upon the sphere of action within which the Parliament would operate. They discussed the "purification" of the Federal Council and its "aversion to special resolutions of an unconstitutional nature;" they should have united themselves firmly to the federal authorities, and carried them to the necessary resolutions.

The mistrust of the liberals for the government was greater than their disgust at radical imbecility, a fact as obvious in the preliminary conferences as in the National

The National Movement in Germany Assembly which it called into being. This is the first and probably the sole cause of the futility of the efforts made

by upright and disinterested representative men to guide the national movement in Germany. Franz von Soiron of Mannheim proposed that the decision upon the future German constitution should be left entirely in the hands of the National Assembly, to be elected by the people; with this exception, the constitutional ideal was abandoned and a utopia set up in its place not utterly dissimilar to the dream of "the republic with a doge at its head." Soiron, who propounded this absurdity, became president of the committee of fifty.

The mode of election to the National Constituent Assembly realised the most extreme demands of the Democrats. Every 50,000 inhabitants in a German federal province, East and West Prussia included, had to send up a deputy "directly"—that is to say, appointment was not made by any existing constitutional corporation. The Czechs of Bohemia were included without cavil among the electors of the German Parliament, no regard being given to the scornful refusal which they would probably return. The question of including the Poles of the Prussian Baltic provinces was

left to the decision of the parliament itself. The Federal Council, in which Karl Welcker had already become influential, prudently accepted the resolutions of the preliminary conference and communicated them to the individual states, whose business it was to carry them out. Feeling in the different governments had undergone a rapid transformation, and in Prussia even more than elsewhere. On March 21st, after parading Berlin with the German colours, Frederic William IV. had made a public declaration, expressing his readiness to undertake the direction of German affairs. His exuberance led him to the following pronouncement: "I have to-day assumed the ancient German colours and placed myself and my people under the honourable banner of the German Empire. Prussia is henceforward merged in Germany."

These words would have created a great effect had the king been possessed of the power which was his by right, or had he given any proof of capacity to rule his own people or to defend his capital from the outrages of a misled and passionately excited mob. But the occurrences at Berlin during March had impaired his prestige with every class; he was despised by the Radicals, and the patriotic party mistrusted his energy and his capacity for maintaining his dignity in a difficult situation.

Moreover, the German governments had lost confidence in the power of the Prussian state. Hesse-Darmstadt, Baden, Nassau, and Württemberg had shown themselves ready to confer full powers upon the King of Prussia for the formation, in their name, of a new federal constitution with provision for the popular rights. They were also willing to accept him as head of the federation, a position which he desired, while declining the imperial title with which the cheers of the Berlin population had greeted him. When, however, Max von Gagern arrived in Berlin at the head of

Frederic William not a Favourite an embassy from the above-mentioned states, the time for the enterprise had gone by; a king who gave way to rebels and did obeisance to the corpses of mob leaders was not the man for the dictatorship of Germany at so troublous a time.

Notwithstanding their own difficulties, the Vienna government had derived some advantage from the events at Berlin; there was no reason for them to resign their position in Germany. The Emperor

Ferdinand need never yield to Frederic William IV. The Austrian statesmen were sure of the approval of the German people, even of the national and progressive parties, if they straightway opposed Prussian interference in German politics. Relying upon nationalist sentiment and appealing to national sovereignty, they might play

The Proud Claims of Austria

off the German parliament against the King of Prussia. Austria was, upon the showing of the government and the popular leaders, the real Germany. Austria claimed the precedence of all German races, and therefore the black, red, and gold banner flew on the Tower of Stephan, and the kindly emperor waved it before the students, who cheered him in the castle. The offer of Prussian leadership was declined; the German constitution was to be arranged by the federal council and the parliament, and Austria would there be able to retain the leading position which was her right.

The case of the King of Prussia was sufficiently disheartening; but no less serious for the development of the German movement was the attitude of the Liberals towards the Republicans. The professions and avowals of the latter had not been declined with the decisiveness that belong to honest monarchical conviction. Even before the meeting of Parliament disturbances had been set on foot by the Baden Radicals, and it became obvious that Radicalism could result only in civil war and would imperil the national welfare.

The Struve-Hecker party was deeply disappointed with the results of the preliminary conference. It had not taken over the government of Germany; no princes had been deposed, and even the federal council had been left untouched. The leaders, impelled thereto by their French associates, accordingly resolved to initiate an armed revolt in favour of the republic. The "moderate" party had

The Mad Schemes of Agitators

cleared the way by assenting to the proposal of "national armament." Under the pretext of initiating a scheme of public defence, arms for the destruction of constitutional order were placed in the hands of the ruffians who had been wandering about the Rhineland for weeks in the hope of robbery and plunder, posing as the retinue of the great "friends of the people." Acuter politicians, like Karl Mathy, discovered too late that it was now necessary

to stake their whole personal influence in the struggle against radical insanity and the madness of popular agitators. In person he arrested the agitator Joseph Fickler, when starting from Karlsruhe to Constance to stir up insurrection; but his bold example found few imitators. The evil was not thoroughly extirpated, as the "people's men" could not refrain from repeating meaningless promises of popular supremacy and the downfall of tyrants at every public-house and platform where they thought they could secure the applause for which they thirsted like actors.

Hecker had maintained communications with other countries from Karlsruhe, and had been negotiating for the advance of contingents from Paris, to be paid from the resources of Ledru-Rollin. After Fickler's imprisonment on April 8th he became alarmed for his own safety, and fled to Constance. There, in conjunction with Struve and his subordinates, Doll, Willich, formerly a Prussian lieutenant, Mögling of Würtemberg, and Bruhe of Holstein, he issued an appeal to all who were capable of bearing arms to concentrate at Donaueschingen on

Defeat of the Republicans

April 12th, for the purpose of founding the German republic. With a republican army of fifty men he marched on the 13th from Constance, where the republic had maintained its existence for a whole day. In the plains of the Rhine a junction was to be effected with the "legion of the noble Franks," led by the poet George Herwegh and his Jewish wife. In vain did two deputies from the committee of fifty in Frankfort advise the Republicans to lay down their arms. Their overtures were rejected with contumely. The eighth federal army corps had been rapidly mobilised, and the troops of Hesse and Würtemberg brought this insane enterprise to an end in the almost bloodless conflicts of Kandern on April 20th, and Günterstal at Freiburg on April 23rd.

The Republicans were given neither time nor opportunity for any display of their Teutonic heroism. Their sole exploit was the shooting of the general Friedrich von Gagern from an ambush as he was returning to his troops from an unsuccessful conference with Hecker. Herwegh's French legion was dispersed at Dossenbach on April 26th by a company of Würtemberg troops. These warriors took refuge for the time being in Switzerland with the "generals" Hecker, Struve, and Franz Siegl.



ITALY'S FRUITLESS REVOLT AND AUSTRIA'S SUCCESS UNDER RADETZKY

AS early as January, 1848, the population of the Lombard States had begun openly to display their animosity to the Austrians. The secret revolutionary committees, who took their instructions from Rome and Turin, organised demonstrations, and forbade the purchase of Austrian cigars and lottery tickets, the profits of which went to the Austrian exchequer. Threats and calls for blood and vengeance upon the troops were placarded upon the walls, and cases of assassination occurred. Field-Marshal Count Radetzky had felt certain that the national movement, begun in the Church States, would extend throughout Italy, and oblige Austria to defend her territory by force of arms.

He was also informed of the warlike feeling in Piedmont and of the secret preparations which were in progress there. This view was well founded. Any dispassionate judgment of the political situation in the

A Nation's Yearning for Liberation

peninsula showed that the governments of the individual states were in a dilemma; either they must join the national yearning for liberation from the foreign rule and help their subjects in the struggle, or they would be forced to yield to the victorious advance of republicanism. The Savoy family of Carignan, the only ruling house of national origin, found no difficulty in deciding the question. As leaders of the patriotic party they might attain a highly important position, and at least become the leaders of a Federal Italy; while they were forced to endanger their kingdom, whatever side they took.

Radetzky was indefatigable in his efforts to keep the Vienna government informed of the approaching danger, but his demands for reinforcements to the troops serving in the Lombard-Venetian provinces were disregarded. The old War Minister, Count H. Hardegg, who supported Radetzky, was harshly dismissed from his position in the exchequer, and died of vexation at the affront. Not all

the obtuseness and vacillation of the Vienna bureaucracy could shake the old field-marshal—on August 1st, 1847, he began his sixty-fourth year of service in the imperial army—from his conviction that the Austrian house meant to defend its Italian possessions. He was well aware that the very existence of the monarchy was involved in this question of predominance in Italy. A moment when every nationality united under the Hapsburg rule was making the most extravagant demands upon the state was not the moment voluntarily to abandon a position of the greatest moral value.

Austria's Complicated Politics

After the outbreak of the revolt many voices recommended an Austrian retreat from Lombardy to Venice. It was thought impossible that these two countries, with independent governments of their own, could be incorporated in so loosely articulated a federation as the Austrian Empire seemed likely to become. Such counsels were not inconceivable in view of the zeal with which kings and ministers, professors, lawyers, and authors plunged into the elaboration of political blunders and misleading theories; but to follow them would have been to increase rather than to diminish the difficulties of Austrian politics, which grew daily more complicated.

In the turmoil of national and democratic aspirations and programmes the idea of the Austrian state was forgotten; its strength and dignity depended upon the inflexibility and upon the ultimate victory of Radetzky and his army. The war in Italy was a national war, more especially for the Austro-Germans; for passion, even for an ideal, cannot impress the German and arouse his admiration to the same extent as the heroic fulfilment of duty. Additional influences upon the Austrians were the military assessment, their delight in proved military superiority, and their military traditions.

National War in Italy

Nationalism was indisputably an animating force among the Germans of the Alpine districts. Never did Franz Grillparzer so faithfully represent the Austrian spirit as in the oft-repeated words which he ascribed to the old field-marshal, upholding the ancient imperial banner upon Guelph soil : " In thy camp is Austria ; we are but single fragments."

The Vanished Power of the Hapsburgs It is not difficult to imagine that 'a statesman of unusual penetration and insight might even then have recognised that Austria was no longer a force in Germany, that the claim of the Hapsburgs to lead the German nation had disappeared with the Holy Roman Empire. We may conceive that, granted such recognition of the facts, a just division of influence and power in Central Europe might have been brought about by the peaceful compromise with Prussia ; but it was foolishness to expect the House of Hapsburg voluntarily to begin a partition of the countries which had fallen to be hers.

The acquisition of Italy had been a mistake on the part of Metternich ; but the mistake could not be mended by a surrender of rights at the moment when hundreds of claims would be pressed. To maintain the integrity of the empire was to preserve its internal solidarity and to uphold the monarchical power. The monarchy could produce no more convincing evidence than the victories of the army. An army which had retreated before the Piedmontese and the Guelph guerrilla troops would never have gained another victory, even in Hungary.

In an army order of January 15th, 1848, Radetzky announced in plain and unambiguous terms that the Emperor of Austria was resolved to defend the Lombard-Venetian kingdom against internal and external enemies, and that he himself proposed to act in accordance with the imperial will. He was, however, unable

Outbreak of the Revolution to make any strategical preparations for the approaching struggle ; he had barely troops enough to occupy the most important towns, and in every case the garrisons were entirely outnumbered by the population. Hence it has been asserted that the revolution took him by surprise. The fact was that he had no means of forestalling a surprise, and was obliged to modify his measures in proportion to the forces at his disposal. The crowds began

to gather on March 17th, when the news of the Vienna revolution reached Milan ; street fighting began on the 18th and 19th, and the marshal was forced to concentrate his scattered troops upon the gates and walls of the great city, lest he should find himself shut in by an advancing Piedmontese army.

On March 21st it became certain that Charles Albert of Sardinia would cross the Ticino with his army. Radetzky left Milan and retreated beyond the Mincio to the strong fortress of Verona, which, with Mantua, Peschiera, and Legnago, formed the "Quadrilateral" which became famous in the following campaign. Most of the garrisons in the Lombard towns were able to cut their way through, comparatively few surrendering. However, the 61,000 infantry of the imperial army were diminished by the desertion of the twenty Italian battalions which belonged to it, amounting to 10,000 men. It was necessary to abandon most of the state chests ; the field-marshal could only convey from Milan to Verona half a million florins in coined money, which was

The New Republic of Venice saved by the division stationed in Padua, which made a rapid advance before the outbreak of the revolt. Venice had thrown off the yoke. The lawyer Daniel Manin, of Jewish family, and therefore not a descendant of Lodovico Manin, the last doge, had gained over the arsenal workers.

With their help he had occupied the arsenal and overawed the field-marshal, Count Ferdinand Zichy, a brother-in-law of Metternich, who was military commander in conjunction with the civil governor, Count Pálffy of Erdöd. Zichy surrendered on March 22nd, on condition that the non-Italian garrison should be allowed to depart unmolested. Manin became president of the new democratic Republic of Venice, which was joined by most of the towns of the former Venetian terra firma ; Great Britain and France, however, declined to recognise the republic, which was soon forced to make common cause with Sardinia. Mantua was preserved to the Austrians by the bold and imperturbable behaviour of the commandant-general, Von Gorczkowski.

The Italian nationalist movement had also spread to the South Tyrol. On March 19th the inhabitants of Trent demanded the incorporation into Lombardy of the Trentino—that is, the district

of the former prince-bishopric of Trent. The appearance of an Austrian brigade under General von Zobel to relieve the hard-pressed garrison of the citadel secured the Austrian possession of this important town, and also strengthened the only line of communication now open between Radetzky's headquarters and the Austrian government, the line through the Tyrol.

The defence of their country was now undertaken by the German Tyrolese themselves; they called out the defensive forces which their legislature had provided for centuries past, and occupied the frontiers. They were not opposed by the Italian population on the south, who in many cases volunteered to serve in the defence of their territory; hence the revolutionary towns were unable to make head against these opponents, or to maintain regular communication with the revolutionists advancing against the frontier. Wherever the latter attempted to break through they were decisively defeated by the admirable Tyrolese guards, who took up arms against the "Guelfs" with readiness and enthusiasm.

On March 29th, 1848, the King of Sardinia crossed the Ticino, without any formal declaration of war, ostensibly to protect his own territories. He had at his disposal three divisions, amounting to about 45,000 men, and after gaining several successes in small conflicts at Goito, Valeggio, and elsewhere, against weak Austrian divisions, he advanced to the Mincio on April 10th. Mazzini had appeared in Milan after the retreat of the Austrians; but the advance of the Piedmontese prevented the installation of a republican administration. For a moment the national movement was concentrated solely upon the struggle against the Austrian supremacy. Tumultuous public demonstrations forced the petty and central states of Italy to send their troops to the support of the Piedmontese. In this way nearly 40,000 men from Naples, Catholic Switzerland, Tuscany, Modena, and elsewhere were concentrated on the Po under the orders of General Giacomo Durando, to begin the attack on the Austrian position in conjunction with Charles Albert.

After the despatch of the troops required to cover the Etsch valley and to garrison the fortresses, Radetzky was left with only 35,000 men; he was able, however, with nineteen Austrian battalions, sixteen squadrons, and eighty-one guns, to attack and decisively defeat the king at Santa Lucia on May 6th, as he was

advancing with 41,000 men and eighty guns. The Zehner light infantry under Colonel Karl von Kopal behaved admirably; the Archduke Francis Joseph, heir presumptive, also took part in the battle. The conspicuous services of these bold warriors to the fortunes of Austria have made this obstinate struggle especially famous in the eyes of their compatriots. Radetzky's victory at Santa Lucia is the turning-point in the history of the Italian revolution.

The Austrian troops definitely established the fact of their superiority to the Piedmontese, by far the best of the Italian contingents. Conscious of this, the little army was inspired with confidence in its own powers and in the generalship of the aged marshal, whose heroic spirit was irresistible. Many young men from the best families of Vienna and the Alpine districts took service against the Italians. The healthy-minded students were glad to escape from the aula of the University of Vienna, with its turgid orations and sham patriotism, and to shed their blood for the honour of their nation side by side with the brave "volunteers," who went into action with jest and laugh. Such events considerably abated the enthusiasm of the Italians, who began to learn that wars cannot be waged by zeal alone, and that their fiery national spirit gave them no superiority in the use of the rifle.

Radetzky was not to be tempted into a reckless advance by the brilliant success he had attained; after thus vigorously repulsing Charles Albert's main force, he remained within his quadrilateral of fortresses, awaiting the arrival of the reserves which were being concentrated in Austria; 16,000 infantry, eight squadrons of cavalry, and fifty-four guns marched from Isonzo under Laval, Count Nugent, master of the



DANIEL MANIN

He became President of the Venetian republic in 1848, and after the capitulation of Venice in the following year escaped to Paris, where he died in 1857.

The Forces Opposed to Austria

concentrated solely upon the struggle against the Austrian supremacy. Tumultuous public demonstrations forced the petty

ordnance, an old comrade of Radetzky. He was an Irishman by birth, and had entered the Austrian army in 1793; in 1812 he had seen service in Spain during the War of Liberation, and in 1813 had led the revolt on the coast districts. On April 22nd Nugent captured Udine, and advanced by way of Pordenone and Conegliano to Belluno, Feltre, and Bassano, covering his flank by the mountains, as Durando's corps had gone northward from the Po to prevent his junction with Radetzky. Nugent fell sick, and after continual fighting, Count Thurn led the reserves to San Boniface at Verona, where he came into touch with the main army on May 22nd.

Meanwhile, the monarchical government in Naples had succeeded in defeating the Republicans, and the king accordingly

recalled the Neapolitan army, which had already advanced to the Po. The summons was obeyed except by 2,000 men, with



LEOPOLD II.

Grand Duke of Tuscany, Leopold II. granted a liberal constitution to his people, and thought he had satisfied all their demands, but a revolt broke out, and he fled to Gaeta.

whom General Pepe reinforced the Venetian contingent. This change materially diminished the danger which had threatened Radetzky's left flank; he was now able to take the offensive against the Sardinian army, and advanced against Curtatone and Goito from Mantua, whither he had arrived on May 28th with two corps and part of the reserves. He proposed to relieve Peschiera, which was invested by the Duke of Genoa; but the garrison had received no news of the advance of the main army, and were

forced from lack of provisions to surrender on May 30th. However, after a fierce struggle at Monte Berico on June 10th in



THE BOMBARDMENT OF MESSINA IN SEPTEMBER, 1848

The town of Messina, which in 1908 was the scene of a destructive earthquake, suffered severely in September 1848, during the rising of Italy against Austria. Under the bombardment of General Filangieri, the town was exposed to a heavy fire, many houses were destroyed and burned, and thousands of dead bodies lay in the streets.



ARRANGING TERMS OF PEACE: THE MEETING OF VICTOR EMMANUEL AND RADETSKY

In this picture there is represented the meeting of the two principals in the war between Sardinia and Austria, Victor Emmanuel II. and Count Radetzky, which took place on March 24th, 1849, at the farmstead of Vignale. An armistice was agreed to on conditions which were to serve as the basis of a peace, finally concluded in the following August.

From the painting by Aldi, in the Palace of the Signory, Siena

which Colonel von Kopal, the Roland of the Austrian army, was killed, Radetzky captured Vicenza, General Durando being allowed to retreat with the Roman and Tuscan troops. They were joined by the "crociati," crusaders, who had occupied Treviso. Padua was also evacuated by the revolutionaries, and almost the whole of the Venetian province was thus recovered by the Austrians. Fresh reinforcements from Austria were employed in the formation of a second reserve corps under General von Welden on the Piave; this force was to guard Venetia on the land side.

At this period the provisional government in Milan offered the Lombard-Venetian crown to the King of Sardinia.

Charles Albert might reasonably hope to wear it, as the Austrian Government, which had retired to Innsbruck on the renewal of disturbances in Vienna, showed some inclination to conclude an armistice in Italy. Britain and France, however, had declared the surrender by Austria of the Italian provinces to be an indispensable preliminary to peace negotiations.

Radetzky hesitated to begin negotiations for this purpose, and remained firm in his resolve to continue the war, for which he made extensive preparations in the course of June and July, 1848. He formed a third army corps in South Tyrol, under Count Thurn, a fourth in Legnago, under General von Culoz, and was then able with the two corps already on foot to



In the hope of re-establishing her ancient form of government under the presidency of Manin, Venice rose in revolt against Austria in 1848, but after a fifteen months' siege of the city the Austrians compelled it to capitulate.
From the drawing by W. Giacomelli



The enthusiasm of the citizens of Venice in their revolt against Austria was shared by all classes, even the women and children desiring to have some part in the struggle for liberty, and bringing their jewels, as shown in the above picture, to raise money for the defence of the city against the attack of their hated enemy.

SCENES IN THE SIEGE OF VENICE BY THE AUSTRIANS IN 1848-49

ITALY'S FRUITLESS REVOLT

attack the king in his entrenchments at Sona and Sommacampagna. Operations began here on July 23rd, and ended on the 25th with the Battle of Custoza. The king was defeated, and Radetzky secured command of the whole line of the Mincio.

Charles Albert now made proposals for an armistice. Radetzky's demands, however, were such as the king found impossible to entertain. He was forced to give up the line of the Adda, which the field-marshal crossed with three army corps on August 1st without a struggle. The Battle of Milan on the 4th so clearly demonstrated the incapacity of the Piedmontese troops that the king must have welcomed the rapidity of the Austrian advance as facilitating his escape from the raging mob with its cries of treason.

Radetzky entered Milan on August 6th and was well received by some part of the population. Peschiera was evacuated on the 10th. With the exception of Venice, the kingdom of the double crown had now been restored to the emperor. An armistice was concluded between Austria and Sardinia on August 9th for six weeks; it was prolonged by both sides, though without formal stipulation, through the autumn of 1848 and the winter of 1848-1849.

In Tuscany the Grand Duke Leopold II. thought he had completely satisfied the national and political desires of his people by the grant of a liberal constitution and by the junction of his troops with the Piedmont army. Since the time of the great Medici, this fair province had never been so prosperous as under the mild rule of the Hapsburg grand duke; but the Republicans gave it no rest. They seized the harbour of Livorno and also the government of Florence in February, 1849, under the leadership of Mazzini's follower, Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi, whom Leopold was forced to appoint Minister. The grand duke fled to Gaeta, where Pope Pius IX. had sought refuge at the end of November, 1848, from the Republicans, who were besieging him in the Quirinal. Mazzini and his friend Giuseppe Garibaldi, who had led a life of adventure in South America after the

persecutions of the 'thirties, harassed the Austrians with the adherents who had gathered round them. They operated in the neighbourhood of Lago Maggiore, where they could easily withdraw into Swiss territory, and also stirred their associates in Piedmont to fresh activity. King Charles Albert saw that a renewal

**Radetzky
Ready for
Emergencies**

of the campaign against the Austrians was the only means of avoiding the revolution with which he also was threatened.

He had, therefore, by dint of energetic preparation, succeeded in raising his army to 100,000 men. He rightly saw that a victory would bring all the patriots over to his side; but he had no faith in this possibility, and announced the termination of the armistice on March 12th,



MARSHAL RADETSKY

Rightly called "the saviour of the Monarchy," this great marshal led the forces of Austria to one success after another during the Italian rising and quelled the Revolution.

1849, in a tone of despair. Radetzky had long expected this move, and, far from being taken unawares, had made preparations to surprise his adversary. Instead of retiring to the Adda, as the Sardinian had expected, he started from Lodi with 58,000 men and 186 guns, and made a turn to the right upon Pavia. On March 20th he crossed the Ticino and moved upon Mortara, while Charles Albert made a corresponding manœuvre at Buffalora and entered Lombard territory at Magenta. He had entrusted the command of his

army to the Polish revolutionary general, Adalbert Chrzanowski, whose comrade, Ramorino, led a division formed of Lombard fugitives. Radetzky's bold flank movement had broken the connection of the Sardinian forces; Chrzanowski was forced hastily to despatch two divisions to Vigevano and Mortara to check the Austrian advance, which was directed against the Sardinian line of retreat.

The stronghold of Mortara was captured on March 21st by the corps d'Aspre, the first division of which was led by the Archduke Albert. The Sardinian leaders were then forced to occupy Novara with 54,000 men and 122 guns, their troops available at the moment. Tactically the position was admirable, and here they awaited the decisive battle. Retreat to Vercelli was impossible, in view of the advancing Austrian columns.

On March 23rd Radetzky despatched his four corps to converge upon Novara. About 11 a.m. the Archduke Albert began the attack upon the heights of Bicocca, which formed the key to the Italian position. For four hours 15,000 men held out against 50,000, until the corps advancing on the road from Vercelli were

able to come into action at 3 p.m. This movement decided the struggle. In the evening the Sardinians were ejected from the heights of Novara and retired within the town, which was at once bombarded. The tactical arrangement of the Italians was ruined by the disorder of their converging columns, and many soldiers were able to take to flight. Further resistance was impossible, and the king demanded an armistice of Radetzky, which was refused. Charles Albert now abdicated, resigning his crown to Victor Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, his heir, who happened to be present. During the night he was allowed to pass through the Austrian lines and to make his way to Tuscany.

On the morning of March 24th, King Victor Emmanuel had a conversation with Radetzky in the farmstead of Vignale, and arranged an armistice on conditions which were to serve as the basis of a future peace. The status quo ante in respect of territorial possession was to be restored; the field-marshal waived the right of marching into Turin, which lay open to him, but retained the Lomellina, the country between the Ticino and the Sesia, which he occupied with 21,000 men until the conclusion of the peace. It was stipulated that Sardinia should withdraw her ships from the Adriatic and her troops from Tuscany, Parma, and Modena, and should forthwith disband the Hungarian, Polish, and Lombard volunteer corps serving with the army. Brescia, which the Republicans had occupied after the retreat of the

Austrians from Milan, was stormed on April 1st by General von Haynau, who brought up his reserve corps from Padua.

In the preceding battles the Italians had committed many cruelties upon Austrian prisoners and wounded soldiers. For this reason the conquerors gave no quarter to the defenders of the town; all who were caught in arms were cut down, and the houses burned from which firing had proceeded. With the defeat of Sardinia the

Italian nationalist movement became purposeless. The restoration of constitutional government in the Church States, Tuscany, and the duchies was opposed only by the democrats. Their resistance was, however, speedily broken by the Austrian troops, Bologna and Ancona alone necessitating special efforts; the former was occupied on May 15th, the latter on the 19th. Under Garibaldi's leadership Rome offered a vigorous resistance to the French and Neapolitans, who were attempting to secure the restoration of the Pope at his own desire.

The French general Victor Oudinot, a son of the marshal of that name under Napoleon I., was obliged to invest the Eternal City in form from June 1st to July 3rd with 20,000 men, until the population perceived the hopelessness of defence and forced Garibaldi to withdraw with 3,000 Republicans. From the date of her entry into Rome until the year 1866, and again from 1867 to 1870, France maintained a garrison in the town for the protection of the Pope. Venice continued to struggle longest for her independence. Manin rejected the summons to surrender

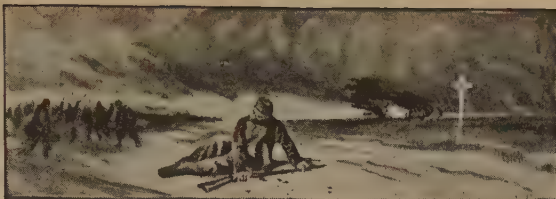
even after he had received information of the overthrow and abdication of Charles Albert.

The Austrians were compelled to drive parallels against the fortifications in the lagoons, of which Fort Malghera was the most important, and to bombard them continuously. It was not until communication between the town and the neighbouring coast line was entirely cut off by a flotilla of rowing boats that the failure of provisions and supplies forced the town council to surrender.

Italy was thus unable to free herself by her own efforts. Since the summer of 1848 the Austrian Government had been forced to find troops for service against the rebels in Hungary. It was not until the autumn that the capital of Vienna had been cleared of rioters; yet Austria had been able to provide the forces necessary to crush the Italian power. Her success was due to the generalship and capacity of the great marshal, who is rightly called the saviour of the monarchy, and in no less degree to the admirable spirit, fidelity, and devotion of the officers, and to the superior bravery and endurance of the German and Slav troops. High as the national enthusiasm of the Italians rose, it could never compensate for their lack of discipline and military capacity.

**Garibaldi
Withdraws
from Rome**

**Italy's
Power
Crushed**



THE HUNGARIAN REBELLION DEFEAT AND FLIGHT OF LOUIS KOSSUTH

THE struggle between Italy and Austria may be considered as inevitable; each side staked its resources upon a justifiable venture. The same cannot be said of the Hungarian campaign. Under no urgent necessity, without the proposition of any object of real national value, blood was uselessly and wantonly shed, and the most lamentable aberrations and political blunders were committed. The result was more than a decade of bitter suffering, both for the Magyars and for the other peoples of the Hapsburg monarchy.

Such evils are due to the fact that revolutions never succeed in establishing a situation in any way tolerable; they burst the bonds of oppression and avenge injustice, but interrupt the normal course of development and of constitutional progress, thereby postponing improvements perfectly attainable in themselves. Both in Vienna and in Hungary the month of March had been a time of great confusion.

Confusion in Vienna and Hungary

In the sudden excitement of the population and the vacillation of the Government, rights had been extorted and were recognised; but their exercise was impeded, if not absolutely prevented, by the continued existence of the state. In Vienna the most pressing questions were the right of the students to carry arms and to enter public life; in Hungary, the creation of a special war office and an exchequer board of unlimited power.

The students were the leading spirits of political life in Vienna. There was no constitutional matter, no question of national or administrative policy, in which they had not interfered and advanced their demands in the name of the people. Movements in the capital, the seat of government, were therefore characterised by a spirit of immaturity, or, rather, of childishness. Quiet and deliberate discussion on business methods was unknown, every conclusion was rejected as soon as made, and far-sighted men of experience and knowledge of admini-

strative work were refused a hearing. Fluent and empty-headed demagogues, acquainted with the art of theatrical rant, enjoyed the favour of the excitable middle and working classes, and unfortunately were too often allowed a determining voice

Student Politicians in Vienna

and influence in government circles. Any systematic and purposeful exercise of the rights that had been gained was, under these circumstances, impossible, for no one could appreciate the value of these concessions. Like children crying for the moon, they steadily undermined constituted authority and could put nothing in its place.

The students were seduced and exploited by ignorant journalists, aggressive hot-headed men, inspired with all Börne's hatred of monarchical institutions; any sensible proposal was obscured by a veil of Heine-like cynicism. To the journalists must be added the grumblers and the base-born, who hoped to secure lucrative posts by overthrowing the influence of the more respectable and conscientious men. These so-called "Democrats" gained the consideration even of the prosperous classes by reason of their association with the students, who represented popular feeling.

They controlled the countless clubs and unions of the National Guard in the suburbs, and stirred up the working classes, which in Vienna were in the depths of political ignorance; they had been, moreover, already inflamed by the emissaries which the revolutionary societies sent out into France, Switzerland, and West Germany, and were inspired with the

Democrats Dream of a New Era

wildest dreams of the approach of a new era, bringing freedom, licence, and material enjoyment in boundless measure. Together with the Jews, the Poles also attained to great importance, especially after the disturbances in the Polish districts of Austria had been crushed by the energies of Count Franz Stadion, governor of Galicia, and of the town

commandant of Cracow. The agitators who were there thrown out of employment received a most brilliant reception at Vienna, and their organisation of "lightning petitions" and street parades soon made them indispensable. On April 25th, 1848, was published the Constitution of Pillersdorf, a hastily constructed scheme, but not without merit; on May 9th, the election arrangements followed. Both alike were revolutionary; they disregarded the rights of the Landtag, and far from attempting to remodel existing material, created entirely new institutions in accordance with the political taste prevailing at the moment. Centralisation was a fundamental principle of these schemes; they presupposed the existence of a united territorial empire under uniform administration, from which only Hungary and the Lombard-Venetian kingdom were tacitly excluded. The Reichstag was to consist of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. The Senate was to include male members of the imperial house over twenty-four years of age, an undetermined number of life-members nominated by the emperor, and 150 representatives from among the great landowners; in the Chamber thirty-one towns and electoral districts of 50,000 inhabitants each were to appoint 383 deputies through their delegates.

From the outset the Radicals were opposed to a senate and the system of indirect election; the true spirit of freedom demanded one Chamber and direct election without reference to property or taxation burdens. Such a system was the expression of the people's rights, for the "people" consisted, naturally, of Democrats. All the moderate men, all who wished to fit the people for their responsibilities by some political education, were aristocrats, and aristocrats were

enemies of the people, to be crushed, muzzled, and stripped of their rights.

Popular dissatisfaction at the constitution was increased by the dismissal of the Minister of War, Lieutenant Field-Marshal Peter Zanini, and the appointment of Count Theodor Baillet de Latour on April 28th. The former was a narrow-minded scion of the middle class, and incapable of performing his duties, for which reason he enjoyed the confidence of the Democrats. The latter was a general of distinguished theoretical and practical attainments, and popular with the army; these facts and his title made him an object of suspicion

to the "people." At the beginning of May the people proceeded to display their dissatisfaction with the ministerial president, Count Karl Ficquelmont, by the howls and whistling of the students. On May 14th the students fortified themselves with inflammatory speeches in the aula and allied themselves with the working classes; on the 15th they burst into the imperial castle and surprised Pillersdorf, who gave way without a show of resistance, acting on the false theory that the chief task of the Government was to avoid any immediate conflict. Concessions were granted providing for the formation of a central committee of the democratic unions, the occupation of half the outposts by National Guards, and the convocation of a "Constituent Reichstag" with one Chamber.

The imperial family, which could no longer expect protection in its own house from the Ministry, left Vienna on May 17th and went to Innsbruck, where it was out of reach of the Democrats and their outbursts of temper, and could more easily join hands with the Italian army. It was supported, from June 3rd, by Johann von Wessenberg, Minister of



LOUIS KOSSUTH

Leader of the Hungarian Revolution, Louis Kossuth was gifted with wonderful eloquence, and was able to impart his own enthusiasm to the people whom he led. He was appointed provisional Governor of Hungary after the National Assembly had declared the throne vacant.

THE HUNGARIAN REBELLION

Foreign Affairs, a diplomatist of the old federal period, but of wide education and clever enough to see that in critical times success is only to be attained by boldness of decision and a certain spirit of daring. After Radetzky's victory on the Mincio he speedily convinced himself that compliance with the desires of France and Britain for the cession of the Lombard-Venetian kingdom would be an absolute error—one, too, which would arouse discontent and irritation in the army, and so affect the conclusion of the domestic difficulty; he therefore decisively rejected the interposition of the Western Powers in the Italian question.

Wessenberg accepted as seriously meant the emperor's repeated declarations of his desire to rule his kingdom constitutionally. As long as he possessed the confidence of the court he affirmed that this resolve must be carried out at all costs, even though it should be necessary to use force against the risings and revolts of the Radical Party. He was unable to secure as early a return to Vienna as he had hoped; hence he was obliged to make what use

Archduke Johann as Regent he could of the means at his disposal by entrusting the Archduke Johann with the regency during the emperor's absence.

The regent's influence was of no value; at that time he was summoned to conduct the business of Germany at Frankfort-on-Main, and his action in Vienna was in consequence irregular and undertaken without full knowledge of the circumstances.

On July 18th the Archduke Johann, as representing the emperor, formed a Ministry, the president being the progressive landowner Anton von Doblhoff. The advocate Dr. Alexander Bach, who had previously belonged to the popular party, was one of the members. The elections to the Reichstag were begun after Prince Alfred of Windisch-Graetz, the commander of the imperial troops in Bohemia, had successfully and rapidly suppressed a revolt at Prague which was inspired by the first Slav Congress. This achievement pacified Bohemia. On July 10th the deputies of the Austrian provinces met for preliminary discussion.

The claims of the different nationalities to full equality caused a difficulty with respect to the language in which business should be discussed; objections were advanced against any show of preference for German, the only language suitable to the

purpose. However, the necessity of a rapid interchange of ideas, and dislike of the wearisome process of translation through an interpreter, soon made German the sole medium of communication, in spite of the protests raised by the numerous Polish peasants, who had been elected in Galicia against the desires of the nobility.

A New State in Hungary The most pressing task, of drafting the Austrian Constitution, was entrusted to a committee on July 31st; the yet more urgent necessity of furthering and immediately strengthening the executive power was deferred till the committee should have concluded its deliberations. The Ministry was reduced to impotence in consequence, and even after the emperor's return to Schönbrunn, on August 12th, its position was as unstable as it was unimportant.

While these events were taking place in Vienna a new state had been created in Hungary, which was not only independent of Austria, but soon showed itself openly hostile to her. For this, two reasons may be adduced: in the first place, misconceptions as to the value and reliability of the demands advanced by the national spokesmen; and, secondly, the precipitate action of the Government, which had made concessions without properly estimating their results. The Magyars were themselves unequal to the task of transforming their feudal state into a constitutional body politic of the modern type as rapidly as they desired.

They had failed to observe that the application of the principle of personal freedom to their existing political institutions would necessarily bring to light national claims of a nature to imperil their paramountcy in their own land, or that, in the inevitable struggle for this paramount position, the support of Austria and of the reigning house would be of great value. With their characteristic tendency to overestimate their powers, they deemed them-

The Magyars Demand Independence selves capable of founding a European power at one stroke. Their impetuosity further increased the difficulties of their position.

They were concerned only with the remodelling of domestic organisation, but they strove to loose, or rather to burst asunder, the political and economic ties which for centuries had united them to the German hereditary possessions of their ruling house. They demanded an independence which they had lost on the day

of the Battle of Mohacs. They deprived their king of rights which had been the indisputable possession of every one of his crowned ancestors. Such were, the supreme command of his army, to which Hungary contributed a number of men, though sending no individual contingents; the supreme right over the coinage and currency, which was a part of the royal prerogative, and had been personally and therefore uniformly employed by the representatives of the different sovereignties composing the Hapsburg power.

The legal code confirmed by the emperor and King Ferdinand at the dissolution of the old Reichstag, on April 10th, 1848, not only recognised the existing rights of the Kingdom of Hungary, but contained concessions from the emperor which endangered and indeed destroyed the old personal union with Austria. Of these the chief was the grant of an independent Ministry, and the union of Hungary and Transylvania without any obligation of service to the Crown, without the recognition of any community of interests, without any stipulation for such co-operation as might be needed to secure the existence of the joint monarchy.

In Croatia, Slavonia, in the Banat, and in the district of Bacska inhabited by the Servians, the Slavonic nationalist movement broke into open revolt against Magyar self-aggrandisement; the Hungarian Ministry then demanded the recall of all Hungarian troops from the Italian army, from Moravia and Galicia, in order to quell the "anarchy" prevailing at home. The Imperial Government now discovered that in conceding an "independent" war ministry to Hungary they had surrendered the unity of the army, and so lost the main prop of the monarchical power. The difficulty was incapable of solution by peaceful methods; a struggle could only be avoided by the voluntary renunciation on the part of Hungary of a right she had extorted but a moment before. No less intolerable was the independent

attitude of Hungary on the financial question, wherein she showed no inclination to consider the needs of the whole community. She owed her political existence to German victories over the Turks, but in her selfishness would not save

Hungary's Debt to German Victories

Austria from bankruptcy by accepting a quarter of the national debt and making a yearly payment of five million dollars to meet the interest. The majority of the Ministry of Batthyány, to which the loyalist Franz von Deák belonged, were by no means anxious to bring about a final separation between Hungary and Austria; they were even ready to grant troops to the court for service in the Italian war, if the Imperial Government would support Hungarian action against the malcontent Croats.

In May, Count Batthyány hastened to the Imperial Court at Innsbruck and succeeded in allaying the prevailing apprehensions. The court was inclined to purchase Hungarian adherence to the dynasty and the empire by compliance in all questions affecting the domestic affairs of Hungary. But it soon became clear that Batthyány

and his associates did not represent public feeling, which was entirely led by the fanatical agitator Kossuth, who was not to be appeased by the offer of the portfolio of finance in Batthyány's Ministry.

Louis Kossuth was a man of extravagant enthusiasm, endowed with great histrionic powers, a rhetorician who was apt to be carried away by the torrent of his own eloquence, a type of the revolutionary apostle and martyr. He was undoubtedly lacking in sobriety of political judgment, and his powers were never exerted with

full effect except under the stress of high excitement; he seems, indeed, to have been one of those who realise themselves only at the moment when they feel that the will of great masses of men has fallen completely under the sway of their own passion of eloquence. The ambitions of such men can never be satisfied in any



FRANCIS JOSEPH I.

Born in 1830, he became Emperor of Austria in 1848, succeeding his uncle Ferdinand I., who had been compelled to abdicate. The above portrait was taken about the year 1870.

arena less than that in which national destinies are staked. Kossuth did not enter on his political career from motives of personal aggrandisement, with a deliberate intention of overthrowing the Hapsburg rule in order that he might become the presiding genius and authoritative chief of a Hungarian Republic; but it can hardly be questioned that this would have been the outcome of the movement which he originated, had it been carried to a successful issue with Kossuth at its head.

For such national rights as the Magyars could claim for themselves full provision was made by the Constitution, which they had devised on liberal principles, abolishing the existing privileges of the nobility and corporations; every freedom was thus provided for the development of their strength and individuality. On July 2nd, 1848, the Reichstag elected under the new Constitution met together. The great task before it was the satisfaction of the other nationalities, the Slavs, Roumanians, and Saxons, living on Hungarian soil; their acquiescence in the Magyar predominance was to be secured without endangering the unity of the kingdom, by means of laws for national defence, and of other innovations making for prosperity.

Some clear definition of the connection between Hungary and Austria was also necessary if their common sovereign was to retain his prestige in Europe; and it was of the first importance to allay the apprehensions of the court with regard to the fidelity, the subordination, and devotion of the Magyars. Kossuth, however,

Kossuth's Demands at the Reichstag

brought before the Reichstag a series of proposals calculated to shatter the confidence which Batthyány had exerted himself to restore during his repeated visits to Innsbruck. The Austrian national bank had offered to advance six and a quarter million dollars in notes for the purposes of the Hungarian Government. This proposal Kossuth declined, and issued Hungarian

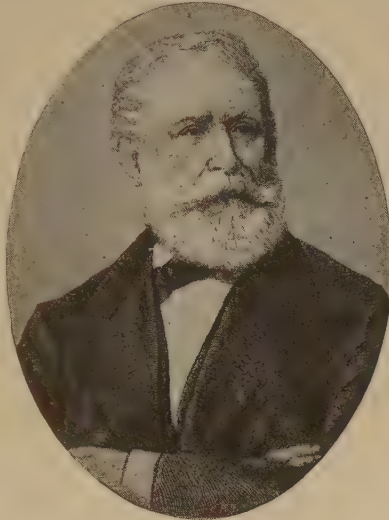
paper for the same amount; he then demanded further credit to the extent of 21,000,000 dollars, to equip a national army of 200,000 men. He even attempted to determine the foreign policy of the emperor-king. Austria was to cede all Italian territory as far as the Etsch, and, as regarded her German provinces, to

bow to the decisions of the central power in Frankfort. In case of dispute with this power she was not to look to Hungary for support. Such a point of view was wholly incompatible with the traditions and the European prestige of the House of Hapsburg; to yield would have been to resign the position of permanency and to begin the disruption of the monarchy.

It was to be feared that Hungarian aggression could be met only by force. The federal allies, who had already prepared for what they saw would be a hard struggle, were now appreciated at their true value. They in-

cluded the Servians and Croats, who were already in open revolt against the Magyars, and had been organised into a military force by Georg Stratimirov. The Banace of Croatia was a dignity in the gift of the king, though his nominee was responsible to Hungary. Since the outbreak of the revolution the position had been held by an Austrian general upon the military frontier—Jellacic.

Though no professional diplomatist, he performed a master-stroke of policy in securing to the support of the dynasty the southern Slav movement fostered by the "Great Illyrian" party. He supported the majority of the Agram Landtag in their efforts to secure a separation from Hungary, thereby exposing himself to the violent denunciations of Batthyány's Ministry, which demanded his deposition. These outcries he disregarded, and pacified the court by exhorting the frontier regiments serving under Radetzky to remain true to their colours and to give their lives for the glory of Austria. The approbation of his comrades



KOSSUTH IN LATER LIFE

For some years Kossuth resided in England, the above portrait showing him during his stay in that country. He died in the year 1894.

in the imperial army strengthened him in the conviction that it was his destiny to save the army and the Imperial house. He formed a Croatian army of 40,000 men, which was of no great military value, though its numbers, its impetuosity, and its extraordinary armament made it formidable. The victories of the Italian

The Emperor's Answer to Kossuth army and the reconquest of Milan raised the spirit of the Imperial Court. On August 12th the emperor returned to

the summer palace of Schönbrunn, near Vienna, and proceeded to direct his policy in the conviction that he had an armed force on which he could rely, as it was now possible to reconcentrate troops by degrees in different parts of the empire. On August 31st, 1848, an Imperial decree was issued to the palatine Archduke Stephen, who had hitherto enjoyed full powers as the royal representative in Hungary and Transylvania; the contents of the decree referred to the necessity of enforcing the Pragmatic Sanction. Such was the answer to the preparations begun by Kossuth.

This decree, together with a note from the Austrian Ministry upon the constitutional relations between Austria and Hungary, was at once accepted by Kossuth as a declaration of war, and was made the occasion of measures equivalent to open revolt. On September 11th the Minister of Finance in a fiery speech, which roused his auditors to a frenzied excitement, declared himself ready to assume the dictatorship on the retirement of Batthyány's Ministry. On the same day the Croatian army crossed the Drave and advanced upon Lake Platten.

The Vienna Democrats, who might consider themselves masters of the capital, had been won over to federal alliance with Hungary. The most pressing necessity was the restoration of a strong government which would secure respect for established authority, freedom of deliberation

Illiterate Deputies in the Reichstag to the Reichstag, and power to carry out its conclusions. The Reichstag, however, preferred to discuss a superficial

and ill-conceived motion brought forward by Hans Kudlich, the youthful deputy from Silesia, for releasing peasant holdings from the burdens imposed on them by the overlords. The work of this Reichstag, which contained a large number of illiterate deputies from Galicia, may be estimated from the fact that it showed a strong in-

clination to put the question of compensation on one side. Dr. Alexander Bach was obliged to exert all his influence and that of the Ministry to secure a recognition of the fundamental principle, that the relief of peasant holdings should be carried out in legal form. The "people" of Vienna took little part in these negotiations; their attention was concentrated upon the noisy outcries of the Democrats, who were in connection not only with the radical element of the Frankfort Parliament, but also with Hecker and his associates.

As early as the middle of September a beginning was made with the task of fomenting disturbances among the working classes, and the retirement of the Ministry was demanded. Great excitement was created by the arrival of a large deputation from the Hungarian Reichstag, with which the riotous Viennese formed the tie of brotherhood in a festive celebration on September 16th. The Hungarians were able to count upon the friendship of the Austrian revolutionaries after their manifestations of open hostility to the court. The Hungarian difficulty weakened the

Radical Hopes of a Republic impression made by Radetzky's victories, and radical minds again conceived hopes of overthrowing the Imperial house and forming a Federal Danube Republic. At the request of the archduke palatine, Count Louis Batthyány made another attempt to form a constitutional Ministry on September 17th, with the object of abolishing Kossuth's dictatorship; however, no practical result was achieved.

The die had been already cast, and the military party had established the necessity of restoring the imperial authority in Hungary by force of arms. The Archduke Stephen attempted to bring about a meeting with Jellacic, to induce him to evacuate Hungarian territory, but the banus excused himself; at the same time the palatine was informed that Field-Marshal Lamberg had been appointed commander-in-chief of the imperial troops in Hungary, and that the banus was under his orders. This was a measure entirely incompatible with the then existing Constitution. The archduke recognised that he would be forced to violate his constitutional obligations as a member of the Imperial house; he therefore secretly abandoned the country and betook himself to his possessions in Schaumberg without making any stay in Vienna.

When Count Lamberg attempted to take up his post in the Hungarian capital he fell into the hands of Kossuth's most desperate adherents, and was cruelly murdered on September 28th, 1848, at the new suspension bridge which unites Pesth and Ofen. An irreparable breach with the dynasty was thus made, and the civil war began. At the end of September the Hungarian national troops under General Moga, a force chiefly composed of battalions of the line, defeated Jellacic and advanced into Lower Austria. They were speedily followed by a Hungarian army which proposed to co-operate with the revolted Viennese, who were also fighting against the public authorities.

It was on October 6th, 1848, that the Viennese mob burst into open revolt, the occasion being the march of a grenadier battalion of the northern railway station for service against the Hungarians. The democratic conspirators had been stirred up in behalf of republicanism by Johannes Ronge, Julius Fröbel, and Karl Tausenau; they had done their best to inflame the masses, had unhinged the minds of the populace to the point of rebellion, and

**The Minister
of War
Assassinated**

made the maintenance of public order impossible. The uproar spread throughout the city, and the Minister of War, Count Latour, was murdered. The Radical deputies, Löhner, Borrosch, Fischhof, Schuselka, and others now perceived that they had been playing with fire and had burnt their fingers. They were responsible for the murder, in so far as they were unable to check the atrocities of the mob, which they had armed.

Once again the Imperial family abandoned the faithless capital and took refuge in the archbishop's castle at Olmütz. The immediate task before the Government was to overpower the republican and anarchist movement in Vienna. In Olmütz the Government was represented by Wessenberg, and was also vigorously supported by Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, who had hastened to the court from Radetzky's camp. He had been employed not only on military service, but also in diplomatic duties in Turin and Naples.

He declared for the maintenance of the constitutional monarchy, and supported the decree drafted by Wessenberg, to the effect that full support and unlimited power of action should be accorded to the Reichstag summoned to Kremsier for discussion with the Imperial

advisers upon some mutually acceptable form of constitution for the empire. There was strong feeling in favour of placing all power in the hands of Prince Alfred Windisch-Graetz, and establishing a military dictatorship in his person, with the abolition of all representative bodies; but for the moment this idea was not

**Crushing
the Revolt
in Vienna**

realised. Windisch-Graetz was appointed field-marshal and commander-in-chief of all the imperial forces outside Italy, and undertook the task of crushing the revolt in Vienna and Hungary. The subjugation of Vienna was an easy task.

The garrison, consisting of troops of the line under Auersperg, had withdrawn into a secure position outside the city on October 7th, where they joined hands with the troops of the banus Jellacic on the Leitha. These forces gradually penetrated the suburbs of Vienna. On October 21st the army of Prince Windisch-Graetz, marching from Moravia, arrived at the Danube, crossed the river at Nussdorf, and advanced with Auersperg and Jellacic upon the walls which enclosed Vienna.

The Democrats in power at Vienna, who had secured the subservience of the members of the Reichstag remaining in the city, showed the courage of bigotry. They rejected the demands of Windisch-Graetz, who required their submission, the surrender of the War Minister's murderers, and the dissolution of the students' committees and of the democratic unions; they determined to defend Vienna until Hungary came to their help. Robert Blum, who, with Julius Fröbel, had brought an address from the Frankfort Democrats to Vienna, was a leading figure in the movement for resistance. Wenzel Messenhauser, the commander of the National Guard, undertook the conduct of the defence, and headed a division of combatants in person. The general assault was delivered on October 28th.

**Vienna on
the Point of
Surrender**

Only in the Praterstern and in the Jägerzeile was any serious resistance encountered. By evening almost all the barricades in the suburbs had been carried, and the troops were in possession of the streets leading over the glacis to the bastions of the inner city.

On the next day there was a general feeling in favour of surrender. Messenhauser himself declared the hopelessness of continuing the struggle, and advised a

general surrender. However, on the morning of October 30th he was on the Tower of Stephan watching the struggle of Jellacic against the Hungarians at Schwechat, and was unfortunately induced to proclaim the news of the Hungarian advance with an army of relief, thereby reviving the martial ardour of the desperadoes, who had already

Vienna's begun a reign of terror in Vienna. He certainly opposed the fanatics who clamoured for a resumption of the conflict; but

he quailed before the intimidation of the democratic ruffians, and resigned his command without any attempt to secure the due observance of the armistice which had been already concluded with Windisch-Graetz. On the 31st the field-marshal threw a few shells into the town to intimidate the furious proletariat; but it was not until the afternoon that the imperial troops were able to make their way into the town. They arrived just in time to save the Imperial library and the museum of natural history from destruction by fire.

Vienna was conquered on November 1st, 1848; those honourable and distinguished patriots who had spent the month of October in oppression and constant fear of death were liberated. The revolution in Austria could now be considered at an end. The capture of Vienna cost the army sixty officers and 1,000 men killed and wounded. The number of the inhabitants, combatants and non-combatants, who were killed in the last days of October can only be stated approximately. Dr. Anton Schütte, an eye-witness, estimated the number at 5,000.

The next problem was the conduct of the war with Hungary, which had already raised an army of 100,000 men, and was in possession of every fortress of importance in the country, with the exception of Arad and Temesvar. The Battle of Schwechat, on October 30th, 1848, had ended with the retreat of the 30,000 men brought up by

Abdication of the Emperor Ferdinand General Moga. The energy of the Hungarians had not been equal to the importance of the occasion. A Hungarian victory at that time would have implied the relief of Vienna, and the question of the separation of the Crown of Stephen from the House of Hapsburg would certainly have become of European importance.

Upon the abdication of the Emperor Ferdinand and the renunciation of his brother, the Archduke Francis Charles,

the Archduke Francis Joseph ascended the throne on December 2nd, 1848. On the same day Prince Windisch-Graetz advanced upon the Danube with 43,000 men and 216 guns, while General Count Franz Schlick started from Galicia with 8,000 men, and General Balthasar von Simunich moved upon Neutra from the Waag with 4,000 men. After a series of conflicts—at Pressburg on the 17th, at Raab on the 27th, at Moor on the 30th December, 1848, and after the victory of Schlick at Kaschau on December 11th, the provisional Government under Kossuth was forced to abandon Pesth and to retire to Debreczin; the banate was speedily evacuated by the national troops, as soon as Jellacic, who now commanded an army corps under Windisch-Graetz, was able to act with the armed Servians.

However, the field-marshal underestimated the resisting power of the nation, which, as Kossuth represented, was threatened with the loss of its political existence, and displayed extraordinary capacities of self-sacrifice and devotion in those dangerous days.

The Tide Turns for Hungary

He was induced to advance into the district of the Upper Theiss with too weak a force, and divided his troops, instead of halting in strong positions at Ofen and Waitzen on the Danube and waiting for the necessary reinforcements. The Battle of Kapolna, on February 26th and 27th, 1849, enabled Schlick to effect the desired junction, and could be regarded as a tactical victory. Strategically, however, it implied a turn of the scale in favour of the Hungarians; they gradually concentrated under the Polish general Henryk Dembinski and the Hungarian Arthur Görgey, and were able to take the offensive at the end of March, 1849, under the general command of Görgey, who won a victory at Isaszégh, Gödöllő, on April 6th.

Ludwig von Melden, the representative of Windisch-Graetz, who had been recalled to Olmütz, was forced to retire to the Raab on April 27th to avoid being surrounded. The town of Komorn had offered a bold resistance to the Austrian besiegers, who had hitherto failed to secure this base, which was of importance for the further operations of the imperial army. General Moritz Perezel made a victorious advance into the banate. General Joseph Bem fought with varying success against the weak Austrian divisions in Transylvania under Puchner.

THE HUNGARIAN REBELLION

The remnants of these were driven into Wallachia on February 20th. By April, 1849, the fortresses of Ofen, Arad, and Temesvar alone remained in the occupation of the Austrians.

The promulgation of a new constitution for the whole of Austria, dated March 4th, 1849, was answered by Kossuth in a proclamation from Debreczin on April 14th, dethroning the House of Hapsburg. In spite of the armistice with Victor Emmanuel, Italy was as yet too disturbed to permit the transference of Radetzky's army to Hungary. Accordingly, on May 1st the Emperor Francis Joseph concluded a convention with Russia, who placed her forces at his disposal for the subjugation of Hungary, as the existence of a Hungarian

with three corps to Arad without coming into collision with the Russian contingents.

On August 5th Dembinski was driven back from Szoray to the neighbourhood of Szegedin, and the Hungarian leaders could no longer avoid the conviction that their cause was lost. On August 11th, Kossuth fled from Arad to Turkey.

Kossuth's Flight to Turkey On the 13th, Görgey, who had been appointed dictator two days previously, surrendered with 31,000 men, 18,000 horse, 144 guns, and sixty standards, at Vilagos, to the Russian general Count Rüdiger. Further surrenders were made at Lugos, Boros-Jenö, Mehadia, and elsewhere. On October 5th, Klapka marched out of Komorn under the honourable capitulation of September 27th.



THE HISTORIC ARCHBISHOP'S CASTLE, NEAR OLMUTZ, IN MORAVIA

Republic threatened a rebellion in Poland. It was now possible to raise an overwhelming force for the subjection of the brave Hungarian army. General Haynau was recalled from the Italian campaign to lead the Imperial army in Hungary. He advanced from Pressburg with 60,000 Austrians, 12,000 Russians, and 250 guns.

The Imperial Army in Hungary Jellacic led 44,000 men and 168 guns into South Hungary, while the Russian field-marshal Prince Paskevitch marched on North Hungary by the Dukla Pass with 130,000 men and 460 guns.

Görgey repulsed an attack delivered by Haynau at Komorn on July 2nd; on the 11th he was removed from the command in favour of Dembinski, and defeated on the same battlefield, then making a masterly retreat through Upper Hungary

Hungary was thus conquered by Austria with Russian help. For an exaggeration of her national claims, which was both historically and politically unjustifiable, she paid with the loss of all her constitutional rights, and brought down grievous misfortune upon herself. The Magyar nationalists had expected the Western Powers to approve their struggles for independence and to support the new Magyar state against Austria and Russia; they calculated particularly upon help from England. They were now to learn that the Hungarian question is not one of European importance, and that no one saw the necessity of an independent Hungarian army and Ministry of Foreign Affairs except those Hungarian politicians whose motive was not patriotism but self-seeking in its worst form.



AN EPISODE IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1848: THE TROOPS RESTING BEFORE THE BATTLE OF SCHLESWIG
From the painting by I. Semne



STRUGGLES OF GERMAN DUCHIES AND THE RISINGS OF THE SLAVS AND POLES

AN entirely strong and healthy national feeling came to expression in those "sea-girt" duchies, the masters of which had also been kings of Denmark since the fifteenth century. During the bitter period of the struggle for the supremacy of the Baltic they had but rarely been able to assert their vested right to separate administration. They, however, had remained German, whereas the royal branch of the House of Holstein-Oldenburg, one of the oldest ruling families in Germany, had preferred to become Danish. The members of the ducal House of Holstein, which had undergone repeated bifurcations, largely contributed to maintain German feeling in Schleswig and Holstein, and asserted their independence with reference to their Danish cousins by preserving their relations with the empire and with their German neighbours. In the eighteenth century the consciousness of their independence was so strong among

Results of the Vienna Congress

the estates of the two duchies that the "royal law" of 1660, abolishing the assembly of the estates and establishing the paramountcy of the Danish branch of the House of Oldenburg, could not be executed in Schleswig and Holstein.

The result of the Vienna Congress had been to secure the rights of the German districts and to separate them definitely from Napoleon's adherent. Metternich's policy had bungled this question, like so many other national problems, by handing over Schleswig to the Danes, while including Holstein in the German Federation. Unity was, however, the thought that inspired the population of either country. This feeling increased in strength and became immediately operative when Denmark was so impolitic as to defraud the Germans by regulations which bore unjustly upon the imperial bank, founded in 1813.

The disadvantages of Danish supremacy then became manifest to the lowest peasant. Danish paper and copper were

forced upon the duchies, while their good silver streamed away to Copenhagen. The struggle against this injustice was taken up by the German patriot leaders, who were able to make the dissension turn on a constitutional point after the publication of the "open letter" of King Christian

Disadvantages of Danish Supremacy

VIII. On July 8th, 1848, he announced the intention of the Danish Government, in the event of a failure of male heirs, to secure the succession to the undivided "general monarchy" to the female line, in accordance with the Danish royal law. Christian's only son, Frederic, was an invalid and childless, and the duchies had begun to speculate upon the demise of the Crown and the consequent liberation from a foreign rule.

Their constitution recognised only succession in the male line, a principle which would place the power in the hands of the ducal House of Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, while in Denmark the successor would be Prince Christian of Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, who had married Louise of Hesse-Cassel, a niece of Christian VIII. Schleswig had the prospect of complete separation from Denmark, and this object was approved in numerous public meetings and adopted as a guiding principle by the Assembly of these estates. Schleswig objected to separation from Holstein, and to any successor other than one in the male line of descent.

Christian VIII. died on January 20th, 1848, and was succeeded by his son, Frederic VII.

The Duchies Demand Independence

This change and the impression created by the revolutions in Paris, Vienna, and Berlin confirmed the duchies in their resolve to grasp their rights and assert their national independence. Had the king met these desires with a full recognition of the provincial constitutions and the grant of a separate national position and administration, he would probably have been able to retain

possession of the two countries under some form of personal federation without appealing to force of arms, and perhaps to secure their adherence for the future. He yielded, however, to the arguments of the "Eider Danes," who demanded the abandonment of Holstein and the incorporation of Schleswig with Denmark,

**A New
Government
at Kiel**

regarding the Eider as the historical frontier of the Danish power. This party required a joint constitutional form of government, and induced the king to elect a Ministry from their number and to announce the incorporation of Schleswig in the Danish monarchy to the deputation from the Schleswig-Holstein provinces in Copenhagen, on March 22nd, 1848.

Meanwhile, the Assembly of the estates at Rendsburg had determined to declare war upon the Eider Danes. On March 24th a provisional government for the two duchies was formed at Kiel, which was to be carried on in the name of Duke Christian of Augustenburg, at that time apparently a prisoner in the hands of the Danes, until he secured liberty to govern his German territories in person.

The new Government was recognised both by the population at large and by the garrisons of the most important centres. It was unable, however, immediately to mobilise a force equivalent to the Danish army, and accordingly turned to Prussia for help. This step, which appeared highly politic at the moment, proved unfortunate in the result. The fate of the duchies was henceforward bound up with the indecisive and vacillating policy of Frederic William IV., whose weakness became daily more obvious; he was incapable of fulfilling any single one of the many national duties of which he talked so glibly.

His first steps in the Schleswig-Holstein complication displayed extraordinary vigour. On April 3rd, 1848, two Prussian regiments of the Guard marched into Rends-

**Prussian
Regiments in
Rendsburg**

burg, and their commander, General Eduard von Bonin, sent an ultimatum on the 16th to the Danish troops, ordering them to evacuate the duchy and the town of Schleswig, which they had seized after a victory at Bau on April 9th over the untrained Schleswig-Holstein troops. On April 12th the Federal Council at Frankfurt recognised the provisional government at Kiel, and mobilised the tenth federal army corps, Hanover, Meck-

lenburg, and Brunswick, for the protection of the federal frontier. The Prussian general Von Wrangel united this corps with his own troops, and fought the Battle of Schleswig on the 23rd, obliging the Danes to retreat to Alsen and Jütland.

Throughout Germany the struggle of the duchies for liberation met with enthusiastic support, and was regarded as a matter which affected the whole German race. There and in the duchies themselves Prussia's prompt action might well be considered as a token that Frederic William was ready to accomplish the national will as regarded the north frontier. Soon, however, it became plain that British and Russian influence was able to check the energy of Prussia, and to confine her action to the conclusion of a peace providing protection for the interests of the German duchies.

The king was tormented with fears that he might be supporting some revolutionary movement. He doubted the morality of his action, and was induced by the threats of Nicholas I., his Russian brother-in-law, to begin negotiations with Denmark. These ended in the conclusion of a seven months' armistice at Malmö on

Prussia's August 26th, 1848, Prussia
Evacuation of agreeing to evacuate the
Schleswig duchy of Schleswig. The government of the duchies was to be undertaken by a commission of five members, nominated jointly by Denmark and Prussia. The Frankfort Parliament attempted to secure the rejection of the conditions, to which Prussia had assented without consulting the imperial commissioner, Max von Gagern, who had been despatched to the seat of war, these conditions being entirely opposed to German feeling. But the resolutions on the question were carried only by small majorities; the Parliament was unable to ensure their realisation, and was eventually forced to acquiesce in the armistice.

Meanwhile the Assembly of the estates of Schleswig-Holstein hastily passed a law declaring the universal liability of the population to military service, and retired in favour of a "Constituent Provincial Assembly," which passed a new constitutional law on September 15th. The connection of the duchies with the Danish Crown was thereby affirmed to depend exclusively upon the person of the common ruler. The Danish members of the government commission declined to recognise the new constitution, and also demurred to the

election of deputies from Schleswig to the Frankfort Parliament. Shortly afterwards Denmark further withdrew her recognition of the government commission. The armistice expired without any success resulting from the attempts of Prussia to secure unanimity on the Schleswig-Holstein question among the Great Powers. War consequently broke out again in February, 1849. Victories were gained by Prussian and federal troops and by a Schleswig-Holstein corps, in which were many Prussian officers on furlough from the king at Eckernförde on April 5th, and Kolding on April 23rd, 1849. On the other hand, the Schleswig-Holstein corps was defeated while besieging the Danish fortress of Fridericia, and forced to retreat beyond the Eider. On July 10th, 1849, Prussia concluded a further armistice with Denmark. The administration of the duchies was entrusted to a commission composed of a Dane, a Prussian, and an Englishman.

At the same time the government of Schleswig-Holstein was continued in Kiel in the name of the Provincial Assembly by Count Friedrich Reventlow and Wilhelm Hartwig Beseler, a solicitor. They tried

**Discontent
Under Danish
Oppression**

to conclude some arrangement with the king- duke on the one hand, and on the other to stir up a fresh rising of the people against Danish oppression, which was continually increasing in severity in Schleswig. The devotion of the German population and the enthusiastic support of numerous volunteers from every part of Germany raised the available forces to 30,000 men and even made it possible to equip a Schleswig-Holstein fleet. In the summer of 1850, Prussia gave way to the representations of the Powers, and concluded the "Simple Peace" with Denmark on July 2nd. Schleswig-Holstein then began the struggle for independence on their own resources.

They would have had some hope of success with a better general than Wilhelm von Willisen, and if Prussia had not recalled her officers on furlough. Willisen retired from the battle of Idstedt, July 24th, before the issue had been decided, and began a premature retreat. He failed to prosecute the advantage gained at Missunde on September 12th, and retired from Friedrichstadt without making any impression, after sacrificing 400 men in a useless attempt to storm the place. The German Federation, which had been

again convoked at Frankfort, revoked its previous decisions, in which it had recognised the rights of the duchies to determine their own existence, and assented to the peace concluded by Prussia. An Austrian army corps set out for the disarmament of the duchies. Though the Provincial Assembly still possessed an unbeaten army of 38,000 men fully equipped, it was forced on January 11th, 1851, to submit to the demands of Austria and Prussia to disband the army, and acknowledge the Danish occupation of the two duchies. From 1852 Denmark did her utmost to undermine the prosperity of her German subjects and to crush their national aspirations.

**The Ignoble
Methods
of Denmark**

Such ignoble methods failed to produce the desired result. Neither the faithlessness of the Prussian Government nor the arbitrary oppression of the Danes could break the national spirit of the North German marches. On the death of Frederic VII., on November 15th, 1863, they again asserted their national rights. Prussia had become convinced of their power and of the strength of their national feeling, and took the opportunity of atoning for her previous injustice.

Of the many quixotic enterprises called into life by the "nation's spring" of 1848, one of the wildest was certainly the Slav Congress opened in Prague on June 2nd. Here the catchword of Slav solidarity was proclaimed and the idea of "Panslavism" discovered, which even now can raise forebodings in anxious hearts, although half a century has in no way contributed to the realisation of the idea. At a time when the nations of Europe were called upon to determine their different destinies, it was only natural that the Slavs should be anxious to assert their demands. There were Slav peoples which had long been deprived of their national rights, and others, such as the Slovaks and part of the southern Slavs, who had never enjoyed the exercise of their rights. For these a period of severe trial had begun; it was for them to show whether they were capable of any internal development and able to rise to the level of national independence, or whether not even the gift of political freedom would help them to carry out that measure of social subordination which is indispensable to the uniform development of culture. The first attempts in this direction were

**Rising
of the
Slavs**

somewhat of a failure; they proved to contemporaries and to posterity that the Slavs were still in the primary stages of political training, that the attainment of practical result was hindered by the extravagance of their demands, their overweening and almost comical self-conceit, and that for the creation of states they possessed little or no capacity. The differences existing in their relations with other peoples, the lack of uniformity in the economic conditions under which they lived, the want of political training and experience—these were facts which they overlooked. They forgot the need of prestige and importance acquired by and within their own body, and considered of chief importance preparations on a large scale, which could never lead to any lasting political success.

Had their action been limited to forwarding the common interests of the Austrian Slavs it might have been possible to produce a political programme dealing with this question, to demand a central Parliament, and, through opposition to the Hungarian supremacy, to assert the rights of the Slav majority as against the Germans, Magyars, and Italians. But the participation of the Poles in the movement, the appearance of the Russian radical democrat Michael Bakunin, and of Turkish subjects, infinitely extended the range of the questions in dispute, and led to propositions of the most arbitrary nature, the accomplishment of which was entirely beyond the sphere of practical politics. Panslavism, as a movement, was from the outset deprived of all importance by the inveterate failing of the Slav politicians, which was to set no limit to the measure of their claims, and to represent themselves as stronger than they were.

Greatly to the disgust of its organisers, among whom were several Austrian conservative nobles, the Slav Congress became an arena for the promulgation of democratic theories, while it waited for

a congress of European nations to found Pan-Slavonic states. These states were to include Czechia—Bohemia and Moravia—a Galician-Silesian state, Posen under Prussian supremacy, until the fragments of Poland could be united into an independent Polish kingdom, and a

kingdom of Slovenia which was to unite the Slav population of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and the seaboard. The Slav states hitherto under Hapsburg supremacy were to form a federal state; the German hereditary domains were to be graciously accorded the option of entering the federation, or of joining the state which the Frankfort Parliament was to create. The attitude of the Slovaks, Croats, and Serbians would be determined by the readiness of the Magyars to grant them full independence. Should the

grant be refused, it would be necessary to form a Slovak and a Croatian state. All these achievements the members of the congress considered practicable, though they were forced to admit that the Slavs, whom they assumed to be inspired by the strongest aspirations for freedom and justice, were continually attempting to aggrandise themselves at one another's expense; the Poles, the Ruthenians, and the Croats respectively, considered their most dangerous enemies to be the Russians, the Poles, and the Servians.

The Czech students in Prague had armed and organised a guard of honour for the congress. They made not the smallest attempt to conceal their hatred of the Germans; Germanism to them was anathema, and they yearned for the chance of displaying their heroism in an anti-German struggle, as the

Poles had done against Russia. They were supported by the middle-class citizens, and the working classes were easily induced to join in a noisy demonstration on June 12th, 1848, against Prince Alfred Windisch-Graetz, the general commanding in Prague, as he had refused the students a grant of



THE HISTORIAN PALACKY
The Czech historian and politician, Franz Palacky, became influential at the imperial court in Olmütz. He was born in 1798 and died in 1876.



LOUIS MIEROSLAWSKI
A learned visionary who believed in the triumph of Democracy, he began his revolutionary work in Posen in 1848, and fought at the head of the rebels at Xions.

STRUGGLES OF GERMAN DUCHIES

sixty thousand cartridges and a battery of horse artillery. The demonstration developed into a revolt, which the Czech leaders used as evidence for their cause, though it was to be referred rather to the disorderly character of the Czech mob than to any degree of national enthusiasm. The members of the congress were very disagreeably surprised, and decamped with the utmost rapidity when they found themselves reputed to favour the scheme for advancing Slav solidarity by street fights.

The Vienna government, then thoroughly cowed and trembling before the mob, made a wholly unnecessary attempt at intervention. Prince Windisch-Graetz, however, remained master of the situation, overpowered the rebels by force of arms, and secured the unconditional submission of Prague. He was speedily master of all Bohemia. The party of Franz Palacky, the Czech historian and politician, at once dropped the programme of the congress in its entirety, abandoned the ideal of Panslavism, and placed themselves at the disposal of the Austrian Government. Czech democratism was an exploded idea; the conservative Czechs

The Exploded Idea of Czech Democratism

who survived its downfall readily co-operated in the campaign against the German democrats, and attempted to bring their national ideas into harmony with the continuance of Austria as dominant power. Palacky became influential at the imperial court in Olmütz and proposed the transference of the Reichstag to Kremsier, where his subordinate, Ladislaus Rieger, took an important share in the disruption of popular representation by the derision which he cast upon the German Democrats.

The Austrian Slavs had acquired a highly favourable position by their victory over the revolutionary Magyars, an achievement in which the Croats had a very considerable share. They might the more easily have become paramount, as the Germans had injured their cause by their senseless radicalism. Their fruitless attempt to secure a paramount position in Bohemia gave them a share in the conduct of the state; this they could claim by reason of the strength and productive force of their race and of their undeniable capacity for administrative detail, had they conceded to the Germans the position to which these latter were entitled by the development of the

Hapsburg monarchy and its destiny in the system of European states. The year 1848 might perhaps have afforded an opportunity for the restoration of Polish independence had the leaders of the national policy been able to find the only path which could guide them to success. Any attempt in this direction

Revolt of the Poles

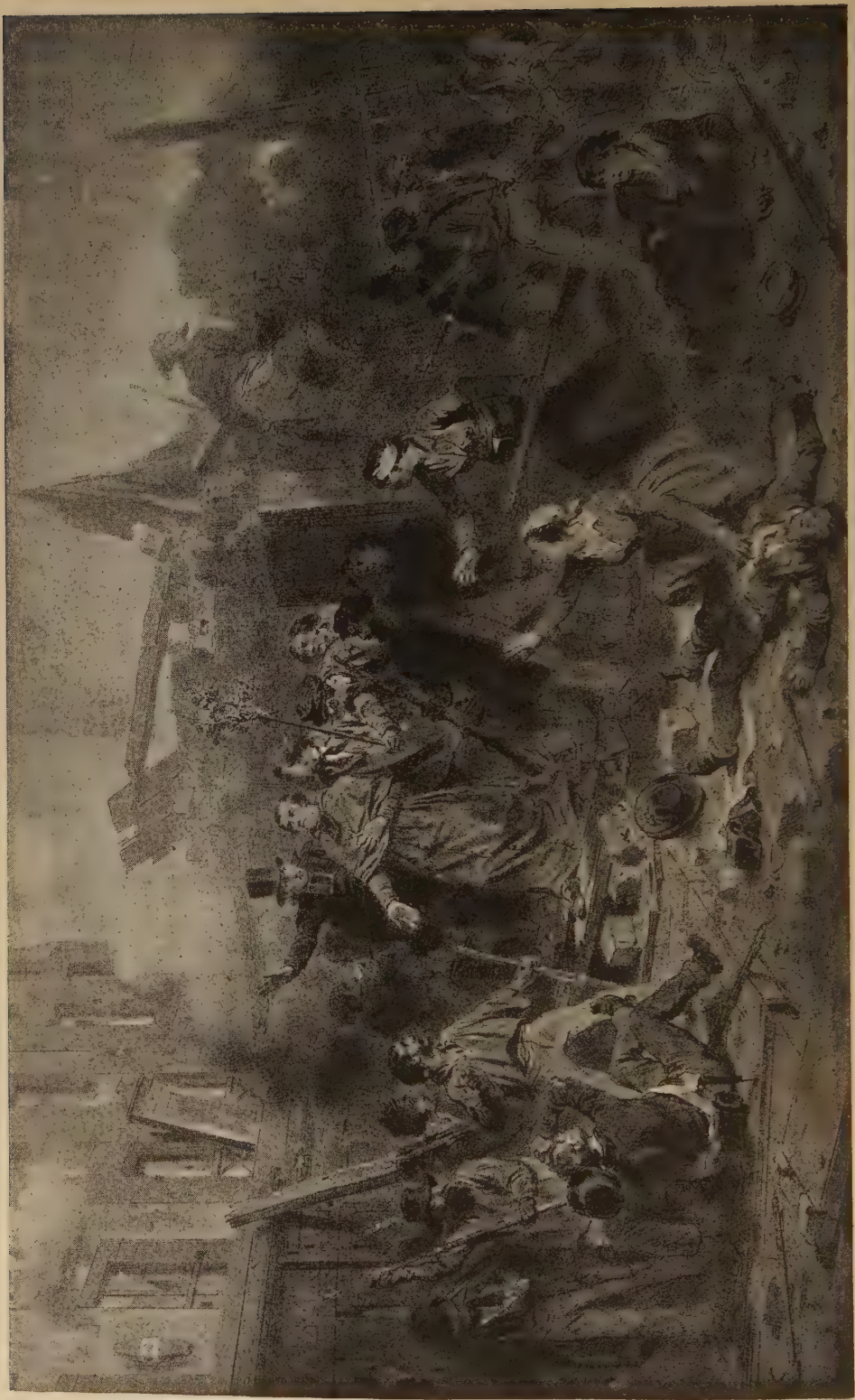
ought to have been confined to the territory occupied by Russia; any force that might have been raised for the cause of patriotism could have been best employed upon Russian soil. Russia was entirely isolated; it was inconceivable that any European Power could have come to her help, as Prussia had come in 1831, if she had been at war with the Polish nation.

Austria was unable to prevent Galicia from participation in a Polish revolt. Prussia had been won over as far as possible to the Polish side, for her possessions in Posen had been secured from any amalgamation with an independent Polish state. The approval of the German Parliament was as firmly guaranteed to the Polish nationalists as was the support of the French Republic, provided that German interests were not endangered.

Exactly the opposite course was pursued: the movement began with a rising in Posen, with threats against Prussia, with fire and slaughter in German communities, with the rejection of German culture, which could not have been more disastrous to Polish civilisation than the arbitrary and cruel domination of Russian officials and police. Louis of Mieroslawski, a learned visionary but no politician, calculated upon a victory of European democracy, and thought it advisable to forward the movement in Prussia, where the conservative power seemed most strongly rooted. He therefore began his revolutionary work in Posen, after the movement of March had set him free to act. On April 29th, 1848, he fought an unsuccessful battle at the head of

Failure of Polish Rising

16,000 rebels against Colonel Heinrich von Brandt at Xions; on the 30th he drove back a Prussian corps at Miloslaw. However, he gained no support from the Russian Poles, and democratic intrigue was unable to destroy the discipline of the Prussian army, so that the campaign in Posen was hopeless; by the close of May it had come to an end, the armed bands were dispersed, and Mieroslawski driven into exile.



BARRICADE FIGHTING IN THE PARIS REVOLUTION: THE ARCHBISHOP OF PARIS MORTALLY WOUNDED ON SUNDAY, JUNE 25TH, 1848



THE SECOND REPUBLIC IN FRANCE

LOUIS NAPOLEON, PRESIDENT AND DICTATOR

THE European spirit of democracy which was desirous of overthrowing existing states, planting its banner upon the ruins, and founding in its shadow new bodies politic of the nature of which no Democrat had the remotest idea, had been utterly defeated in France at a time when Italy, Germany, and Austria were the scene of wild enthusiasm and bloody self-sacrifice. Democratic hopes ran the course of all political ideals. The process of realisation suddenly discloses the fact that every mind has its own conception of any ideal, which may assume the most varied forms when translated into practice.

A nation desirous of asserting its supremacy may appear a unity while struggling against an incompetent government; but as soon as the question of establishing the national supremacy arises, numbers of different interests become prominent, which cannot be adequately satisfied by any one constitutional form.

France Declared a Republic The simultaneous fulfilment of the hopes which are common to all is rendered impossible, not only by inequality of material wealth, but also by the contest for power, the exercise of which necessarily implies the accumulation of privileges on one side with a corresponding limitation on the other.

When the 900 representatives of the French nation declared France a republic on May 4th, 1848, the majority of the electors considered the revolution concluded, and demanded a public administration capable of maintaining peace and order and removing the burdens which oppressed the taxpayer. The executive committee chosen on May 10th, the president's chair being occupied by the great physicist Dominique François Arago, fully recognised the importance of the duty with which the country had entrusted it, and was resolved honourably to carry out the task. But in the first days of its existence the committee found itself confronted by an organised opposition,

which, though excluded from the Government, claimed the right of performing its functions. Each party was composed of Democrats, government and opposition alike; each entered the lists in the name of the sovereign people, those elected by the moneyed classes as well as the leaders of the idle or unemployed, who for two months had been in receipt of pay for worthless labour in the "national factories" of France.

On May 15th the attack on the dominant party was begun by the Radicals, who were pursuing ideals of communism or political socialism, or were anxious merely for the possession of power which they might use to their own advantage. They found their excuse in the general sympathy for Poland. The leaders were Louis Blanc, L. A. Blanqui, P. J. Proudhon, Etienne Cabet, and François Vincent Raspail. Ledru-Rollin declined to join the party. They had no sooner gained possession of the Hôtel de Ville than a few battalions of the National Guard arrived opportunely and dispersed the masses.

The leaders of the conspiracy were arraigned before the court of Bourges, which proceeded against them with great severity, while the national factories were closed. They had cost France \$50,000 daily, and were nothing more than a meeting-ground for malcontents and sedition. This measure, coupled with an order to the workmen to report themselves for service in the provinces, produced the June revolt, a period of street fighting, in which the radical Democrats, who gathered round the red flag, carried on a life and death struggle with the republican Democrats, whose watchword was the "République sans phrase."

The monarchists naturally sided with the republican Government, to which the line troops and the National Guard were also faithful. The Minister of War, General Louis Eugène

Cavaignac, who had won distinction in Algiers, supported by the generals Lamoricière and Damesne, on June 23rd successfully conducted the resistance to the bands

advancing from the suburbs to the centre of Paris. The "Reds," however, declined to yield, and on June 24th the National Assembly gave Cavaignac the dictatorship. He declared Paris in a state of siege, and pursued the rebels to the suburb of Sainte-Antoine, where a fearful massacre on June 27th made an end of the revolt. The victory had been gained at heavy cost; thousands of wounded lay in the hospitals of Paris and its environs. The number of lives lost has never been determined, but it equalled the carnage of many a great battle, and included nine generals and



DOMINIQUE FRANÇOIS ARAGO

After France had been declared a republic, on May 4th, 1848, a capable public administration was demanded, and an executive committee was formed with Arago, the great astronomer and physicist, who had taken part in the Revolution of 1830, as a member.

several deputies. An important reaction in public feeling had set in; the people's favour was now given to the conservative parties, and any compromise with the Radicals was opposed.

The democratic republic was based on the co-operation of the former "constitutionalists." Thiers, Montalembert, and Odilon Barrot again became prominent figures. Cavaignac was certainly installed at the head of the executive committee; his popularity paled apace, however, as he did not possess the art of conciliating the bourgeois by brilliant speeches or promises of relief from taxation. The constitution, which was ratified after two months' discussion by the National Assembly, preserved the fundamental principle of the people's sovereignty.

The choice of a president of the republic was not left to the deputies, but was to be decided by a plebiscite. This provision opened the way to agitators capable of

influencing the masses and prepared the path to supremacy for an ambitious member of the Bonaparte family, who had been repeatedly elected as a popular representative, and had held a seat in the National Assembly since September 26th, 1848. From the date of his flight from Ham Louis Napoleon had lived in England in close retirement. The outbreak of the February revolution inspired him with great hopes for his future; he had, however, learned too much from Strassburg and Boulogne to act as precipitately as his supporters in France desired. He remained strong in the conviction that his time would come, a thought which relieved the tedium of waiting for the moment when he might venture to act.

He tendered his thanks to the republic for permission to return to his native land after so many years of proscription and banishment; he assured the deputies who were his colleagues of the zeal and devotion which he would bring to their labours, which had hitherto been known to him only "by reading and meditation." His candidature for the president's chair was then accepted not only by his personal friends and by the adherents of the Bonapartist empire, but also by numerous members of conservative tendencies, who saw in uncompromising Republicans like Cavaignac no hope of salvation from the terrors of anarchy. They were followed by ultramontanes, Orleanists, legitimists, and socialists, who objected to the



LOUIS BLANC

Socialist and historian, he was appointed a member of the Provisional Government in 1848; escaping to London on being unjustly accused of complicity in the disturbances of that year, he there completed his "Histoire de la Révolution," returning later to France.

republican doctrinaires, and used their influence in the election which took place on December 10th, 1848. Against the one and a half millions who supported

THE SECOND REPUBLIC IN FRANCE

Cavaignac, an unexpectedly large majority of five and a half millions voted for the son of Louis Bonaparte and Hortense Beauharnais. As a politician no one considered him of any account, but every party hoped to be able to use him for their own purposes or for the special objects of their ambitious or office-seeking leaders. The behaviour of the National Assembly was not very flattering when the result of the voting was announced on December 20th. "Some, who were near Louis Bonaparte's seat," says Victor Hugo, "expressed approval; the rest of the Assembly preserved a cold silence. Marrast, the president, invited the chosen candidate to take the oath. Louis Bonaparte, buttoned up in a black coat, the cross of the Legion of Honour on his breast, passed through the door on the right, ascended the tribune, and calmly repeated the words after Marrast; he then read a speech, with the unpleasant accent peculiar to him, interrupted by a few cries of assent. He pleased his hearers by his unstinted praise of Cavaignac. In a few moments he had finished, and left the tribune amid a general shout of 'Long live the republic!' but with none of the cheers which had accompanied Cavaignac." Thus "the new man" was received with much discontent and indifference, with scanty respect, and with no single spark of enthusiasm. He was, indeed, without genius or fire and of very moderate capacity; but he understood the effect of commonplaces and the baser motives of his political instruments, and was therefore able to attract both the interest of France and the general attention of the whole

of Europe. The president of the citizen republic was thus a member of the family of that great conqueror and subduer of the world whose remembrance aroused feelings of pride in every Frenchman, if his patriotism were not choked by legitimism; it was a problem difficult of explanation. No one knew whether the president was to be addressed as Prince, Highness, Sir, Monseigneur, or Citizen. To something greater he was bound to grow, or a revolution would forthwith hurl him back into the obscurity whence he had so suddenly emerged. But of revolution France had had more than enough. "Gain and the enjoyment of it" was the watchword, and Louis Napoleon accepted it. Victor Hugo claims to

have shown him the fundamental principles of the art of government at the first dinner in the Elysée. Ignorance of the people's desires, disregard of the national pride, had led to the downfall of Louis Philippe; the most important thing was to raise the standard of peace. "And how?" asked the prince. "By the triumphs of industry and progress, by great artistic, literary, and scientific efforts. The labour of the nation can create marvels. France is a nation of conquerors; if she does not conquer with the sword, she will conquer by her genius and talent. Keep that fact in view and you will advance; forget it, and you are lost." Louis did not possess this power of expression, but with the idea he had long been familiar. He now increased his grasp of it.

He knew that men get tired of great movements, political convulsion, hypocritical posing. Most people are out of breath after they have puffed themselves



PIERRE JOSEPH PROUDHON

An advanced Socialist, Proudhon published works asserting that "Property is theft." In 1849 he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for the violence of his utterances, and in 1858 received a similar sentence.



LOUIS EUGÈNE CAVAIGNAC

In 1848 this distinguished general became Minister of War, and carried his success on the field into his office of military dictator, promptly quelling the June insurrection. He was a candidate for the presidency of the republic when Louis Napoleon was elected.

like the frog in the fable, and need a rest to recover their wind. As long as this desire for quietude prevailed, Napoleon the citizen was secure of the favour of France. The moment he appealed to "great feelings" his art had reached its limits and he became childish and insignificant. His political leanings favoured the Liberalism for which the society of Paris had created the July kingdom. This tendency was shown in his appointment of Odilon Barrot as head of his Ministry, and of Edouard Drouyn de l'Huys, one of his personal adherents, as First Minister of Foreign Affairs. Desire to secure the



VICTOR HUGO

Greatest among the poets of France, Victor Hugo claimed to have shown Louis Napoleon the fundamental principles of the art of government, advising him at the first dinner in the Elysée to raise the standard of peace.

constituted authority against further attacks of the "Reds" was the dominant feeling which influenced the elections to the National Assembly. By the election law, which formed part of the constitution, these were held in May, 1849. The majority were former Royalists and Constitutionalists, who began of express purpose a reactionary policy after the revolt of the Communists in June, 1848. Fearful of the Italian democracy, into the arms of which Piedmont had rushed, France let slip the favourable opportunity of fostering the Italian movement for unity and of taking Austria's place



OVERTHROWING THE CONSTITUTION: THE COUP D'ETAT OF LOUIS NAPOLEON

Returning to France in 1848, after a few years of quiet seclusion in England, Louis Napoleon was elected deputy for Paris in the Constituent Assembly of June, and in December was elected president. But it was not long before he quarrelled with the Chambers, carrying out a coup d'état on December 1st, 1851, by overthrowing the constitution.



NAPOLEON III.

EMPERESS EUGÉNIE

The son of Louis Bonaparte, brother of the great Napoleon, Louis Napoleon had engaged in various schemes to recover the throne of France before his coup d'état in 1851 prepared the way for his election to the throne of his illustrious uncle. On December 2nd, 1852, the Empire was proclaimed with Louis Napoleon as Napoleon III. On January 29th, 1853, he married Eugénie de Montijo, a Spanish countess, and twenty years later, on January 9th, 1873, died in England.

in the peninsula. Had she listened to Charles Albert's appeal for help, the defeat of Novara could have been avoided, and the Austrian Government would not have gained strength enough to become the centre of a reactionary movement which speedily interfered both with the revolutionary desires of the Radicals and the more modest demands of the moderate-minded friends of freedom.

Louis Bonaparte fully appreciated the fact that the sentiments of the population at large were favourable to a revival of

**The Pope's
Supremacy
Restored**

governmental energy throughout almost the whole of Europe. He saw that the excesses of the mob, which were as passionately excited as they were morally degraded, had restored confidence, among the moneyed classes and those who desired peace, in the power of religious guidance and education. For these reasons he acquiesced in the restoration of the temporal supremacy of the Pope, which the democracy had abolished, thereby rendering the greatest of all possible services to the ultramontanes.

In March, 1848, Pius IX., the "National Pope," had assented to the introduction within the states of the Church of a

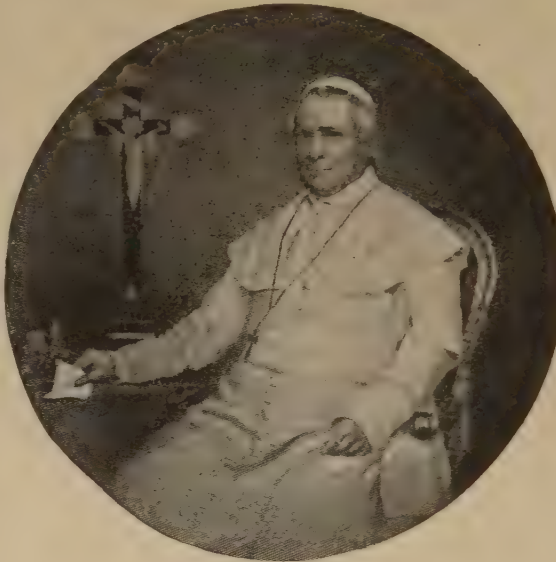
constitutional form of government. At the same time he had publicly condemned the war of Piedmont and the share taken in it by the Roman troops, which he had been unable to prevent. This step had considerably damped public enthusiasm in his behalf. Roman feeling also declared against him when he refused his assent to the liberal legislation of the Chambers and transferred the government to the hands of Count Pellegrino de Rossi. The count's murder, on November 15th, 1848, marked the beginning of a revolution in Rome which ended with the imprisonment of the Pope in the Quirinal, his flight to the Neapolitan fortress of Gaeta on November 27th, and the establishment of a provisional government.

The Pope was now inclined to avail himself of the services offered by Piedmont for the recovery of his power. However, the constituent National Assembly at Rome, which was opened on February 5th, 1849, voted for the restoration of the Roman republic by 120 votes against 23, and challenged the Pope to request the armed interference of the Catholic Powers in his favour. The Roman republic became the central point of the movement for Italian unity, and was

joined by Venice, Tuscany, and Sicily. Mazzini was the head of the triumvirate which held the executive power; Giuseppe Garibaldi directed the forces for national defence, of which Rome was now made the headquarters. The "democratic republic" which was being organised in France would have no dealings with the descendants of the Carbonari, or with the chiefs of the revolutionary party in Europe. It considered alliance with the clericals absolutely indispensable to its own preservation. Hence came the agreement to co-operate with Austria, Spain, and Naples for the purpose of restoring the Pope to his temporal power. Twenty thousand men were at once despatched under Marshal Oudinot, and occupied the harbour town of Civita Vecchia on April 25th, 1849.

The president, however, had no intention of reimposing upon the Romans papal absolutism, with all the objections to such a government. He sent out his trusty agent, Ferdinand de Lesseps, to effect some compromise between the Pope and the Romans which should result in the establishment of a moderate Liberal government. Oudinot, however, made a premature appeal to force of arms. He suffered a reverse before the walls of Rome on April 30th, and the military honour of France, which a descendant of Napoleon could not afford to disregard, demanded the conquest of the Eternal City. Republican soldiers thus found themselves co-operating with the reactionary Austrians, who entered Boulogne on May 19th, and reduced half of Ancona to ashes. On June 20th, the bombardment of Rome began, in the course of which many of the most splendid

monuments of artistic skill were destroyed. The city was forced to surrender on July 3rd, 1849, after Garibaldi had marched away with 3,000 volunteers. By its



THE POPE PIUS IX.

Succeeding Gregory XVI. in 1846, Pope Pius IX. introduced a series of reforms and won the affections of the populace. During the revolutionary fever of 1848, however, he opposed the public desire for a war with Austria, and the mob became so menacing that he found it expedient to make his escape from the Quirinal in disguise.

attitude upon the Roman question, and by its refusal of support to the German Democrats, who were making their last efforts in the autumn of 1849 for the establishment of Republicanism in Germany, the French Republic gradually lost touch with the democratic principles on which it was based. Its internal disruption was expedited by the clumsiness of its constitution. A Chamber provided with full legislative power

and indissoluble for three years confronted a president elected by the votes of a nation to an office tenable for only four years, on the expiration of which he was at once eligible for re-election.

Honest Republicans had foreseen that election by the nation would give the president a superfluous prestige and a dangerous amount of power; but the majority of the Constituent Assembly had been "inspired with hatred of the republic.

They were anxious to have an independent power side by side with the Assembly, perhaps with the object of afterwards restoring the monarchy." This object Louis Bonaparte was busily prosecuting. On October 31st, 1849, he issued a message to the country, in which he gave himself out to be the representative of the Napoleonic system, and explained the maintenance of peace and social order to be dependent upon his own position. Under pressure from public opinion, the Chamber passed a new electoral law on May 31st, 1850, which abolished about three millions out of ten million votes, chiefly those of

**Napoleon's
Message
to the Nation**

town electors, and required the presence of a quarter of the electorate to form a quorum. The Radicals were deeply incensed at this measure, and the Conservatives by no means satisfied. The president attempted to impress his personality on the people by making numerous tours through the country, and to conciliate the original electorate, to whose decision alone he was ready to bow.

A whole year passed before he ventured upon any definite steps; at one time the Chamber showed its power, at another it would display compliance. However, he could not secure the three-quarters majority necessary for determining a revision of the constitution, although seventy-nine out of eighty-five general councillors supported the proposal. There could be no doubt that the presidential election of May, 1852, would have forced on the revision, for the reason that Louis Napoleon would have been elected by an enormous majority, though the constitution did not permit immediate re-election. A revolt of this nature on the part of the

The Waiting Policy of Napoleon

whole population against the law would hardly have contributed to strengthen the social order which rests upon constitutionally established rights; the excitement of the elections might have produced a fresh outbreak of radicalism, which was especially strong in the south of France, at Marseilles and Bordeaux. The fear of some such movement was felt in cottage and palace alike, and was only to be obviated by a monarchical government.

No hope of material improvement in the conditions of life could be drawn from the speeches delivered in the Chamber, with their vain acrimony, their bombastic self-laudation, and their desire for immediate advantage. The childlike belief in the capacity and zeal of a national representative assembly was destroyed for ever by the experience of twenty years. The Parliament was utterly incompetent to avert a coup d'état, a danger which had been forced upon its notice in the autumn of 1851. It had declined a proposal to secure its command of the army by legislation, although the growing popularity of the new Cæsar with the



PIUS IX. LEAVING THE QUIRINAL

army was perfectly obvious, and though General Saint-Arnaud had engaged to leave North Africa, and conduct the armed interference which was the first step to a revision of the constitution without consulting the views of the Parliament. After long and serious deliberation the president had determined upon the coup

**Preparing
for the
Coup d'état**

d'état; the preparations were made by Napoleon's half-brother, his mother's son, Count de Morny, and by Count Flahault. He was supported by the faithful Persigny, while the management of the army was in the hands of Saint-Arnaud. On December 2nd, 1851, the day of Austerlitz and of the coronation of his great uncle, it was determined to make the nephew supreme over France. General Bernard Pierre Magnan, commander of the garrison at Paris, won over twenty generals to the cause of Bonaparte in the event of conflict. Louis himself, when his resolve had been taken, watched the course of events with great coolness. Morny, a prominent stock-exchange speculator, bought up as much state paper as he could get, in the conviction that the coup d'état would cause a general rise of stock.

The movement was begun by the Director of Police, Charlemagne Emile de Maupas, who surprised in their beds and took prisoner every member of importance in the Chamber, about sixty captures being thus made, including the generals Cavaignac, Changarnier, and Lamoricière; at the same time the points of strategic importance round the meeting hall of the National Assembly were occupied by the troops, which had been reinforced from the environs of Paris. The city awoke to find placards posted at the street corners containing three short appeals to the nation, the population of the capital, and the army, and a decree dissolving the National Assembly, restoring the right of universal suffrage, and declaring Paris

**Paris in
a State
of Siege**

and the eleven adjacent departments in a state of siege. In the week, December 14th to 21st, 10,000,000 Frenchmen were summoned to the ballot-box to vote for or against the constitution proposed by the president. This constitution provided a responsible head of the state, elected for ten years, and threefold representation of the people through a state council, a legislative body, and a senate, the executive power being placed under the

control of the sovereign people. On his appearance the president was warmly greeted by both people and troops, and no opposition was offered to the expulsion of the deputies who attempted to protest against the breach of the constitution.

It was not until December 3rd that the revolt of the Radicals and Socialists broke out; numerous barricades were erected in the heart of Paris, and were furiously contested. But the movement was not generally supported, and the majority of the citizens remained in their houses. The troops won a complete victory, which was stated to have secured the establishment of the "democratic republic," though unnecessary acts of cruelty made it appear an occasion of revenge upon the Democrats. The exponents of barricade warfare were destroyed as a class for a long time to come, not only in Paris, but in the other great towns of France, where the last struggles of the Revolution were fought out. The impression caused by this success, by the great promises which Louis Napoleon made to his adherents, and by the rewards which he had begun to pay them,

**Napoleon
Becomes
Dictator** decided the result of the national vote upon the change in the constitution, or, more correctly, upon the elevation of Louis

Napoleon to the dictatorship. By December 20th, 1851, 7,439,246 votes were given in his favour, against 640,737. Bonapartism in its new form became the governmental system of France.

"The severest absolutism that the nineteenth century has seen was founded by the general demonstrations of a democracy. The new ruler, in the early years of his government, was opposed by all the best intellects in the nation; the most brilliant names in art and science, in politics and war, were united against him, and united with a unanimity almost unparalleled in the course of history. A time began in which wearied brains could find rest in the nirvana of mental vacuity, and in which nobler natures lost nearly all of the best that life could give. For a few years, however, the masses were undeniably prosperous and contented; so small is the significance of mental power in an age of democracy and popular administration." It is the popular will which must bear the responsibility for the fate of France during the next two decades; the nation had voluntarily humbled itself and bowed its neck to an adroit adventurer.



THE PROBLEM OF THE GERMAN STATES AND THE VAIN SEARCH AFTER FEDERATION

ON May 18th, 1848, 586 representatives of every German race met in the Church of St. Paul at Frankfurt-on-Main to create a constitution corresponding to the national needs and desires. The great majority of the deputies belonging to the National Assembly, in whose number were included many distinguished men, scholars, manufacturers, officials, lawyers, property owners of education and experience, were firmly convinced that the problem was capable of solution, and were honourably and openly determined to devote their best energies to the task. In the days of "the dawn of the new freedom," which illumined the countenances of politicians in the childhood of their experience, flushed with yearning and expectation, the power of conviction, the blessing that would be produced by immovable principles were believed as gospel. It was thought that the power of the Government was broken,

In "the Dawn of the New Freedom" that the Government, willing or unwilling, was in the people's hands, and could accommodate itself to the conclusions of the German constituents. Only a few were found to doubt the reliability of parliamentary institutions, and the possibility of discovering what the people wanted and of carrying out their wishes.

No one suspected that the experience of half a century would show the futility of seeking for popular unanimity, the division of the nation into classes at variance with one another, the disregard of right and reason by parliamentary, political, social, religious, and national parties as well as by princes, and the inevitability of solving every question which man is called upon to decide by the victory of the strong will over the weak.

A characteristic feature of all theoretical political systems is very prominent in Liberalism, which was evolved from theory and not developed in practice. This feature is the tendency to stigmatise all institutions which cannot find a place within the

theoretical system as untenable, useless, and to be abolished in consequence; hence the first demand of the Liberal politician is the destruction of all existing organisation, in order that no obstacle may impede the erection of the theoretical structure.

The Ideals of the Radicals Liberals, like socialists and anarchists, argue that states are formed by establishing a ready-made system, for which the ground must be cleared as it is required. They are invariably the pioneers to open the way for the Radicals, those impatient levellers who are ready to taste the sweets of destruction even before they have formed any plans for reconstruction, who are carried away by the glamour of idealism, though utterly incapable of realising any ideal, who at best are impelled only by a strong desire of "change," when they are not inspired by the greed which most usually appears as the leading motive of human action.

Thus it was that the calculations of the German Liberals neglected the existence of the Federal Assembly, of the federation of the states, and of their respective governments. They took no account of those forms in which German political life had found expression for centuries, and their speeches harked back by preference to a tribal organisation which the nation had long ago outgrown, and which even the educated had never correctly appreciated.

They fixed their choice upon a constitutional committee, which was to discover the form on which the future German state would be modelled; they created

Obstacles to the Formation of a Constitution a central power for a state as yet non-existent, without clearly and intelligibly defining its relations to the ruling governments who were in actual possession of every road to power. Discussion upon the "central power" speedily brought to light the insurmountable obstacles to the formation of a constitution acceptable to every party, and this

without any interference on the part of the governments. The Democrats declined to recognise anything but an executive committee of the sovereign National Assembly; the Liberals made various proposals for a triple committee in connection with the governments. The bold mind of the president, Heinrich von

The Popular Archduke John of Austria

Gagern, eventually soothed the uproar. He invited the Parliament to appoint, in virtue of its plenary powers, an Imperial Administrator who should undertake the business of the Federal Council, then on the point of dissolution, and act in concert with an imperial Ministry.

The Archduke John of Austria was elected on June 24th, 1848, by 436 out of 548 votes, and the law regarding the central power was passed on the 28th. Had the office of Imperial Administrator been regarded merely as a temporary expedient until the permanent forms were settled, the choice of the archduke would have been entirely happy; he was popular, entirely the man for the post, and ready to further progress in every department of intellectual and material life. But it was a grievous mistake to expect him to create substance out of shadow, to direct the development of the German state by a further use of the "bold grasp," and to contribute materially to the realisation of its being.

The Archduke John was a good-hearted man and a fine speaker, full of confidence in the "excellent fellows," and ever inclined to hold up the "bluff" inhabitants of the Alpine districts as examples to the other Germans; intellectually stimulating within his limits, and with a keen eye to economic advantage; but Nature had not intended him for a politician. His political ideas were too intangible; he used words with no ideas behind them, and though his own experience had not always been of the pleasantest, it had not taught him the feel-

Germany's Imperial Administrator

ing then prevalent in Austrian court circles. For the moment his election promised an escape from all manner of embarrassments. The governments could recognise his position without committing themselves to the approval of any revolutionary measure; they might even allow that his election was the beginning of an understanding with the reigning German houses. This, however, was not the opinion of the leading party in

the National Assembly. The Conservatives, the Right, or the Right Centre, as they preferred to be called, were alone in their adherence to the sound principle that only by way of mutual agreement between the Parliament and the governments could a constitutional German body politic be established. Every other party was agreed that the people must itself formulate its own constitution, as only so would it obtain complete recognition of its rights.

This fact alone excluded the possibility of success. The decision of the question was indefinitely deferred, the favourable period in which the governments were inclined to consider the necessity of making concessions to the popular desires was wasted in discussion, and opportunity was given to particularism to recover its strength. There was no desire for a federal union endowed with vital force and offering a strong front to other nations. Patriots were anxious only to invest doctrinaire Liberalism and its extravagant claims with legal form, and to make the governments feel the weight of a vigorous national sentiment. The lessons of the

Hereditary traits of the German

French Revolution and its sad history were lost upon the Germans. Those who held the fate of Germany in their hands, many of them professional politicians, were unable to conceive that their constituents were justified in expecting avoidance on their part of the worst of all political errors.

The great majority by which the central power had been constituted soon broke up into groups, too insignificant to be called political parties and divided upon wholly immaterial points. The hereditary traits of the German, dogmatism and self-assertiveness, with a consequent distaste for voluntary subordination, positively devastated Monarchists and Republicans alike. The inns were scarcely adequate in number to provide headquarters for a score of societies which considered the promulgation of political programmes as their bounden duty.

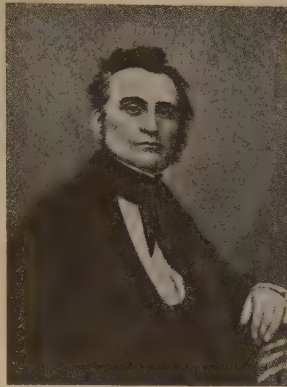
On July 14th, 1848, the Archduke John made his entry into Frankfort, and the Federal Council was dissolved the same day. The Imperial Administrator established a provisional Ministry to conduct the business of the central power till he had completed the work at Vienna which his imperial nephew had entrusted to his care. At the beginning of August, 1848,

he established himself in Frankfort, and appointed Prince Friedrich Karl von Leiningen as the head of the Ministry, which also included the Austrian, Anton von Schmerling; the Hamburg lawyer, Moritz Heckscher; the Prussians, Hermann von Beckerath and General Eduard von Peucker; the Bremen senator, Arnold Duckwitz; and the Würtemberger, Robert von Mohl, professor of political science at Heidelberg.

To ensure the prestige of the central power, the Minister of War, Von Peucker, had given orders on August 6th for a general review of contingents furnished by the German states, who were to give three cheers to the Archduke John as imperial administrator. The mode in which this order was carried out plainly showed that the governments did not regard it as obligatory, and respected it only so far as they thought good. It was obeyed only in Saxony, Württemberg, and the smaller states. Prussia allowed only her garrisons in the federal fortresses to participate in the parade; Bavaria ordered her troops to cheer the king before the imperial administrator. In Austria no notice was taken of the order, except in Vienna, as it affected the archduke; the Italian army did not trouble itself about the imperial minister of War in the least.

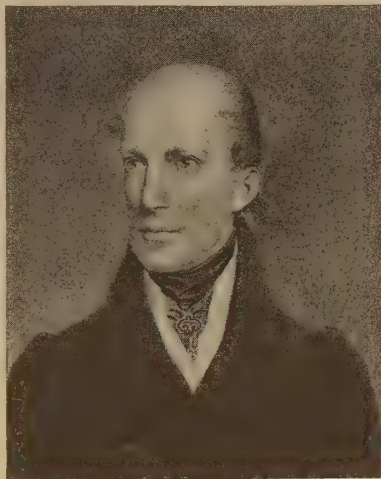
At the same time, the relations of the governments and the central power were by no means unfriendly. The King of Prussia did not hide his high personal esteem of the Imperial Administrator, and showed him special tokens of regard at the festivities held at Cologne on August 14th, 1848, in celebration of the six hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the cathedral. Most of the federal princes honoured him as a member of the

Austrian House, and continued confidential relations with him for a considerable time. The German governments further appointed plenipotentiaries to



HEINRICH VON GAGERN
This German statesman was president of the Frankfort Parliament in the year 1849, and it was mainly on his suggestion that an Imperial Administrator was appointed.

present their interests with the central power; these would have been ready to form a kind of Monarchical Council side by side with the National Assembly, and would thus have been highly serviceable to the imperial administrator as a channel of communication with the governments. But the democratic pride of the body which met in the Church of St. Paul had risen too high to tolerate so opportune a step towards a "system of mutual accommodation." On August 30th the central power was obliged to declare that the plenipotentiaries of the individual states possessed no competence to influence the decisions of the central power, or to conduct any systematic business. The new European power had notified its



ARCHDUKE JOHN OF AUSTRIA

A "good-hearted man and a fine speaker," he was elected Imperial Administrator; he entered Frankfort on July 14th, 1848, and on the same day the Federal Council was dissolved, whereupon he established a provisional Ministry.

existence by special embassies to various foreign states, and received recognition in full from the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States of North America; Russia ignored it, while the attitude of France and Britain was marked by distrust and doubt. Austria was in the throes of internal convulsion during the summer of 1848 and unable seriously to consider the German question; possessing a confidential agent of pre-eminent position in the person of the Archduke John, she was able to reserve her decision. With Prussia, however, serious complications speedily arose from the war in Schleswig-Holstein. Parliament was aroused to great excitement by the armistice of Malmö, which Prussia concluded on August 26th, without consulting Max von Gagern, the imperial state secretary commissioned to

the duchies by the central power. The central power had declared the Schleswig-Holstein question a matter of national importance, and in virtue of the right which had formerly belonged to the Federal Council demanded a share in the settlement. On September 5th, Dahlmann proposed to set on foot the necessary measures for carrying out the armistice ; the proposal, when sent up by the Ministry for confirmation, was rejected by 244 to 230 votes. Dahlmann, who was now entrusted by the Imperial Administrator with the formation of a new Ministry, was obliged to abandon the proposal after many days of fruitless effort. Ignoring the imperial Ministry, the Assembly proceeded to discuss the steps to be taken with reference to the armistice which was already in process of fulfilment. Meanwhile the democratic Left lost their majority in the Assembly, and the proposal of the committee to refuse acceptance of the armistice and to declare war on Denmark through the provisional central power was lost by 258 votes to 237.

This result led to a revolt in Frankfurt, begun by the members of the Extreme Left under the leadership of Zitz of Mainz and their adherents in the town and in the neighbouring states of Hesse and Baden. The town senate was forced to apply to the garrison of Mainz for military protection and to guard the meeting of the National Assembly on September 18th, 1848, with an Austrian and a Prussian battalion of the line. The revolutionaries, here as in Paris, terrified the Parliament by the invasion of an armed mob, and sought to intimidate the members to the passing of resolutions which would have brought on a civil war.

Barricades were erected, and two deputies of the Right, Prince Felix Lichnowsky and Erdmann of Auerswald, were cruelly murdered. Even the long-suffering archducal administrator of the empire was forced to renounce the hope of a pacific termination of the quarrel. The troops were ordered to attack the barricades, and the disturbance was put down in a few hours with no great loss of life. The citizens of Frankfurt had not fallen into the trap of the " Reds," or given any support to the desperadoes with whose help the German republic was to be founded. A few days later the professional revolutionary, Gustav Struve, met

the fate he deserved; after invading Baden with an armed force from France, "to help the great cause of freedom to victory," he was captured at Lörrach on September 25th, 1848, and thrown into prison.

The German National Assembly was now able to resume its meetings, but the public confidence in its lofty position and powers had been greatly shaken. Had the radical attempt at intimidation proved successful, the Assembly would speedily have ceased to exist. It was now able to turn its attention to the question of " fundamental rights," while the governments in Vienna and Berlin were fighting for the right of the executive power. The suppression of the Vienna revolt by Windisch-Graetz had produced a marked impression in Prussia. The conviction was expressed that the claims of the democracy to a share in the executive power by the subjects of the state, and their interference in government affairs, were to be unconditionally rejected. Any attempt to coerce the executive authorities was to be crushed by the sternest measures, by force of arms, if need be ; otherwise the main-

The Severe Measures of the Government

tenance of order was impossible, and without this there could be no peaceful enjoyment of constitutional rights. It was clear that compliance on the part of the government with the demands of the revolutionary leaders would endanger the freedom of the vast majority of the population ; the latter were ready to secure peace and the stability of the existing order of things by renouncing in favour of a strong government some part of those rights which Liberal theorists had assigned to them. In view of the abnormal excitement then prevailing, such a programme necessitated severity and self-assertion on the part of the government. This would be obvious in time of peace, but at the moment the fact was not likely to be appreciated.

The refusal to fire a salute upon the occasion of a popular demonstration in Schweidnitz on July 31st, 1848, induced the Prussian National Assembly to take steps which were calculated to diminish the consideration and the respect of armed force, which was a highly beneficial influence in those troublous times. The result was the retirement on September 7th of the Auerswald-Hansemann Ministry, which had been in office since June 25th ; it was followed on September 21st by a

bureaucratic Ministry under the presidency of General Pfuel, which was without influence either with the king or the National Assembly. The Left now obtained the upper hand. As president they chose a moderate, the railway engineer, Hans Victor von Unruh, and as vice-president the leader of the Extreme Left, the doctrinaire lawyer, Leo Waldeck. During the deliberations on the constitution they erased the phrase "By the grace of God" from the king's titles, and resolved on October 31st, 1848, to request the Imperial Government in Frankfort to send help to the revolted Viennese. This step led to long continued communications between the Assembly and the unemployed classes, who were collected by the democratic agitators, and surrounded the royal theatre where the deputies held their sessions.

On November 1st, 1848, news arrived of the fall of Vienna, and Frederic William IV. determined to intervene in support of his kingdom. He dismissed Pfuel and placed Count William of Brandenburg, son of his grandfather Frederic William II. and of the Countess Sophia Juliana

**Martial
Law in
Berlin**

Friederika of Dönhoff, at the head of a new Ministry. He then despatched 15,000 troops, under General Friedrich von

Wrangel, to Berlin, the city being shortly afterwards punished by the declaration of martial law. The National Assembly was transferred from Berlin to Brandenburg. The Left, for the purpose of "undisturbed" deliberation, repeatedly met in the Berlin coffee-houses, despite the prohibition of the president of the Ministry, but eventually gave way and followed the Conservatives to Brandenburg, after being twice dispersed by the troops. Berlin and the Marks gave no support to the democracy.

The majority of the population dreaded a reign of terror by the "Reds," and were delighted with the timely opposition. They also manifested their satisfaction at the dissolution of the National Assembly, which had given few appreciable signs of legislative activity in Brandenburg, at the publication on December 5th, 1848, of a constitutional scheme drafted by the Government, and the issue of writs for the election of a Prussian Landtag which was to revise the law of suffrage. Some opposition was noticeable in the provinces, but was for the moment of a moderate nature. The interference of the Frankfort Parliament in

the question of the Prussian constitution produced no effect whatever. The centres of the Right and Left had there united and taken the lead, then proceeding to pass resolutions which would not hinder the Prussian Government in asserting its right to determine its own affairs. Public opinion in Germany had thus changed;

**Germany's
Rejection of
Radicalism**

there was a feeling in favour of limiting the demands that might arise during the constitutional definition of the national rights; moreover, the majority of the nation had declined adherence to the tenets of radicalism. It seemed that these facts were producing a highly desirable change of direction in the energies of the German National Assembly; the provisional central power was even able to pride itself upon a reserve of force, for the Prussian Government had placed its united forces, 326,000 men, at its disposal, as was announced by Schmerling, the imperial Minister, on October 23rd, 1848.

None the less, an extraordinary degree of statesmanship and political capacity was required to cope with the obstacles which lay before the creation of a national federation organised as a state, with adequate power to deal with domestic and foreign policy. But not only was this supreme political insight required of the national representatives; theirs, too, must be the task of securing the support of the Great Powers, without which the desired federation was unattainable.

This condition did not apply for the moment in the case of Austria, whose decision was of the highest importance. Here an instance recurred of the law constantly exemplified in the lives both of individuals and of nations, that a recovery of power stimulates to aggression instead of leading to discretion. True wisdom would have concentrated the national aims upon a clearly recognisable and attainable object—namely, the trans-

**Suppressing
the Hungarian
Revolution**

formation of the old dynastic power of the Hapsburgs into a modern state. Such a change would of itself have determined the form of the federation with the new German state, which could well have been left to develop in its own way.

Russian help for the suppression of the Hungarian revolt would have been unnecessary; it would have been enthusiastically given by the allied Prussian states under Frederic William IV. The

only tasks of Austria-Hungary for the immediate future would have been the fostering of her civilisation, the improvement of domestic prosperity, and the extension of her influence in the Balkan peninsula. Even her Italian paramountcy,

The Catholic Dynasty in Germany

had it been worth retaining, could hardly have been wrested from her. No thinking member of the House of Hapsburg could deny these facts at the present day. Possibly even certain representatives of that ecclesiastical power which has endeavoured for three centuries to make the Hapsburg dynasty the champion of its interests might be brought to admit that the efforts devoted to preserving the hereditary position of the Catholic dynasty in Germany led to a very injudicious expenditure of energy.

But such a degree of political foresight was sadly to seek in the winter of 1848-1849. The only man who had almost reached that standpoint, the old Wessenberg, was deprived of his influence at the critical moment of decision. His place was taken by one whose morality was even lower than his capacity or previous training, and whose task was nothing less than the direction of a newly developed state and the invention of some *modus vivendi* between the outraged and insulted dynasty and the agitators, devoid alike of sense and conscience, who had plied the nationalities of the Austrian Empire with evil counsel. Prince Windisch-Graetz was quite able to overpower street rioters or to crush the "legions" of Vienna; but his vocation was not that of a general or a statesman.

However, his word was all-powerful at the court in Olmütz. On November 21st, 1848, Prince Felix Schwarzenberg became head of the Austrian Government. His political views were those of Windisch-Graetz, whose intellectual superior he was, though his decisions were in consequence the more hasty and ill-considered.

His policy upon German questions was modelled on that of Metternich. The only mode of action which commended itself to the Emperor Francis Joseph I., now eighteen years of age, was one promising a position of dignity, combining all the "splendour" of the throne of Charles the Great with the inherent force of a modern Great Power. A prince of chivalrous disposition, who had witnessed the heroic deeds of his army under Radetzky, with the courage to defend his fortunes and those of his state at the point of the sword, would never have voluntarily yielded his rights, his honour-

able position, and the family traditions of centuries, even if the defence of these had not been represented by his advisers as a ruler's inevitable task and as absolutely incumbent upon him.

The Frankfort Parliament had already discussed the "fundamental rights." It had determined by a large majority that personal union was the only possible form of alliance between any part of Germany and foreign countries; it had decided upon the use of the two-chamber system in the Reichstag, and had secured representation in the "Chamber of the States" to the governments even of the smallest states; it had made provision for the customs union until May 18th,

1849, at latest. Among the leaders of the Centre the opinion then gained ground that union with Austria would be impossible in as close a sense as it was possible with the other German states, and that the only means of assuring the strength and unity of the pure German states was to confer the dignity of emperor upon the King of Prussia.

Secessions Among the Liberals

The promulgation of this idea resulted in a new cleavage of parties. The majority of the moderate Liberal Austrians seceded from their associates and joined the Radicals, Ultramontanes, and Particularists, with the object of preventing the introduction of Prussia as



FREDERIC WILLIAM IV.

King of Prussia, he declined the imperial crown offered him by the Frankfort Diet in 1849. His reign was, on the whole, a disappointing one.

an empire into the imperial constitution. Schmerling resigned the presidency of the imperial Ministry. The Imperial Administrator was forced to replace him by Heinrich von Gagern, the first president of the Parliament. His programme was announced on December 16th, and proposed the foundation of a close federal alliance of the German states under Prussian leadership, while a looser federal connection was to exist with Austria, as arranged by the settlement of the Vienna Congress.

After three days' discussion, on January 11th-14th, 1849, this programme was accepted by 261 members of the German National Assembly as against 224. Sixty Austrian deputies entered a protest against this resolution, denying the right of the Parliament to exclude the German Austrians from the German Federal State. The Austrian Government was greatly disturbed at the promulgation of the Gagern programme, and objected to the legislative powers of the Frankfort Assembly in general terms on February 7th, declaring her readiness to co-operate in a union of the German states, and protest-

**Frederic William
Emperor
of the Germans**

ing against the "remodel-
ling" of existing condi-
tions. Thus, she adopted
a position corresponding

to that of the federation of 1815. The decision now remained with the king, Frederic William IV.; he accepted the imperial constitution of March 28th, 1849, and was forthwith elected Emperor of the Germans by 290 of the 538 deputies present.

The constitution in document form was signed by only 366 deputies, as the majority of the Austrians and the ultramontanes declined to acknowledge the supremacy of a Protestant Prussia. The 290 electors who had voted for the king constituted, however, a respectable majority. Still, it was as representatives of the nation that they offered him the imperial Crown, and they made their offer conditional upon his recognition of the imperial constitution which had been resolved upon in Frankfort. It was therein provided that in all questions of legislation the decision should rest with the popular House in the Reichstag.

The imperial veto was no longer unconditional, but could only defer discussion over three sittings. This the King of Prussia was unable to accept, if only for the reason that he was already involved in a warm discussion with Austria, Bavaria, and

Württemberg upon the form of a German federal constitution which was to be laid before the Parliament by the princes.

The despatch of a parliamentary deputation to Berlin was premature, in view of the impossibility of that unconditional acceptance of the imperial title desired and expected by Dahlmann and the professor of Königsberg, Martin Eduard Simson, at that time president of the National Assembly.

The only answer that Frederic William could give on April 3rd, 1849, was a reply postponing his decision. This the delegation construed as a refusal, as it indicated hesitation on the king's part to recognise the Frankfort constitution in its entirety. The king erred in believing that an arrangement with Austria still lay within the bounds of possibility; he failed to see that Schwarzenberg only desired to restore the old Federal Assembly, while securing greater power in it to Austria than she had had under Metternich.

The royal statesman considered Hungary as already subjugated, and conceived as in existence a united state to be formed of the Austrian and Hungarian territories, together with Galicia and Dalmatia; he desired to secure the entrance of this state within the federation, which he intended to be not German but a Central European federation under Austrian leadership.

On the return of the parliamentary deputation to Frankfort with the refusal of the King of Prussia, the work of constitution-building was brought to a standstill. The most important resolutions, those touching the head of the empire, had proved impracticable. The more far-sighted members of the Parliament recognised this fact, and also saw that to remodel the constitution would be to play into the hands of the Republicans. However, their eyes were blinded to the fact that twenty-four petty states of different sizes had accepted the constitution, and

**The National
Assembly Led
by Democrats**

they ventured to hope for an improvement in the situation. The Liberals were uncertain as to the extent of the power which could be assigned to the nation, in contradistinction to the governments, without endangering the social fabric and the existence of civic society. To this lack of definite views is chiefly to be ascribed the fact that the German National Assembly allowed the Democrats to lead it into revolutionary tendencies, until it ended

its existence in pitiable disruption. The Liberals, moreover, cannot be acquitted from the charge of playing the dangerous game of inciting national revolt with the object of carrying through the constitution which they had devised and drafted—a constitution, too, which meant a breach with the continuity of German

Royal Family Expelled From Dresden historical development. They fomented popular excitement and brought about armed risings of the illiterate mobs of Saxony, the Palatinate, and Baden. The royal family were expelled from Dresden by a revolt on May 3rd, and Prussian troops were obliged to reconquer the capital at the cost of severe fighting on May 7th and 8th. It was necessary to send two Prussian corps to reinforce the imperial army drawn from Hesse, Mecklenburg, Nassau, and Würtemberg, for the overthrow of the republican troops which had concentrated at Rastadt.

Heinrich von Gagern and his friends regarded the advance of the Prussians as a breach of the peace in the empire. The Gagern Ministry resigned, as the Archduke John could not be persuaded to oppose the Prussians. The Imperial Administrator had already hinted at his retirement after the imperial election; but the Austrian Government had insisted upon his retention of his office, lest the King of Prussia should step into his place. He formed a conservative Ministry under the presidency of the Prussian councillor of justice, Grävell, which was received with scorn and derision by the Radicals, who were now the dominant party in the Parliament. More than a hundred deputies of the centres then withdrew with Gagern, Dahlmann, Welcker, Simson, and Mathy from May 12th to 26th, 1849.

The Austrian Government had recalled the Austrian deputies on April 4th from the National Assembly, an example followed by Prussia on the 14th. On May 30th, 71 of 135 voters who took part in the discussion supported Karl Vogt's proposal to transfer the Parliament from Frankfort to Stuttgart, where a victory for Suabian republicanism was expected. In the end 105 representatives made up from many classes, including, unfortunately, Lewis Uhland, gave the world the ridiculous spectacle of the opening of the so-called Rump Parliament at Stuttgart on June 6th, 1849, which reached the crown-

ing folly in the election of five "imperial regents." The arrogance of this company, which even presumed to direct the movements of the Würtemberg troops, proved inconvenient to the government, which accordingly closed the meeting hall. The first German Parliament then expired after a few gatherings in the Hôtel Marquardt.

The Imperial Government, the Administrator and his Ministry, retained their offices until December, 1849, notwithstanding repeated demands for their resignation. A committee of four members, appointed as a provisional central power by Austria and Prussia, then took over all business, documentary and financial. As an epilogue to the Frankfort Parliament, mention may be made of the gathering of 160 former deputies of the first German Reichstag, which had belonged to the "imperial party." The meeting was held in Gotha on June 26th. Heinrich von Gagern designated the meeting as a private conference; however, he secured the assent of those present to a programme drawn up by himself which asserted the desirability of a narrower, "little German," federation under the headship of Prussia, or of another central power in association with Prussia.

Proclamation of the Prussian Government Upon the recall of the Prussian deputies from the Frankfort Parliament the Prussian Government issued a proclamation to the German people on May 5th, 1849, declaring itself henceforward responsible for the work of securing the unity which was justly demanded for the vigorous representation of German interests abroad, and for common legislation in constitutional form; that is, with the co-operation of a national house of representatives.

In the conferences of the ambassadors of the German states, which were opened at Berlin on May 17th, the Prussian programme was explained to be the formation of a close federation exclusive of Austria, and the creation of a wider federation which should include the Hapsburg state. Thus in theory had been discovered the form which the transformation of Germany should take. On her side Prussia did not entirely appreciate the fact that this programme could not be realised by means of ministerial promises alone, and that the whole power of the Prussian state would be required to secure its acceptance. The nation, or rather the men to whom the nation had entrusted its future, also failed

to perceive that this form was the only kind of unity practically attainable, and that to it must be sacrificed those "guarantees of freedom" which liberal doctrinaires declared indispensable.

It now became a question of deciding between a radical democracy and a moderate constitutional monarchy, and German Liberalism was precluded from coming to any honourable conclusion. Regardless of consequences, it exchanged amorous glances with the opposition in non-Prussian countries; it considered agreement with the Government as treason to the cause of freedom, and saw reaction where nothing of the kind was to be found. It refused to give public support to aggressive Republicanism, fearing lest the people, when in arms, should prove a menace to private property, and lose that respect for the growing wealth of individual enterprise which ought to limit their aspirations; at the same time, it declined to abate its pride, and continued to press wholly immoderate demands upon the authorities, to whom alone it owed the maintenance of the existing social order.

**The Prussians
Hailed
as Deliverers**

The Baden revolt had been suppressed by the Prussian troops under the command of Prince William, afterwards emperor, who invaded the land which the Radicals had thrown into confusion, dispersed the Republican army led by Mieroslawski and Hecker in a series of engagements, and reduced, on July 23rd, 1849, the fortress of Rastadt, which had fallen into the hands of the Republicans. The Liberals at first hailed the Prussians as deliverers; the latter, however, proceeded by court-martial against the leaders, whose crimes had brought misery upon thousands and had reduced a flourishing province to desolation. Seventeen death sentences were passed, and prosecutions were instituted against the mutinous officers and soldiers of Baden.

The "free-thinking" party, which had recovered from its fear of the "Reds," could then find no more pressing occupation than to rouse public feeling throughout South Germany against Prussia and "militarism," and to level unjustifiable reproaches against the prince in command, whose clever generalship merited the gratitude not only of Baden but of every German patriot. Even then a solution of the German problem might have been possible had the Democrats in South Germany laid aside their

fear of Prussian "predominance," and considered their secret struggle against an energetic administration as less important than the establishment of a federal state, commanding the respect of other nations. But the success of the Prussian programme could have been secured only by the joint action of the whole nation. Unanimity of this kind was a very remote possibility. Fearful of the Prussian "reaction," the nation abandoned the idea of German unity, to be driven into closer relations with the sovereign powers of the smaller and the petty states, and ultimately to fall under the heavier burden of a provincial reaction.

Austria had recalled her ambassador, Anton, Count of Prokesch-Osten, from the Berlin Conference, declining all negotiation for the reconstitution of German interests upon the basis of the Prussian proposals; but she could not have despatched an army against Prussia in the summer of 1849. Even with the aid of her ally Bavaria, she was unable to cope with the 300,000 troops which Prussia alone could place in the field at that time; in Hungary, she had been obliged to call in the help of Russia. United action by Germany would probably have met with no opposition whatever. But Germany was not united, the people as little as the princes; consequently when Prussia, after the ignominious failure of the Parliament and its high promise, intervened to secure at least some definite result from the national movement, her well-meaning proposals met with a rebuff as humiliating as it was undeserved.

The result of the Berlin Conferences was the "alliance of the three kings" of Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony on May 26th, 1849. Bavaria and Würtemberg declined to join the alliance on account of the claims to leadership advanced by Prussia; but the majority of the other German states

gave in their adherence in the course of the summer. A federal council of administration met on June 18th, and made arrangements for the convocation of a Reichstag, to which was to be submitted the federal constitution when the agreement of the Cabinets thereon had been secured. Hanover and Saxony then raised objections and recalled their representatives on the administrative council on October 20th. However, Prussia was able

**Germany's
Idea of Union
Abandoned**

**Results of
the Berlin
Conferences**

to fix the meeting of the Reichstag for March 20th, 1850. at Erfurt. Austria now advanced claims in support of the old federal constitution, and suddenly demanded that it should continue in full force. This action was supported by Bavaria, which advocated the formation of a federation of the smaller states,

Proposed Federation of States which was to prepare another constitution as a rival to the "union" for which Prussia was working. The Saxon Minister, Beust, afterwards of mournful fame in Germany and Austria, who fought against the Saxon particularism, which almost surpassed that prevalent in Bavaria, and was guided by personal animosity to Prussia, became at that moment the most zealous supporter of the statesmanlike plans of his former colleague, Pfordten, who had been appointed Bavarian Minister of Foreign Affairs in April, 1849.

Hanover was speedily won over, as Austria proposed to increase her territory with Oldenburg, in order to create a second North German power as a counterpoise to Prussia, while Würtemberg declared her adherence to the "alliance of the four kings" with startling precipitancy. The chief attraction was the possibility of sharing on equal terms in a directory of seven members with Austria, Prussia, and the two Hesses, which were to have a vote in common. The directory was not to exercise the functions of a central power, but was to have merely powers of "superintendence," even in questions of taxation and commerce. The claims of the Chambers were to be met by the creation of a "Reichstag," to which they were to send deputies.

Upon the secession of the kingdoms from Prussia, disinclination to the work of unification was also manifested by the electorate of Hesse, where the elector had again found a Minister to his liking in the person of Daniel von Hassenpflug. It would, however, have been quite

The King's Desire for Peace possible to make Prussia the centre of a considerable power by the conjunction of all the remaining federal provinces had the Erfurt Parliament been entrusted with the task of rapidly concluding the work of unification. In the meantime Frederic William, under the influence of friends who favoured feudalism, Ernst Ludwig of Gerlach and Professor Stahl, had abandoned his design of forming a restricted federation, and was inspired with the

invincible conviction that it was his duty as a Christian king to preserve peace with Austria at any price; for Austria, after her victorious struggle with the revolution, had become the prop and stay of all states where unlimited monarchy protected by the divine right of kings held sway.

To guard this institution against Liberal onslaughts remained the ideal of his life, Prussian theories of politics and the paroxysms of German patriotism notwithstanding. He therefore rejected the valuable help now readily offered to him in Erfurt by the old imperial party of Frankfort, and clung to the utterly vain and unsupported hope that he could carry out the wider form of federation with Austria in some manner compatible with German interests. His hopes were forthwith shattered by Schwarzenberg's convocation of a congress of the German federal states at Frankfort, and Prussia's position became daily more unfavourable, although a meeting of the princes desirous of union was held in Berlin in May, 1850, and accepted the temporary continuance until July 15th, 1850, of the restricted federation under Prussian leadership.

Conditions of the Tsar's Neutrality The Tsar Nicholas I. was urgently demanding the conclusion of the Schleswig-Holstein complication, which he considered as due to nothing but the intrigues of malevolent revolutionaries in Copenhagen and the duchies. In a meeting with Prince William of Prussia, which took place at Warsaw towards the end of May, 1850, the Tsar clearly stated that, in the event of the German question resulting in war between Prussia and Austria, his neutrality would be conditional upon the restoration of Danish supremacy over the rebels in Schleswig-Holstein.

Henceforward Russia stands between Austria and Prussia as arbitrator. Her intervention was not as unprejudiced as Berlin would have been glad to suppose; she was beforehand determined to support Austria, to protect the old federal constitution, the Danish supremacy over Schleswig-Holstein, and the Elector of Hesse, Frederic William I., who had at that moment decided on a scandalous breach of faith with his people. This unhappy prince had already inflicted serious damage upon his country and its admirable population; he now proceeded to commit a crime against Germany by stirring up a fratricidal war, which was

THE SEARCH AFTER GERMAN FEDERATION

fed by a spirit of pettifogging selfishness and despicable jealousy. A Liberal reaction had begun, and the spirit of national self-assertion was fading; no sooner had the elector perceived these facts than he proceeded to utilise them for the achievement of his desires. He dismissed the constitutional Ministry, restored Hassenpflug to favour on February 22nd, 1850, and permitted him to raise taxes unauthorised by the Chamber for the space of six months. The Chamber raised objections to this proceeding, and thereby gave

of turning their arms upon their fellow-citizens, who were entirely within their rights. The long-desired opportunity of calling in foreign help was thus provided; but the appeal was not made to the board of arbitration of the union, to which the electorate of Hesse properly belonged, but to the Federal Council, which Austria had reopened in Frankfort on October 15th, 1850.

With the utmost readiness Count Schwarzenberg accepted the unexpected support of Hassenpflug, whose theories



STRIVING FOR GERMAN UNITY: THE DRESDEN CONFERENCES OF 1850

In the search after federation, which occupied the attention of the German states, the differences between Austria and Prussia created a serious difficulty. The question of federal reform was discussed in free conferences at Dresden, one of these assemblies, with the delegates from the various states concerned, being represented in the above picture.

Hassenpflug a handle which enabled him to derange the whole constitution of the electorate of Hesse. On September 7th the country was declared subject to martial law. For this step there was not the smallest excuse; peace everywhere prevailed.

The officials who had taken the oaths of obedience to the constitution declined to act in accordance with the declaration, and their refusal was construed as rebellion. On October 9th the officers of the Hessian army resigned, almost to a man, to avoid the necessity

coincided with his own. The rump of the Federal Parliament, which was entirely under his influence, was summoned not only without the consent of Prussia but without any intimation to the Prussian Cabinet. This body at once determined to employ the federal power for the restoration of the elector to Hesse, though he had left Cassel of his own will and under no compulsion, fleeing to Wilhelmsbad with his Ministers at the beginning of September. Schwarzenberg was well aware that his action would place the King of Prussia

in a most embarrassing situation. Federation and union were now in mutual opposition. On the one side was Austria, with the kingdoms and the two Hesses; on the other was Prussia, with the united petty states, which were little better than worthless for military purposes. Austria had no need to seek occasion

Austria's Great Power in Germany to revenge herself for the result of the imperial election, which was ascribed to Prussian machinations; her opportunity was at hand in the appeal of a most valuable member of the federation, the worthy Elector of Hesse, to his brother monarchs for protection against democratic presumption, against the insanities of constitutionalism, against a forsworn and mutinous army. Should Prussia now oppose the enforcement of the federal will in Hesse, she would be making common cause with rebels.

The Tsar would be forced to oppose the democratic tendencies of his degenerate brother-in-law, and to take the field with the Conservative German states, and with Austria, who was crowding on full sail for the haven of absolutism. To have created this situation, and to have drawn the fullest advantage from it, was the master-stroke of Prince Felix Schwarzenberg's policy. Austria thereby reached the zenith of her power in Germany.

The fate of Frederic William IV. now becomes tragical. The heavy punishment meted out to the overweening self-confidence of this ruler, the fearful disillusionment which he was forced to experience from one whom he had treated with full confidence and respect, cannot but evoke the sympathy of every spectator. He had himself declined that imperial crown which Austria so bitterly grudged him. He had rejected the overtures of the imperial party from dislike to their democratic theories. He had begun the work of overthrowing the constitutional principles of the constitution

The Sword at the King's Throat

of the union. He had surrendered Schleswig-Holstein because his conscience would not allow him to support national against monarchical rights, and because he feared to expose Prussia to the anger of his brother-in-law. He had opposed the exclusion of Austria from the wider federation of the German states. He had always been prepared to act in conjunction with Austria in the solution of questions

affecting Germany at large, while claiming for Prussia a right which was provided in the federal constitution—the right of forming a close federation, the right which, far from diminishing, would strengthen the power of the whole organism. And now the sword was placed at his throat, equality of rights was denied to him, and he was requested to submit to the action of Austria as paramount in Germany, to submit to a federal executive, which had removed an imperial administrator, though he was an Austrian duke, which could only be reconstituted with the assent of every German government, and not by eleven votes out of seventeen!

For two months the king strove hard, amid the fiercest excitement, to maintain his position. At the beginning of October, 1850, he sent assurances to Vienna of his readiness "to settle all points of difference with the Emperor of Austria from the standpoint of an old friend." He quietly swallowed the arrogant threats of Bavaria, and was not to be provoked by the warlike speeches delivered at Bregenz on the occasion of the meeting of the Emperor Francis Joseph with the kings of South Germany, on October 11th.

War on the Horizon

He continued to rely upon the insight of the Tsar, with whose ideas he was in full agreement, and sent Count Brandenburg to Warsaw to assure him of his pacific intentions, and to gain a promise that he would not allow the action of the federation in Hesse and Holstein to pass unnoticed. Prince Schwarzenberg also appeared in Warsaw, and it seemed that there might be some possibility of an understanding between Austria and Prussia upon the German question. Schwarzenberg admitted that the Federal Council might be replaced by free conferences of the German Powers, as in 1819; he did not, however, explain whether these conferences were to be summoned for the purpose of appointing the new central power, or whether the Federal Council was to be convoked for that object.

He insisted unconditionally upon the execution of the federal decision in Hesse, which implied the occupation of the whole electorate by German and Bavarian troops. This Prussia could not allow, for military reasons. The ruler of Prussia was therefore forced to occupy the main roads to the Rhine province, and had already sent forward several thousand

men under Count Charles from the Gröben to the neighbourhood of Fulda for this purpose. The advance of the Bavarians in this direction would inevitably result in a collision with the Prussian troops, unless these latter were first withdrawn. Count Brandenburg returned to Berlin resolved to prevent a war which offered no prospect of success in view of the Tsar's attitude. Radowitz, who had been Minister of Foreign Affairs since September 27th, 1850, called for the mobilisation of the army, and was inclined to accept the challenge to combat; he considered the Austrian preparations comparatively innocuous, and was convinced that Russia would be unable to concentrate any considerable body of troops on the Prussian frontier before the summer.

On November 2nd, 1850, the king also declared for the mobilisation, though with the intention of continuing negotiations with Austria, if possible; he was ready, however, to adopt Brandenburg's view of the situation, if a majority in the ministerial council could be found to support this policy. Brandenburg

**Prussia's
Failure
in Germany**

succumbed to a sudden attack of brain fever on November 6th, not, as was long supposed, to vexation at the rejection of his policy of resistance; his work was taken up and completed by Manteuffel, after Radowitz had left the Ministry.

After the first shots had been exchanged between the Prussian and Bavarian troops at Bronzell, to the south of Fulda, on November 8th, he entirely abandoned the constitution of the union, allowed the Bavarians to advance upon the condition that Austria permitted the simultaneous occupation of the high roads by Prussian troops, and started with an autograph letter from the king and Queen Elizabeth to meet the Emperor Francis Joseph and his mother, the Archduchess Sophie, sister of the Queen of Prussia, in order to discuss conditions of peace with the Austrian Prime Minister. Prince Schwarzenberg was anxious to proceed to extremities; but the young emperor had no intention of beginning a war with his relatives, and obliged Schwarzenberg to yield. At the emperor's command he signed the stipulation of Olmütz on November 29th, 1850, under which Prussia fully satisfied the Austrian demands, receiving one sole concession in return—that the question of federal

reform should be discussed in free conferences at Dresden. Thus Prussia's German policy had ended in total failure. She was forced to abandon all hope of realising the Gagern programme by forming a narrower federation under her own leadership, exclusive of popular representation, direct or indirect. Prussia

**The Reproach
of Frederic
William**

lost greatly in prestige; the enthusiasm aroused throughout the provinces by the prospect of war gave place to bitter condemnation of the vacillation imputed to the king after the "capitulation of Olmütz." Even his brother, Prince William, burst into righteous indignation during the Cabinet Council of December 2nd, 1850, at the stain on the white shield of Prussian honour.

Until his death, Frederic William IV. was reproached with humiliating Prussia, and reducing her to a position among the German states which was wholly unworthy of her. Yet it is possible that the resolution which gave Austria a temporary victory was the most unselfish offering which the king could then have made to the German nation. He resisted the temptation of founding a North German federation with the help and alliance of France, which was offered by Persigny, the confidential agent of Louis Napoleon. Fifty thousand French troops had been concentrated at Strassburg for the realisation of this project. They would have invaded South Germany and devastated Swabia and Bavaria in the cause of Prussia. But it was not by such methods that German unity was to be attained, or a German Empire to be founded. Renunciation for the moment was a guarantee of success hereafter.

In his "Reflections and Recollections" Prince Bismarck asserts that Stockhausen, the Minister of War, considered the Prussian forces in November, 1850, inadequate to check the advance upon Berlin of the Austrian army concentrated in Bohemia.

**Problem
of Germany's
Future**

He had received this information from Stockhausen, and had defended the king's attitude in the Chamber. He also thinks he has established the fact that Prince William, afterwards his king and emperor, was convinced of the incapacity of Prussia to deal a decisive blow at that period. He made no mention of his conviction that such a blow must one day be delivered; but this assurance seems to have grown upon him from that date.



REACTION IN CENTRAL EUROPE AN ERA OF GENERAL STAGNATION

THE victory of Schwarzenberg in Olmütz gave a predominating influence in Central Europe to the spirit of the Tsar Nicholas I., the narrowness and bigotry of which is not to be paralleled in any of those periods of stagnation which have interrupted the social development of Europe. Rarely has a greater want of common sense been shown in the government of any Western civilised nation than was displayed during the years subsequent to 1850—a period which has attained in this respect a well-deserved notoriety. It is true that the preceding movement had found the nations immature, and therefore incapable of solving the problems with which they were confronted. The spirit was willing, but the flesh was unprepared.

Hindrances to Europe's Development

The miserable delusion that construction is a process as easy and rapid as destruction; that a few months can accomplish what centuries have failed to perfect; that an honest attempt to improve political institutions must of necessity effect the desired improvement; the severance of the theoretical from the practical, which was the ruin of every politician—these were the obstacles which prevented the national leaders from making timely use of that tremendous power which was placed in their hands in the month of March, 1848. Precious time was squandered in the harangues of rival orators, in the formation of parties and clubs, in over-ambitious programmes and compla-

The Mission of Liberalism

cent self-laudation thereon, in displays of arrogance and malevolent onslaughts. Liberalism was forced to resign its claims; it was unable to effect a complete and unwavering severance from radicalism; it was unable to appreciate the fact that its mission was not to govern, but to secure recognition from the Government.

The peoples were unable to gain legal confirmation of their rights, because they had no clear ideas upon the extent of

those rights, and had not been taught that self-restraint which was the only road to success. Thus far all is sufficiently intelligible, and, upon a retrospect, one is almost inclined to think of stagnation as the result of a conflict of counterbalancing forces.

But one phenomenon there is, which becomes the more astonishing in proportion as it is elucidated by that pure light of impartial criticism which the non-contemporary historian can throw upon it—it is the fact that mental confusion was followed by a cessation of mental energy, that imperative vigour and interest were succeeded by blatant stupidity, that the excesses committed by nations in their struggle for the right of self-determination were expiated by yet more brutal exhibitions of the misuse of power, the blame of which rests upon the governments, who were the nominal guardians of right and morality in their higher forms. In truth

The Nations Suffering from Depression

a very moderate degree of wisdom in a few leading statesmen would have drawn the proper conclusions from the facts of the case, and have discovered the formulæ expressing the relation between executive power and national strength.

But the thinkers who would have been satisfied with moderate claims were not to be found; it seemed as if the very intensity of political action had exhausted the capacity for government, as if the conquerors had forgotten that they too had been struggling to preserve the state and to secure its internal consolidation and reconstitution, that the revolution had been caused simply by the fact that the corrupt and degenerate state was unable to perform what its subjects had the right to demand.

The nations were so utterly depressed by the sad experiences which they had brought upon themselves as to show themselves immediately sensible to the smallest advances of kindness and confidence. Irritated by a surfeit of democratic theory, the

political organism had lost its tone. A moderate allowance of rights and freedom would have acted as a stimulant, but the constitution had been too far lowered for hunger to act as a cure. Education and amelioration, not punishment, were now the mission of the governments which had recovered their unlimited power; but they were themselves both uninformed and unsympathetic. The punishment which they meted out was inflicted not from a sense of duty, but in revenge for the blows which they had been compelled to endure in the course of the revolution.

Most fatal to Austria was the lack of creative power, of experienced statesmen with education and serious moral purpose. In this country an enlightened government could have attained its every desire. Opportunity was provided for effecting a fundamental change in the constitution; all opposition had been broken down, and the strong vitality of the state had been brilliantly demonstrated in one of the hardest struggles for existence in which the country had been engaged for three centuries. There was a new ruler, strong, bold, and well informed, full of noble ambition and tender sentiment, too young to be hidebound by preconceived opinion and yet old enough to feel enthusiasm for his lofty mission; such a man would have been the strongest conceivable guarantee of success to a Ministry of wisdom and experience capable of leading him in the path of steady progress and of respect for the national rights. The clumsy and disjointed Reichstag of Kremsier was dissolved on March 7th, and on March 4th, 1849, a constitution had been voluntarily promulgated, in which the

Government had reserved to itself full scope for exercising an independent influence upon the development of the state. In this arrangement the kingdom of Hungary had been included after its subordinate provinces had severed their connection with the Crown of Stephen, obtaining special provincial rights of their own. The best administrative officials in the empire, Von Schmerling, Bach, Count Thun, and Bruck, were at the disposition of the Prime Minister for the work of revivifying the economic and intellectual life of the monarchy. No objection

would have been raised to a plan for dividing the non-Hungarian districts into bodies analogous to the English county, and thus laying the impregnable foundations of a centralised government which would develop as the education of the smaller national entities advanced. The fate of Austria was delivered into the hands of the emperor's advisers; but no personality of Radetzky's stamp was to be found among them. The leading figure was a haughty nobleman, whose object and pleasure were to sow discord between Austria and the Prussian king and people, Austria's most faithful allies since 1815. It was in Frankfurt, and not in Vienna or Budapest, that the Hapsburg state should have sought strength and protection against future periods of storm. Even at the present day the veil has not been wholly parted

which then shrouded the change of political theory in the leading circles at the Vienna court. Certain, however, it is that this change was not the work of men anxious for progress, but was due to the machinations of political parasites who plunged one



PROGRESSIVE AUSTRIAN MINISTERS

Count Leo Thun and A. von Bach, whose portraits are given above, were among the men of note who, after the storms of the revolutionary years, supported the enlightened policy of Joseph II. As Minister of Education, the former introduced compulsory education, put the national schools under state control, and assisted the universities.



GEORGE V. OF HANOVER
Succeeding his father on the throne of Hanover in 1851, the blind King George V. engaged in a long struggle with his people in defence of absolutism, and died an exile in Paris in 1878.

of the best-intentioned of rulers into a series of entanglements which a life of sorrow and cruel disappointments was unable to unravel. The precious months of 1850, when the nation would thankfully have welcomed any cessation of the prevalent disturbance and terrorism, or any sign of confidence in its capacities, were

The Great Tide of Reaction

allowed to pass by without an effort. In the following year the national enemies gained the upper hand; it was resolved to break with constitutionalism, and to reject the claims of the citizens to a share in the legislature and the administration. In September, 1851, the Governments of Prussia and Sardinia were ordered to annul the existing constitutions.

This was a step which surpassed even Metternich's zeal for absolutism. Schmerling and Bruck resigned their posts in the Ministry on January 5th and May 23rd, 1851, feeling their inability to make head against the reactionary movement. On August 20th, 1851, the imperial council for which provision had been made in the constitution of March 4th, 1849, was deprived of its faculty of national representation. As the council had not yet been called into existence, the only interpretation to be laid upon this step was that the Ministry desired to re-examine the desirability of ratifying the constitution.

On December 31st, 1851, the constitution was annulled, and the personal security of the citizens thereby endangered, known as they were to be in favour of constitutional measures. The police and a body of gendarmes, who were accorded an unprecedented degree of licence, undertook the struggle, not against exaggerated and impracticable demands, but against Liberalism as such, while the authorities plumed themselves in the fond delusion that this senseless struggle was a successful stroke of statesmanship. Enlightened centralisation would have found

The Dresden Conferences at Olmütz

thousands of devoted coadjutors and have awakened many dormant forces; but the centralisation of the reactionary foes of freedom was bound to remain fruitless and to destroy the pure impulse which urged the people to national activity.

The successes in foreign policy, by which presumption had been fostered, now ceased. During the Dresden conferences, which had been held in Olmütz, Schwarzenberg found that he had been

bitterly deceived in his federal allies among the smaller states, and that he had affronted Prussia to no purpose as far as Austria was concerned. His object had been to introduce such modifications in the Act of Federation as would enable Austria and the countries dependent on her to enter the German Federation, which would then be forced to secure the inviolability of the whole Hapsburg power. Britain and France declined to accept these proposals. The German governments showed no desire to enter upon a struggle with two Great Powers to gain a federal reform which could only benefit Austria. Prussia was able calmly to await the collapse of Schwarzenberg's schemes.

After wearisome negotiations, lasting from December, 1850, to May, 1851, it became clear that all attempts at reform were futile as long as Austria declined to grant Prussia the equality which she desired in the presidency and in the formation of the proposed "directory." Schwarzenberg declined to yield, and all that could be done was to return to the old federal system, and thereby to make the dis-

Severe Punishment of Liberals

creditable avowal that the collective governments were as powerless as the disjointed parliament to amend the unsatisfactory political situation. In the federal palace at Frankfurt-on-Main, where the sovereignty of that German National Assembly had been organised a short time before, the opinion again prevailed, from 1851, that there could be no more dangerous enemy to the state and to society than the popular representative. The unfortunate Liberals, humiliated and depressed by their own incompetency, now paid the penalty for their democratic tendencies; they were branded as "destructive forces," and punished by imprisonment which should properly have fallen upon republican inconstancy.

The majority of the liberal constitutions which the revolution of 1848 had brought into existence were annulled; this step was quickly carried out in Saxony, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and Württemberg, in June, September, and November, 1850, though the Chamber continued an obstinate resistance until August, 1855, in Hanover, where the blind King George V. had ascended the throne on November 18th, 1851. The favour of the federation restored her detested ruler to the electorate of Hesse. He positively revelled in the

cruelty and oppression practised upon his subjects by the troops of occupation. His satellite, Hassenpflug, known as "Hessen-Fluch," the curse of Hesse, zealously contributed to increase the severity of this despotism by his ferocity against the recalcitrant officials, who considered themselves bound by their obligations to the constitution.

In Prussia the reactionary party would very gladly have made an end of constitutionalism once and for all; but though the king entertained a deep-rooted objection to the modern theories of popular participation in the government, he declined to be a party to any breach of the oath which he had taken. Bunsen and Prince William supported his objections to a coup d'état, which seemed the more unnecessary as a constitutional change in the direction of conservatism had been successfully carried through on February 6th, 1850.

The system of three classes of direct representation was introduced at the end of April, 1849, taxation thus becoming the measure of the political rights exercised by the second Chamber. The possibility of a labour majority in this Chamber was thus obviated. The Upper Chamber was entirely remodelled. Members were no longer elected, but were nominated by the Crown; seats were made hereditary in the different noble families, and the preponderance of the nobility was thus secured. The institution of a full house of lords on October 12th, 1854, was not so severe a blow to the state as the dissolution of the parish councils and the reinstitution of the provincial Landtags in 1851.

Schleswig-Holstein was handed over to the Danes; the constitution of September 15th, 1848, and German "proprietary rights" were declared null and void by a supreme authority composed of Austrian, Prussian, and Danish commissioners. By the London protocol of May 8th, 1852, the Great Powers recognised the succession of Prince Christian of Holstein-Glücksburg, who had married Princess Louise, a daughter of the Countess of Hesse, Louise Charlotte, sister of Christian VIII. However, the German Federation did not favour this solution; the estates of the duchies, who had the best right to decide the question, were never even asked their opinion. On December 30th, 1852, Duke Christian of Holstein-Augustenburg sold his Schles-

wig estates to the reigning house of Denmark for \$1,700,000, renouncing his hereditary rights at the same time, though the other members of the family declined to accept the renunciation as binding upon themselves. Thus the Danes gained but a temporary victory. It was even then clear that after the death of King Frederic

VII. the struggle would be renewed for the separation of the German districts from the "Danish United States." A legacy of the national movement, the "German fleet," was put up to auction at this date. The German Federation had no maritime interests to represent.

It declined the trouble of extorting a recognition of the German flag from the maritime Powers. Of the four frigates, five corvettes, and six gunboats, which had been fitted out at a cost of \$2,700,000, Prussia bought the larger part, after Hanoverian machinations had induced the Federal Council to determine the dissolution of the fleet on April 2nd, 1852. Prussia acquired from Oldenburg a strip of territory on the Jade Bay, and in course of time constructed a naval arsenal and harbour, Wilhelmshaven, which enabled her to appear as a maritime power in the Baltic.

These facts were the more important as Prussia, in spite of violent opposition, had maintained her position as head of that economic unity which was now known as the "Zollverein." The convention expired on December 31st, 1853. From 1849, Austria had been working to secure the position, and at the tariff conference held in Wiesbaden in June, 1851, had secured the support of every state of importance within the Zollverein with the exception of Prussia. Prussia was in consequence forced to renounce the preference for protective duties which she had evinced in the last few years, and, on September 7th, 1851, to join the free trade "Steuerverein," which Hanover had formed with Olden-

burg and Lippe in 1834 and 1836. The danger of a separation between the eastern and western territorial groups was thus obviated; the Zollverein of Austria and the smaller German states were cut off from the sea and deprived of all the advantages which the original Prussian Zollverein had offered. Austria now thought it advisable to conclude a commercial treaty with Prussia on favourable terms on February 19th, 1853, and to

The "German Fleet" Exposed to Auction

Prussia's House of Lords

Austria's Treaty with Prussia

leave the smaller states to their fate. In any case their continual demands for compensation and damages had become wearisome. Nothing remained for them except to join Prussia. Thus on April 4th, 1853, the Zollverein was renewed, to last until December 31st, 1865. It was an association embracing an area containing

The Church gains Largely 35,000,000 inhabitants. As after the fall of Napoleon I., so now the lion's share of what was acquired in the struggle against the revolution fell to the Church. Liberalism had indeed rendered an important service to Catholicism by incorporating in its creed the phrase, "the Free Church in the Free State."

The Jesuits were well able to turn this freedom to the best account. They demanded for the German bishops unlimited powers of communication with Rome and with the parochial clergy, together with full disciplinary powers over all priests without the necessity of an appeal to the state. Nothing was simpler than to construe ecclesiastical freedom as implying that right of supremacy for which the Church had yearned during the past eight centuries.

The Archbishop of Freiburg pushed the theory with such vigor and persistence that even the reactionary government was forced to imprison him. However, in Darmstadt and Stuttgart the governments submitted to the demands of Rome. Parties in the Prussian Chamber were increased by the addition of a new Catholic party, led by the brothers Reichensperger, to which high favour was shown by the "Catholic Contingent" in the ministry of ecclesiastical affairs—a party created by the ecclesiastical minister, Eichhorn, in 1841.

There was no actual collision in Prussia between ultramontanism and the temporal power. The Government favoured the reaction in the Protestant Church, which took the form of an unmistakable rapprochement to Catholicism.

Reaction in Protestant Church The Powers were committed to a policy of mutual counsel and support. Stahl, Hengstenberg, and Gerlach, who had gained complete ascendancy over Frederic William IV. since the revolution, were undermining the foundations of the Protestant creed, especially the respect accorded to inward conviction, on which it was

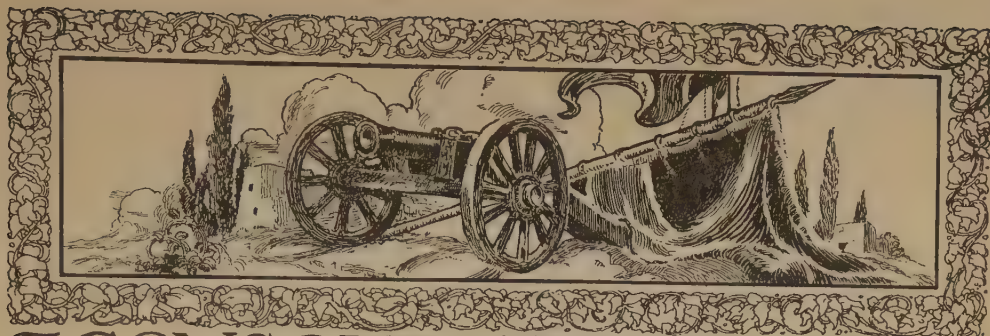
claimed Protestantism was based. In the "regulations" of October, 1854, the schools were placed under Church supervision. When Bunsen advanced to champion the cause of spiritual freedom, he was given the title of "devastator of the Church."

In Austria there was concluded the concordat of August 18th, 1855. This agreement was the expression of an alliance between ultramontanism and the new centralising absolutism. The hierarchy undertook for a short period to oppose the national parties and to commend the refusal of constitutional rights. In return the absolutist state placed the whole of its administration at the disposal of the Church, and gave the bishops unconditional supremacy over the clergy, who had hitherto used the position assigned to them by Joseph II. for the benefit of the people, and certainly not for the injury of the Church. The Church thus gained a spiritual preponderance which was used to secure

The Strong Hand of Rome her paramouncy. The example of Austria was imitated in the Italian states, which owed their existence to her. Piedmont alone gathered the opponents of the Roman hierarchy under her banner, for this government at least was determined that no patriot should be lost to their cause. In Spain the Jesuits joined the Carlists, and helped them to carry on a hopeless campaign, marked by a series of defeats. In Belgium, on the other hand, they secured an almost impregnable position in 1855, and fought the Liberals with their own weapons. Only Portugal, whence they had first been expelled in the eighteenth century, kept herself free from their influence in the nineteenth century.

Rome had set great hopes upon France, since Louis Napoleon's "plebiscites" had been successfully carried out with the help of the clergy. But the Curia found France a prudent friend, not to be caught off her guard. The diplomatic skill of Napoleon III. was never seen to better advantage than in his delimitation of the spheres respectively assigned to the temporal and the spiritual Powers. Even the Jesuits were unable to fathom his intentions.

HANS VON ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST



The CONSOLIDATION of the POWERS

THE UNITED KINGDOM IN THE MID-VICTORIAN ERA

By Arthur D. Innes, M.A.

THE fall of Sir Robert Peel, in 1846, had been effected almost at the moment when the Duke of Wellington was persuading the House of Lords to swallow the repeal of the Corn Laws, the crowning accomplishment of Peel's career. It was achieved by a combination of angry Protectionists and angry Irishmen, who united to throw out a government measure for coercion in Ireland. The potato famine had definitely completed the conversion of both Peel and the Whigs to the doctrines of the Anti-Corn Law League, and was followed by earnest efforts for the relief of distress.

But distress itself had, as usual, intensified discontent, generating agrarian outrages, and relief and coercion were proffered simultaneously. The unconverted chiefs of what had been Peel's party saw their opportunity; and the adverse vote brought about Peel's resignation. Lord John Russell formed a Whig Ministry, with Palmerston as Foreign Secretary—which position he had occupied in Melbourne's time—and the Peelites, regarding the question of Free Trade as of primary importance, gave the Government a support which secured its continuity. The improvement in the condition of the working classes, coupled with the British inclination to distrust the political efficacy of syllogisms expressed in terms of physical force, made Great Britain almost the only European country where nothing revolutionary took place in the year of revolutions, 1848. The monster petition of the Chartists was its most alarming event.

Great Britain in the Year of Revolutions

The death of O'Connell, however, in the previous year had deprived the Irish of a leader who had always set his face against the methods of violence, and Ireland did not escape without an abortive insurrection headed by Smith O'Brien. The leaders were taken, condemned to death for high treason, had their sentences commuted to trans-

portation, and were subsequently pardoned—more than one of those associated with the movement achieved distinction in later years in the political service of the British Empire.

Palmerston's activities at the Foreign Office, however, were a source of considerable disquietude at this period. Forty years of parliamentary life, many of them passed in office, first as a Tory, later as a Canningite, and finally as a Whig, had not produced in that persistently youthful statesman any inclination in favour of the further democratisation of the British Constitution, or of what in his younger days would have been called Jacobinism abroad; but he was a convinced advocate of freedom as he understood it and as Canning had understood it. He saw in revolutionary movements a disease engendered by despotic systems of government; and being alive to the European ferment, he took upon himself to warn the despotic governments that they would do well to apply the remedy of constitutionalism before the disease became dangerous.

The despotic governments, recognising no difference between the disease itself and the remedy, held him guilty not only of officiousness in tendering advice which



QUEEN VICTORIA AND THE PRINCE CONSORT

From the painting by Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A.



THE ROYAL VISIT TO IRELAND IN 1849: THE FLEET IN CORK HARBOUR

was unasked, but of fomenting revolution in their dominions, and were not unnaturally resentful, although, as a matter of fact, they would have profited greatly by paying heed to his well-meant warnings.

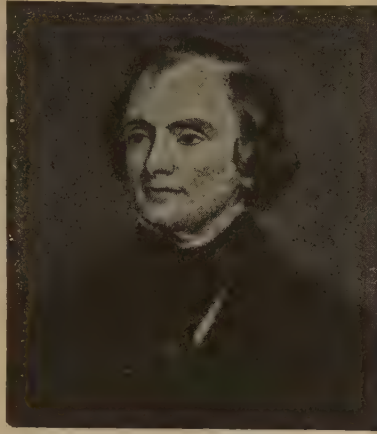
The attacks in Parliament on his "meddling" policy were successfully met in 1849, and public opinion endorsed his view that Britain ought to make her opinions felt in foreign countries—that, in fact, she would not be adequately discharging the responsibilities of her great position in the world unless she did so. Nevertheless, his methods were irritating not only to foreign potentates, but to his own sovereign, who frequently found that her Foreign Minister was committing the Government without her knowledge to declarations which she could only endorse because it would have been impossible to retract them with dignity, his colleagues being consulted as little as herself.

In 1850 the queen sent a memorandum to Russell, requiring that she should be kept adequately informed before, not after, the event, of any steps which the Foreign Minister intended to take. The immediate cause of the memorandum was connected with Palmerston's attitude on the Schleswig-Holstein question, regarding which she and her husband, Prince Albert, favoured the German view, to which Palmerston was opposed. Another incident illustrative

of the Foreign Minister's high-handed methods was the "Don Pacifico" affair. Don Pacifico was a Jew from Gibraltar, a

British subject, residing in Greece, whose house and property were damaged in a riot. Palmerston took up his claim for compensation as an international instead of a personal affair, sent the fleet to the Piræus, the harbour of Athens, and seized Greek merchant vessels. Russia adopted a threatening attitude, to which Palmerston had no disposition to yield. The French Republic, under the presidency of Louis Napoleon, was indignant at the action of Great Britain, but still more indignant at being ignored by Russia.

Palmerston accepted French mediation—not arbitration; there were further complications, in which the French thought that Albion was showing her historic perfidy; but the whole affair was too trivial to involve two great nations in a war over mere diplomatic proprieties, and the quarrel was patched up. This incident was the inciting cause of a formal attack on Palmerston's foreign policy, which resulted in a vote of censure in the Upper Chamber, in consequence of which a resolution of confidence was introduced in the Commons. Peel himself was on the side of the Opposition, but Palmerston vindicated his principles in a wonderful speech—the "civis Romanus



LORD JOHN RUSSELL

He was twice Prime Minister, first in 1846 on the formation of a Whig Ministry following the defeat of Peel, and again in 1865, on the death of Lord Palmerston. He was created Earl Russell in 1861, and he died in 1878.



THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD

Eminent as statesman and novelist, Benjamin Disraeli, afterwards Lord Beaconsfield, made a great reputation in the political world, though his maiden speech in the House of Commons was greeted with derisive laughter. He twice held the high office of Prime Minister.



THE GREAT EXHIBITION OF 1851: QUEEN VICTORIA AND THE PRINCE CONSORT AT THE OPENING CEREMONY IN HYDE PARK. The Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations, which owed its inception to the enterprise and energy of the Prince Consort, did much to extend a knowledge of the world's manufactures, and gave an impetus to commercial activity. Held in Hyde Park in a building which covered nineteen acres of ground, it remained open for twenty-three weeks, and during that time was visited by upwards of six million persons. The above picture shows the inauguration of the Exhibition on May 1st, by Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort.

From the painting by H. C. Selous in the South Kensington Museum

sum" speech—which carried the House and the country triumphantly with him. The year also witnessed one of those "No Popery" waves of excitement which periodically break upon England. The Tractarian movement had produced in the mind of Cardinal Wiseman the notion that the heretical island stood in need of conversion. The Pope issued a Bull setting up a Roman hierarchy in England, with territorial titles, an assumption of authority contravening the constitutional principle of the royal supremacy. In response to the popular excitement created, the Government introduced the "Ecclesiastical

letter till its repeal twenty years later. The queen's memorandum in the previous November, somewhat to the public surprise, had not been followed by Palmerston's resignation; apparently he had accepted the rebuke in good part, and promised to consult the queen's wishes. But his practice remained unaltered. The arrival in England of the Hungarian leader, Kossuth, was the occasion of a display of sympathy which was at best a breach of international etiquette, Kossuth being technically a rebel. At the moment when Palmerston was being taken to task for neglect of his promise to pay proper



LORD ABERDEEN'S FAMOUS COALITION MINISTRY

On the defeat of the Derby government in December, 1852, Lord Aberdeen formed a coalition Ministry of Whigs and Peelites with Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Russell at the Foreign and Palmerston at the Home Office.

From the painting by Sir John Gilbert, R.A. Photo by Walker

Titles" Bill, which was naturally opposed by the Roman Catholics and also by all who saw in it an interference with the principle of religious liberty. The Government, feeling its position to be somewhat precarious, took advantage of its own defeat on a snap vote—a symptom of the now growing demand for further electoral reform—to resign, and thereby to demonstrate the impossibility of any other working administration being constructed. It resumed office in February, 1851, and carried the Bill in a modified form, but the Act remained practically a dead

attention to the queen's wishes in this affair, Louis Napoleon in France carried out the coup d'état which he had been preparing, and established himself as a dictator. Palmerston persuaded himself that the British Foreign Minister could express his personal approval in a conversation with the French ambassador without committing the Cabinet, the Crown, or the country. The other parties concerned did not accept that view, and Palmerston's resignation was demanded. But he had hardly been dismissed when he got his "tit-for-tat with John Russell," as he

expressed it. Napoleon's coup d'état had its alarming side for Great Britain, as a probable prelude to an aggressive French policy, of which the Napoleonic tradition would make England the primary

converted in 1852 was an exploded antediluvian fallacy. In the interval, the scanty handful of its opponents were but feeble voices crying in the wilderness. The theory of Protection being so effectively

scotched as to be apparently killed, the ex-Protectionists—who had maintained the old doctrine not from the manufacturing, but from the agrarian point of view—fell back on the principle that the landed interest, which the old system had protected, required relief now that the protection was withdrawn; and to this end Disraeli constructed his Budget. But his extremely ingenious redistribution of the burden of taxation failed to attract the approval of economists of other schools, or of those interests which did not desire the land to be relieved at

object of hostility. A Bill was accordingly introduced for the reorganisation of the militia. The scheme proposed was not felt to be satisfactory; Palmerston headed the attack, the Ministry were defeated, and the Government was undertaken by the Conservative chief, Lord Derby, with Disraeli as his Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons, in February, 1852. The most notable of the actual achievements of the Russell administration had been the application in Australia, by an Act of 1850, of those principles of colonial government which had been inaugurated by the Canadian Act of Reunion. The new Ministry carried a new Militia Bill and then dissolved, apparently with a view to taking the sense of the country on the Free Trade policy which had brought the Liberals into office.

The Ministerialists, however, did not definitely commit themselves to a Protectionist programme, and the question was brought to a direct issue in the Commons by a resolution affirming the principle of Free Trade, which, in amended form, was accepted and carried by an overwhelming majority. Fifty years were to pass before the discovery that the revolutionary economic doctrine of 1846 to which the country declared itself definitely

their expense. The Budget debate marked conspicuously the opening of the long personal rivalry between its proposer, Disraeli, and its strongest critic, William Ewart Gladstone. The Government was defeated, and resigned in December, 1852. The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, which had been a barrier between Whigs and Peelites, had already vanished into limbo, and the Ministry which now took office was formed by a coalition of those two parties. The Peelite, Lord Aberdeen, was its head, Gladstone its Chancellor of the Exchequer, Russell was at the Foreign Office, and Palmerston Home Secretary.

Before the fall of the Conservatives, a great figure had passed from the stage. A little more than two years after his



THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON

The long and illustrious life of the Duke of Wellington came to an end in 1852, the hero of Waterloo passing peacefully away on September 14th, in his arm-chair at Walmer. In the above picture the body of the distinguished general, who was laid to rest with great pomp in St. Paul's Cathedral, is seen lying in state at Chelsea Hospital.

closest political associate, Sir Robert Peel, the "Iron Duke" died in September, at the age of eighty-three. Forty years before, he had proved himself the greatest captain in Europe save one; and his, in the eyes of Europe, had been the triumph of vanquishing that one. To him more than to anyone else France owed it that she had been generously treated when the war was ended; his was probably the most decisively moderating influence among the statesmen whose task it was to restore order in Europe. But while he possessed high qualities of statesmanship, they were not those adapted to parliamentary government. As a Minister he was a failure; as a counsellor his judgment always carried very great weight. His unqualified patriotism, his complete subordination of personal interests to what he conceived to be the welfare of the state, his perfect

sincerity, his transparent honesty, and his conspicuous moral courage, made him a unique figure, and fully justified the universal popularity which came to him tardily enough, and the genuine passion of mourning with which the whole nation received the tidings of his death. Wellington had overthrown the first Napoleon. Eleven weeks after he had breathed his last, "the nephew of his uncle" was proclaimed Emperor of the French with the title of Napoleon III. The famous coalition Ministry opened its career with the first of the brilliant series of Gladstone Budgets, introduced in a speech which revealed the hitherto unsuspected fact that figures can be made fascinating. But even the charm of the



THE DEFENDER OF SEBASTOPOL
General Todleben, a distinguished Russian soldier and military engineer, held Sebastopol against the British, displaying great resource and energy until he was severely wounded.

Budget was soon to be overshadowed by the war clouds in the East. So far as the preliminaries of the Crimean war are concerned with French and Russian rivalries



BURIAL OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON · THE FUNERAL CAR ARRIVING AT ST. PAUL'S



QUEEN VICTORIA AS SHE APPEARED IN THE YEAR 1852

and with matters outside British interests, they will be dealt with in the chapter following. Here we observe that in the beginning of 1853 the Tsar was assuming a threatening attitude towards the Porte on the hypothesis that Russia was the protector of the Greek Church Christians in the Turkish dominions; and that France,

in the character of protector of the Latin Christians, regarded the Russian attitude as merely a pretext for absorbing the Danube states. A similar view was entertained in England, where the Tsar had already made suggestions regarding the ultimate partition of the Turkish Empire, which he regarded as practically inevitable.

England, however, and Palmerston in particular, looked upon the maintenance of the independence of Turkey as a necessity, if for no other reason because Russian expansion in the direction either of India or of the Mediterranean appeared exceedingly dangerous to the interests of Great Britain. It may be remembered that the Afghan war of 1839 had been the outcome of Persian aggressions which were universally regarded as prompted by Russia.

Russia maintained her claim to protect the Christians in the Danube provinces; Turkey declined her demand for

Napoleon would not venture on that appeal single-handed. The temper of the country, however, was clearly in favour of Palmerston's views, and in July the French and British fleets were despatched to Besika Bay. The "Vienna Note," a proposal formulated by the Powers in conference at Vienna, was amended by Turkey and rejected by Russia in August. Everywhere popular feeling was rising; an anti-Christian émeute was feared in Constantinople, and the French and British fleets were ordered to the Dardanelles in October, ostensibly to protect



THE QUEEN REVIEWING THE SCOTS GUARDS ON THEIR DEPARTURE FOR THE CRIMEA IN 1854
The aggression of Russia, involved by her claim of 1853 to be protector of the Orthodox Greek Christians in the Turkish dominions, was naturally resented by Turkey. Both Britain and France took the side of the latter, and on March 27th, 1854, declared war on Russia, whence followed all the miseries and suffering of the Crimean war.

guarantees; the rest of the Powers upheld Turkey. Negotiations failing, Russia occupied the provinces in July as a proceeding warranted by her treaty rights. The Powers might, by the exercise of joint pressure, have compelled Russia to retire, but a mere evacuation would not have satisfied either Napoleon or Palmerston. Aberdeen, on the other hand, allowed his aversion to war to be so obvious that the Tsar probably felt quite satisfied that Britain would not join France in an appeal to arms, and that

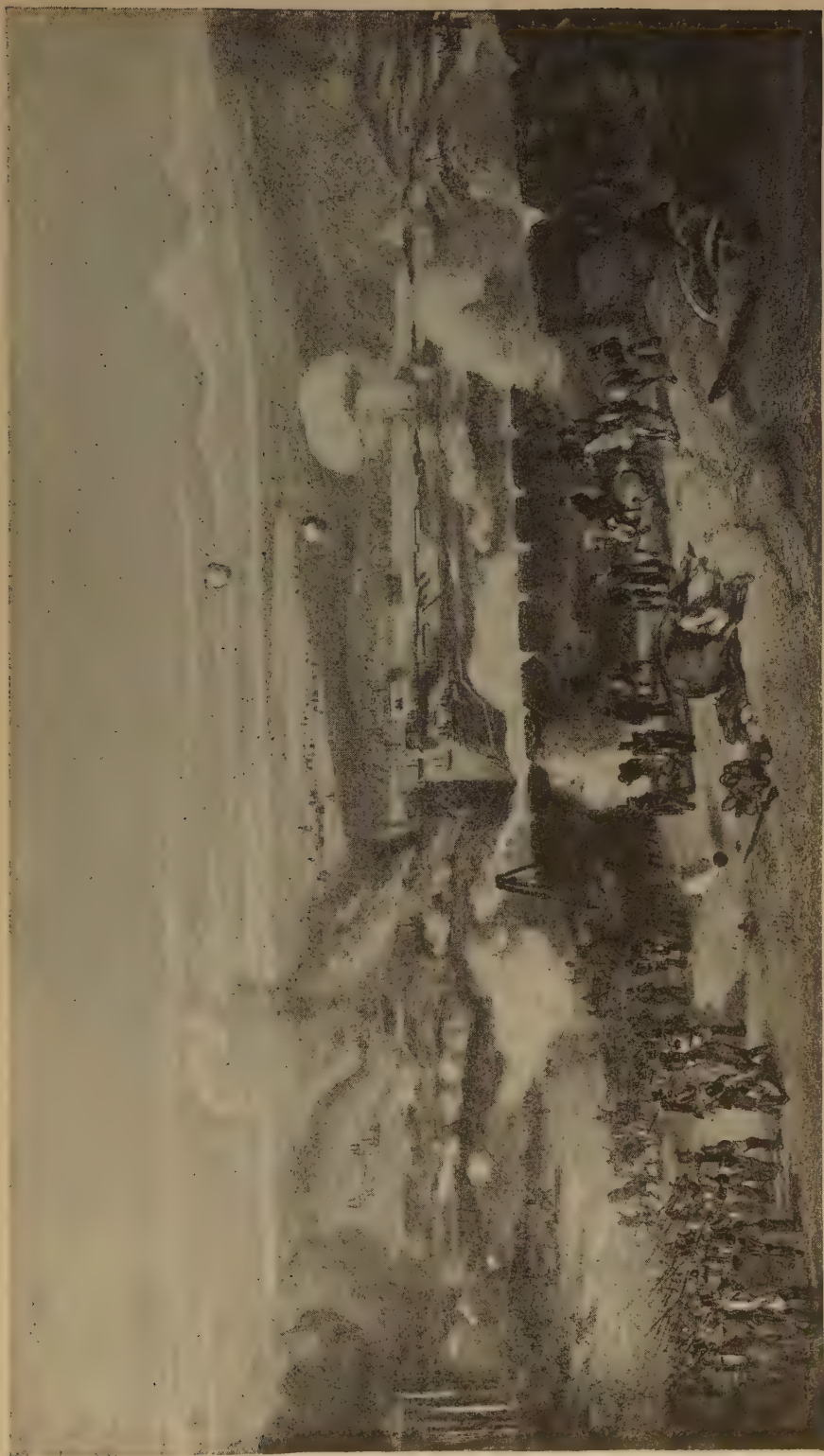
the Christians. Before the close of the month Turkey declared war on Russia, to which the Tsar replied by declaring that he would not take the offensive. The Turks crossed the Danube, and fighting began. But when a Russian squadron fell upon some Turkish ships in the harbour of Sinope and destroyed them on September 30th, the action was regarded as proving the insincerity of the Tsar's declarations. Aberdeen found himself obliged to consent to the occupation of the Black Sea by the allied fleets on December 27th. The



BEGINNING OF THE CRIMEAN WAR: THE BATTLE OF THE ALMA ON SEPTEMBER 20TH, 1854

Landing at Kalamita Bay, near the mouth of the River Alma, in September, the allied forces, consisting of 25,000 English, 25,000 French, and 8,000 Turks, began the march on Sebastopol, the great arsenal and harbour of Russia, and found a Russian army under Menschikoff between them and their goal. The struggle was not long delayed. On the 20th was fought the Battle of the Alma: victory rested with the allies, but it was dearly purchased, the British in two hours' fighting losing 2,000 men, while the French loss was returned at 1,900.

From the painting by Isidore Pils in the Versailles Museum



ATTACKING THE RUSSIAN STRONGHOLD: THE SIEGE AND BOMBARDMENT OF SEBASTOPOL

After the victory of the Alma, an immediate assault on Sevastopol was contemplated, but the opposition of the dying French general, St. Arnaud, prevented this from being attempted, and the allies settled down to a siege which continued for nearly a year, and was terminated on September 8th, 1855, by the capture of Malakoff Fort, the key to the Russian position.

Reproduced from sketches by an artillery officer



NAVAL BRIGADE AT SEBASTOPOL: LORD RAGLAN VIEWING THE STORMING OF THE REDAN
From the picture by R. Caton Woodville, by permission of Messrs. Graves & Co.

precipitate action of France and Britain in presenting a joint note demanding the evacuation of the Danube provinces gave Austria an excuse for leaving them to act independently; and on March 27th, 1854, the two Western Powers declared war on Russia and proceeded to a formal alliance with the Turks, who in the meantime had more than held their own on land.

Troops were despatched to co-operate with the Turks, and it soon became evident that the Russians would have no chance of effecting a successful invasion; before the end of July it was clear that they would be obliged to evacuate the Provinces. But before that time instructions had already been sent for the invasion of the Crimea and the seizure of Sebastopol.

But the invasion could not be carried out till September; and by that time, Sebastopol had been placed in a comparatively thorough state of defence by the engineering skill of Todleben. Its capture by a coup de main was now extremely improbable. The British and French forces disembarked at Eupatoria, and found a Russian army under Menschikoff lying between them and Sebastopol. The battle of the Alma, in which the brunt of the fighting was borne by the British, left the allies masters of the field. Menschikoff withdrew his main force not to Sebastopol but to the interior.

The opposition of the dying French general, St. Arnaud, prevented an immediate assault from being attempted—it was ascertained later that the attempt at that moment would probably have been successful—and the allies settled down to a siege. Their numbers were not sufficient for a complete investment, and the communications between Menschikoff and the garrison remained open. The British drew their supplies from the port of Balaclava, and Menschikoff now endeavoured to effect its capture. The movement, however, was repulsed, mainly by the magnificent charge of the Heavy

**The Charge
of the Heavy
Brigade**

Brigade against a column of five times their own numbers; but that splendid action was eclipsed in the popular mind by one of the most desperate, and, from a military point of view, most futile, deeds of valour on record, the charge of the Six Hundred.

**In the
"Valley of
Death"**

Through the misinterpretation of an order, the Light Brigade hurled itself through a terrific storm of shot and shell upon a Russian battery, captured it, and then, because there was nothing else to be done, relinquished it, leaving more than two-thirds of their number in the "Valley of Death." Nothing whatever was gained of a calculable kind. Yet it was one of those deeds which have a moral value past all calculation, like the equally futile defence of Thermopylæ.

Ten days later an attempt was made upon the British position before Sebastopol at Inkerman. The attack was made by a large Russian force in the midst of a fog so thick that none knew what was going on except close at hand. Concerted action was impossible, and men battled desperately as best they could in small groups. The fight was fought by the men virtually without commanders, and, in spite of immensely superior numbers, the Russians were triumphantly repulsed. But after Inkerman, the design, then in contemplation, of an immediate



LORD RAGLAN
Commander-in-chief of the British forces in the Crimea, his conduct of the war was severely condemned both by the public and the Press. He died from dysentery on June 28th, 1855.

assault on Sebastopol was abandoned. And then the Crimean winter began. A winter siege had not been in the programme when the expedition was planned; the arrangements were disastrously inadequate, and their inadequacy was increased by the destruction in a gale of the stores which had reached Balaclava but had not been disembarked; while the iniquities of army contractors broke all previous records. The four winter months killed far more of the troops than the Russians were responsible for. The blame lay not at all with the officers on the spot, and only in a limited degree with the Government, but popular indignation compelled the retirement of Aberdeen; and Palmerston, the



BRITISH HEROES AT BALACLAVA: THE CHARGE OF THE HEAVY BRIGADE ON OCTOBER 25TH, 1854

The supplies for the British army were drawn from the port of Balaklava, and as its capture would have been of immense value to the Russians, Menschikoff attempted to bring this about on October 25th. The movement, however, was repulsed, mainly by the magnificent charge of the Heavy Brigade against a column of five times their own numbers.

From the picture by R. Morin



THE CHARGE OF THE LIGHT BRIGADE: THE SIX HUNDRED RIDING "INTO THE VALLEY OF DEATH"

The brilliant action at Balaklava illustrated on the preceding page was eclipsed in the popular mind by the splendid but futile charge of the "Six Hundred." Through the misinterpretation of an order, the Light Brigade hurled itself through a terrific storm of shot and shell upon a Russian battery, which, cannon to right of them, cannon to left of them, cannot in front of them volleyed and thunder'd, and then, "because there was nothing else to be done, relinquished it, leaving more than two-thirds of their number in the 'Valley of Death.'"

man in whom the confidence of the country had not been shaken, became Prime Minister in February, 1855. The lesson of the early administrative blunders had been learnt, and a great improvement was soon apparent. The immense and unprecedented services of the staff of nurses organised under Florence Nightingale, who had been at work since November, mark an epoch in the history of civilised warfare. Negotiations were renewed at Vienna; but while agreement might have been reached on two of the four proposals put forward by Austria, Russia was obdurate on a third, and the belligerent allies were dissatisfied with the fourth.

The negotiations broke down, and Austria again found excuse in the attitude of the French and British for declining to join them in an offensive alliance—in their eyes a breach of faith on her part. In May, however, Sardinia joined the allies, and the British share in the operations at Sebastopol became comparatively restricted, while the British fleets found little of consequence to do. It was not till September 8th that Sebastopol fell, an event secured by the French capture of the Malakoff.

Napoleon was now satisfied with the personal security his imperial position had acquired from the war; the friendship of the new Tsar, Alexander II.—Nicholas had died in March—was of more importance to him, if not to France, than the repression of Russia. Austria cared only to have her own Balkan interests safeguarded, and it was with no little difficulty that the British were able to secure adequate checks on Russian aggression. The occasion was used for a fresh settlement of those maritime regulations which had been the cause of the “Armed Neutrality” at the close of the last century. Privateering, the one weapon which hostile Powers had been able to

wield effectively against Great Britain, was abolished; and, on the other hand, it was conceded that the neutral flag should cover all goods but contraband of war, and that even on belligerent vessels neutral goods should not be liable to capture, in March, 1856.

The war in the Crimea had necessitated the withdrawal of British regiments from India, where, on the other hand, Dalhousie's annexations had involved an in-

crease in the Sepoy army. A quarrel with Persia demanded an expedition to that country from India at the end of 1856, owing to the seizure of Herat by Persia—a movement attributed, as a matter of course, to Russian instigation. No difficulty was found in the military operations, which soon resulted in a treaty by which Persia resigned Herat and all claims on Afghan territory; but the war must be included among the minor circumstances which encouraged the outbreak of the great Sepoy revolt of 1857.

About the same time a war with China was brought about by what is known as the “Arrow” incident. The Arrow was a Chinese vessel which had been sailing under the British flag, and was continuing to do so though the year during which she was authorised to do so had just elapsed. The Chinese authorities, having no knowledge of this lapse, nevertheless seized the crew in Canton harbour on the hypothesis that there were persons “wanted” for piracy among its number. Reparation was demanded and refused, the British fleet was called into play, and the incident developed

definitely into a war. The British Government acted on the principle that the punctilios of Western diplomacy are invariably looked upon by Orientals as signs of weakness which invite defiance; high-handed methods, however, equally invariably offend the moral ideals of a large section of the British people, and the Government was vigorously attacked by the Liberals and Peelites who had parted from the Ministry. But an appeal to the country gave Palmerston a decisive majority in April, 1857. The war was brought to a conclusion in the course of 1858.

Almost the first news, which came on the new Parliament as a bolt from the blue, was that of the great outbreak in India, the story of which has been dealt with in the earlier section of this work devoted to Indian history. The Mutiny was inaugurated by the rising of the Sepoys at Mirat on May 10th, 1857. Delhi was seized in the name of a restored Mogul Empire; a British force concentrated on the famous Ridge, which it occupied for the siege of the great city, held by forces enormously superior in point of numbers.

Above Allahabad, the whole Ganges basin was in the hands of the mutineers, and the British were soon shut up in Cawnpore or the Lucknow Residency, with the



THE VICTORY THAT SETTLED THE FATE OF SEBASTOPOL: THE CAPTURE OF THE MALAKOFF BY THE FRENCH

From the painting by Yvon

exception of the force on the ridge before Delhi and of a considerable number who took refuge at Agra. The loyalty and diplomacy of Sindhia and his minister Dinkar Rao restrained the Gwalior army from marching to Delhi. In September, Delhi was stormed and Lucknow was reinforced by the operations of Havelock and Outram.

From that time, though Sindhia was no longer able to hold back the Gwalior regiments, the tide turned. Troops were arriving from England; a contingent on its way to the Chinese war was detained for the more serious affair. In November, Sir Colin Campbell relieved the defenders of the Lucknow Residency; in the spring, the British armies were

amend the conspiracy laws; but the French had assumed an attitude of such amazing and bombastic truculence that the Conspiracy to Murder Bill was regarded as a pusillanimous submission to foreign insolence—a curious charge against the Minister who was accustomed to being himself accused of arrogance rather than submissiveness in foreign affairs, mainly to be explained by the tenacious pride with which the nation clung to its claim of offering an asylum to refugees from oppression.

The Bill was defeated, the Government resigned, and again Lord Derby took office, though his party was in a minority in the House of Commons. Under such circumstances, the Ministry had no choice



QUEEN VICTORIA RECEIVING HEROES OF THE CRIMEA AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE
From the painting by Sir John Gilbert, R.A.

everywhere triumphant, and in the summer the last efforts of the revolt were crushed.

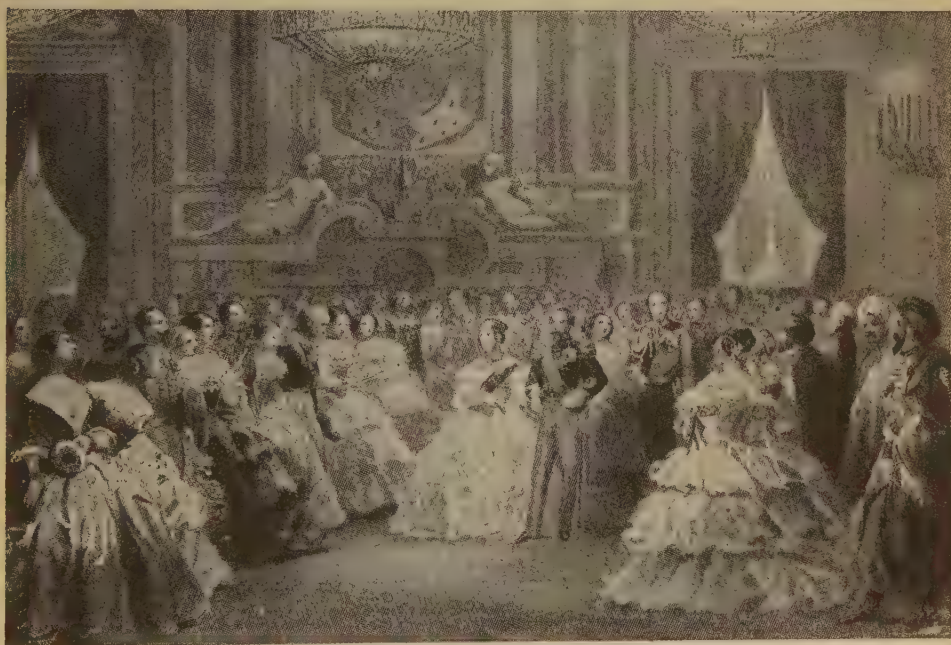
The Mutiny brought home to the British mind the necessity for terminating the unique and anomalous dual control, by the East India Company and Parliament, of the government of India. It was time that the Crown should assume the exclusive responsibility, and in February, 1858, Palmerston brought in a Bill for that purpose. By a curious accident, he was turned out of office before the Bill could be passed. An Italian named Orsini flung bombs under the carriage of Napoleon in January; it turned out that the plot had been hatched and the bombs manufactured in England. The Government proposed to

but to seek for compromises with the Opposition. Lord Derby's India Bill, when introduced, was obviously not destined to pass, and the Act which finally ended the career of the East India Company, and transferred the Indian government to the Crown, was virtually the work of all parties combining to arrive at a settlement irrespective of party. Lord Canning, the Governor-General, who had remained at the helm throughout the Mutiny, inaugurated the new regime as the first Viceroy. In the same summer, the Lords were persuaded to pass a Bill removing the political disabilities under which the Jews still laboured, a principle repeatedly approved by the Commons



THE RULERS OF BRITAIN AND OF FRANCE AT THE OPERA IN LONDON

Arising out of their common interests in the war against Russia, a kindly feeling sprang up between Britain and France, the rulers of the two countries exchanging visits of friendship. On April 10th, 1855, the Emperor Napoleon III. and the Empress Eugénie arrived in England, visiting Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle, and in the above picture they are shown with the Queen and the Prince Consort at the Royal Italian Opera on April 19th.



QUEEN VICTORIA AND THE PRINCE CONSORT VISITING THE TUILERIES

In the August following the visit of the French Emperor and Empress to England, Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort visited France. In this picture the British queen and her husband are seen at the Tuileries, the former in the foreground on the arm of Napoleon with Prince Albert and the Empress Eugénie immediately behind.

THE ENTENTE CORDIALE IN THE MIDDLE OF LAST CENTURY



QUEEN VICTORIA DISTRIBUTING THE CRIMEAN MEDALS AT THE HORSE GUARDS

The first distribution of V.C. medals is represented in the above picture, this event taking place on May 18th, 1856; the queen is shown in the act of presenting a medal to Sir Thomas Troubridge, who had lost both his feet in action.

and rejected by the Peers during the preceding twenty-five years. Electoral Reform—that is, extension of the franchise—was a subject in which the electorate and the unenfranchised masses were more interested than Ministers. Russell and a considerable section of the Liberals were becoming more strongly disposed in that direction, but the Palmerstonians preferred to keep the question shelved as long as possible. Disraeli, however, now saw a possibility of

securing success to the conservative policy by a measure professedly democratic, but safeguarded by devices which, in the eyes of the Liberals, were intended to secure political preponderance for conservative influences. Defeated on a resolution introduced by Russell, Lord Derby appealed to the country; the party returned somewhat strengthened in numbers, but still in a minority, and the minority gave way to a new Palmerston administration, with Russell at the Foreign Office, the two



THE QUEEN AND PRINCE ALBERT VISITING BROMPTON HOSPITAL AT CHATHAM, IN 1856

THE UNITED KINGDOM IN THE MID-VICTORIAN ERA

liberal leaders having recognised the need of co-operation. Gladstone returned to the Exchequer.

Palmerston remained at the head of the government till his death in 1865. It was inevitable that a Franchise Bill should be introduced, but it aroused no enthusiasm in Parliament or in the country, and

in the commercial treaty with France, negotiated by Richard Cobden, which was ratified in 1860.

The Budget of that year reduced the number of articles subject to customs duties from 419 to 48, the primary object being the removal of preferential and protective duties. Financial questions, how-

ever, narrowly missed producing a serious constitutional crisis. It was proposed in 1859 to remove the tax upon paper. Being introduced in a Bill separate from the Budget, the Lords claimed the right of rejecting the proposal. The Commons claimed that the Lords could not reject separately any part of the general financial scheme. The action of the Lords in rejecting the Bill was in accordance with the law, but not with the custom of the Constitution. The crisis was averted, partly by a series of resolutions in the Commons, which pointed to the inclusion of such proposals in the Budget as security against the repetition of such action by the Lords, and partly by the inclusion of the particular proposal in the Budget of the following year.



"EASTWARD HO!" THE DEPARTURE OF BRITISH TROOPS FOR INDIA

When the Indian Mutiny broke out in 1857, the British army in India was not sufficiently strong adequately to cope with the rising, and reinforcements were speedily despatched from England. Farewell scenes are graphically represented in the above picture.

From the painting by Henry O'Neill, A.R.A.

Russell, who introduced it, found an excuse for its withdrawal, after which, by common consent, reform was shelved for the lifetime of the Prime Minister. There was little legislation during Palmerston's supremacy, and domestic interest centred mainly in the systematic extension of Free Trade principles, in the Budgets, and

proposal in the Budget of the following year.

These years, however, were marked by complications in the affairs of other nations which made the task of steering Great Britain successfully a difficult and delicate one. The sympathies of the country and of the Government were with the Italians in their struggle for liberty from



THE MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS ROYAL TO PRINCE FREDERIC WILLIAM OF PRUSSIA ON JANUARY 25TH, 1863
From the painting by John Phillip, R.A.



THE MARRIAGE OF KING EDWARD VII. AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA ON MARCH 10th, 1863

This interesting event in the lives of the late King and Queen of Great Britain and Ireland was celebrated on March 10th, 1863, at St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The Prince of Wales, as he then was, first met Princess Alexandra of Denmark in 1861, and their union two years later was welcomed by the whole nation, "the sea-king's daughter from over the sea" then winning for herself an affectionate place in the hearts of the people that has strengthened with the march of years.

From the painting by W. P. Frith, R.A.

the Austrian yoke, with Poland in her resistance to Russia, with Denmark in her hopeless contest with Prussia and Austria over Schleswig-Holstein. In the first case, the moral support of Great Britain was of considerable value to Victor Emmanuel; in the other two, the action of the Government had the unfortunate appearance of exciting an expectation of material support which they lacked the courage to carry into action.

But it was the civil war in America which most seriously threatened to involve this country. There were two grave causes of

system the more easily because it had no use for slave-labour itself, and became determined to abolish slavery. Hence the Southern States asserted the right to secede from a confederation which they had entered voluntarily; the North held that the union was federal, indissoluble, and that secession was rebellion.

In 1861, a group of the Southern States formed themselves into a confederation claiming independence, under their own president, and the great struggle began. The sympathies of the British were sharply divided. Toryism had a fellow



QUEEN VICTORIA WITH PRINCE ALBERT AND THEIR CHILDREN

disagreement between the Northern and the Southern States of the Union, which issued in a third, the gravest of all. The Northern States were manufacturing communities, and determined to protect their manufactures by the exclusion of foreign competition. The Southern States, whose products were not exposed to competition, objected to the protectionist policy which raised prices for the consumer. The Southern States lived by the production of crops cultivated by slave labour; the North was able to realise the faults of the

feeling for the gentry of the South. Liberalism held slavery in horror, yet the general principles of political freedom were on the side of the right of secession. The Government was firm in its resolution not to intervene, not to declare itself on either side; but it was obliged to commit itself on the question whether the Southerners were to be treated as lawful belligerents or as rebels. The position adopted was that the effective strength of the Southern States made them de facto belligerents, and that their recognition



THE LAST DRAWING ROOM ATTENDED BY PRINCE ALBERT WITH QUEEN VICTORIA AT ST. JAMES'S PALACE IN 1861

From the picture by Jerry Barrett

as such implied no judgment on the merits of the dispute; on the other hand, the time had not yet come when their claim for recognition as a separate nation could be officially acknowledged. The justice and impartiality of this attitude proved acceptable neither to North nor to South. In 1862 Great Britain was all but compelled to commence hostilities by the action of the North in seizing the persons of two commissioners from the South on board a British vessel, the *Trent*, on which they had embarked in the neutral port of Havana. The tardy recognition of this violation of international law and the liberation of the commissioners averted hostilities. Relations were, moreover, perpetually strained to a high pitch of intensity by the action of the *Alabama* and other cruisers of the same type in the Confederate service. These were vessels constructed in British dockyards, which sailed from British ports, professedly on harmless voyages, but with the actual intent of being handed over at some appointed spot to Confederate officers, who proceeded to employ them for the destruction of the Federal mercantile marine. Since the British Government had failed to display sufficient vigilance in detaining such craft, notably the *Alabama*, they were regarded by the North as

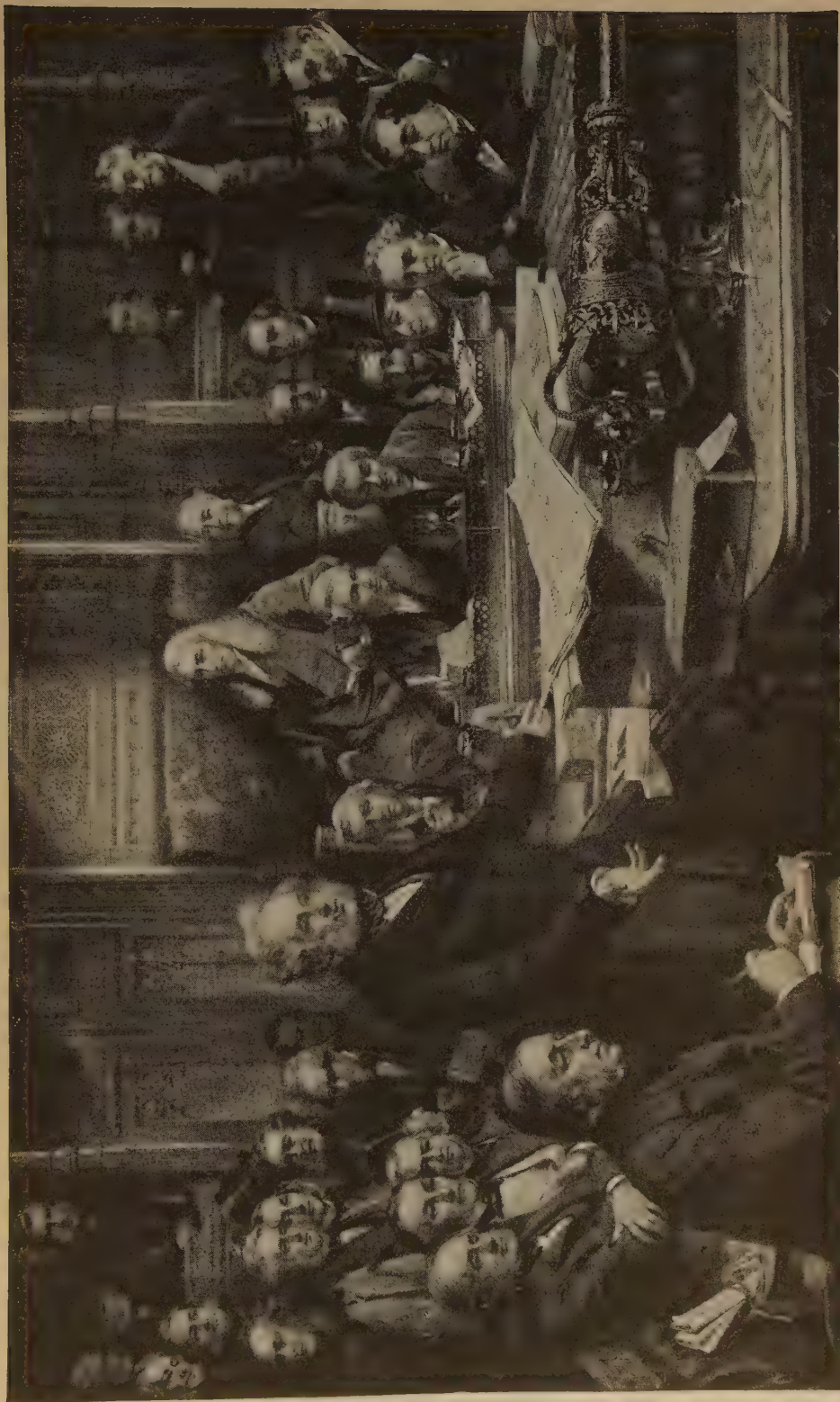
having been negligent of set purpose. At the same time, greatly as the South benefited by the resolute impartiality of Great Britain, it felt itself hardly less bitterly aggrieved thereby than the North, since it appeared to them certain that British



POLITICAL RIOTS IN HYDE PARK

The defeat of the Reform Bill in 1866 gave rise to a considerable amount of feeling in the country. A mass meeting in favour of reform was shut out of Hyde Park, and as a protest, the mob broke down the railings, "thereby convincing most of those who had hitherto been incredulous that the demand for the franchise was not a mere demagogic figment."

intervention would have decisively terminated the war in favour of the Confederates. Nothing could have been more creditable to the labouring population of the United Kingdom than the dogged determination with which they supported



LORD PALMERSTON ADDRESSING A SITTING OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN THE YEAR 1860
From the painting by J. Phillip, R.A.

the Government, from the conviction that the anti-slavery cause was the cause of righteousness, in spite of the terrible sufferings entailed by the cotton famine, resulting from the Northern blockade of the Southern ports. No nobler example of self-restraint has been recorded than that of the Lancashire operatives in those cruel times; nor has the general public ever displayed its free-handed generosity more wisely and more generously than in the efforts then made for the relief of the distress prevailing. The war was brought to an end with the complete success of the North, in the spring of 1865. In the summer, Parliament was dissolved, having sat for six years, but no immediate effect was produced on the

Government. That came with the death of the octogenarian Premier in October.



LORD TENNYSON

Successor to Wordsworth as Poet-Laureate, Tennyson remained until his death, in 1892, the supreme English poet, challenged only by Browning, beside whom he sleeps in Westminster Abbey. In 1884 he received a peerage.

The democratic movement, which had been held in check by general consent until his demise, at once became active. At the same time, Irish discontent assumed a somewhat more threatening shape, owing to the formation of the "Fenian Brotherhood" by the physical-force party, whose strength lay amongst the crowds of emigrants who had been driven to America, and had there been learning practical lessons of warfare in the ranks of Federal and Confederate armies alike. The Fenians set themselves to the secret organisation of armed rebellion; and the detection of the conspiracy and arrest of its leaders revealed a state of affairs



THE FENIAN OUTRAGES: ATTACK ON THE PRISON VAN AT MANCHESTER

Discontent in Ireland assumed a serious aspect towards the end of 1865, the formation of the "Fenian Brotherhood" by the physical-force party indicating the length to which the agitators were prepared to go. The Fenians set themselves to the secret organisation of armed rebellion, as well as opposing the authorities in England, the above picture showing an armed attack on the Manchester prison van for the liberation of Fenian prisoners.



THE GREAT EASTERN RECOVERING THE LOST ATLANTIC CABLE

The largest vessel in existence when built in London in 1854-7, the Great Eastern, proved of great service in laying the Atlantic cables in 1865, and recovered them, after being lost, in 1866; but the vessel was otherwise a failure.

From the picture by R. Dudley

which induced the Government to go so far as to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. The Reform Act of 1832 had abolished the old system of rotten boroughs, which placed the control of half the constituencies in the country in the hands of a few families; it had given representation to the great towns, which had grown up mainly in the course of the industrial revolution; it had applied uniformity to the methods of election; it had transferred the preponderance of political power from the landed to the commercial interests; incidentally it had transformed the House of Lords into a conservative organisation. But its high franchise had still completely excluded the labouring classes from the electorate. For a time, those classes had shown signs of a tendency to believe that the vote would be a panacea for all ills, but the wave of industrial prosperity which attended the repeal of the Corn Laws, and the development of Free Trade, removed the more pressing incitements to the demand for political power;

and Gladstone, now a convinced advocate of franchise extension, regarded it mainly as a measure of justice to which it would be wise to give effect while it was still not the subject of political passion. At the general election Disraeli had made it

plain that the question would be forced to the front; and accordingly Lord Russell, Palmerston's successor in office, introduced a Reform Bill. Its moderation, however—it would have added less than half a million voters to the electorate—prevented it from exciting enthusiasm, and did not prevent it from exciting the determined opposition of the anti-democratic section of the Liberal party who formed the historic "Cave of Adullam." The Adullamites, in conjunction with the Conservatives, all but defeated the Bill on the second reading; when they carried an amend-

ment against the Government in Committee, the Ministry resigned. For the third time the Conservatives took office, with Lord Derby as their chief and Disraeli as their leader, while the party itself formed



ROBERT BROWNING

One of the two great poets of the Victorian era, Browning enriched our literature with poetic thought of enduring value, his crowning achievement, the "Ring and the Book," appearing in 1869. In 1846, he married Elizabeth Barrett, also a poet of genius.

a minority in the House of Commons. The defeat of the Liberal Bill roused a fervour in the country which had not attended its introduction. A mass meeting in favour of reform was shut out of Hyde Park, whereupon the mob broke down the railings, thereby convincing most of those who had hitherto been incredulous that the demand

**The Reform
Bill
Carried**

for the franchise was not a mere demagogic figment. The impression thus produced was confirmed by a series of demonstrations during the latter part of 1866, and a Reform Bill was announced as a part of Disraeli's programme for 1867.

His first intention of proceeding by resolution—that is, by obtaining the assent of the House to a series of principles on which the actual Bill was then to be constructed—was abandoned; the Cabinet was split on the moderate Bill which Disraeli then proposed to introduce, and the secession of Lord Cranborne (afterwards Lord Salisbury) and others decided Disraeli to adopt a much more audacious scheme which would capture support from the Opposition. He had hoped to be able to introduce sundry "fancy franchises," and other securities to prevent a complete subversion of the balance of political power, but it soon became clear that if the Bill was to pass the Government would have to accede with very little reservation to the amendments demanded by the Liberals. The result was that in the boroughs the franchise was granted to all householders and to ten-pound lodgers, with a twelve-pound occupation franchise in the counties; the "fancy franchises" disappeared. The Act, indeed, went very much further than the Liberal leaders had proposed to go in their own Bill; it definitely transformed the House of Commons into a democratic body, though the change had still to be completed by the assimilation of the

**Disraeli at
the Height
of his Power**

county franchise to that of the boroughs. The same year was rendered notable in the colonial history of the Empire by the British North America Act, which eventually united the British Colonies in North America, with the exception of Newfoundland, in the federation which bears the name of the Dominion of Canada. The conduct of King Theodore of Abyssinia, who thought himself justified in seizing a number of British subjects,

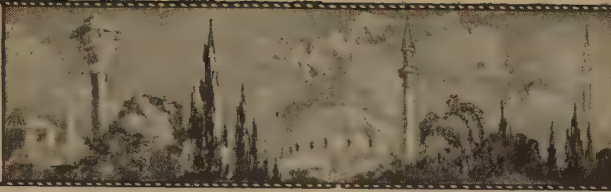
confining them at Magdala, and refusing to pay any attention to representations demanding their liberation, necessitated the completely successful Abyssinian expedition, under the command of Lord Napier, in the spring of the following year, 1868. By this time Lord Derby had withdrawn, leaving Disraeli, long the actual chief of the party, as its avowed head.

Renewed Fenian disturbances emphasised the unsatisfactory condition of Ireland, which was destined to occupy an exceedingly prominent position in the domestic politics of the succeeding period. In June it was clear that the Ministry was practically powerless in the face of the Opposition, and in the autumn Disraeli appealed to the new electorate. The result was that the first democratic Parliament of the United Kingdom returned the Liberals to power under Gladstone's leadership, with a decisive majority. In English history the inauguration of democracy forms an epoch, which we must respect for clearness sake as a dividing line; but as the dividing line in Continental history is drawn by the German overthrow of France and the establishment of the German Empire under the Prussian hegemony, we may here note that Great Britain abstained from taking any active part in those important events.

**Leaders of
Intellectual
Movements**

Industrial movements are dealt with in a separate section. But in the intellectual movement of the period now under review we have to note the succession to Wordsworth as Poet Laureate of Alfred Tennyson, who held his supreme position unchallenged for the rest of his life, save in the eyes of those who recognised a still mightier genius in Robert Browning, whose crowning achievement, the "Ring and the Book," appeared in 1869. But the world at large was more deeply affected by another influence which had its birth in England. Simultaneously, Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace developed their conception, which will always be associated with the name of the former, of the evolution of species. That conception filled the minds of the orthodox with alarm, and called for an almost fundamental readjustment of ideas on the relations between "Nature, Man, and God," which a later generation has found to be in nowise subversive of the essential doctrines of Christianity.

ARTHUR D. INNES



TURKEY AFTER THE CRIMEAN WAR ADJUSTMENT OF THE EASTERN QUESTION

THE year of revolutions, 1848, which shook Western Europe with its conceptions of freedom, had left Turkey almost untouched. Shekib Effendi held a formal conference with Pope Pius IX., in Rome in 1848, under commission from the Sultan, who would have been glad to hand over to the Pope the protectorate of the Catholics in the East; the Holy Father had sent out the Archbishop Ferrieri with an appeal to the Oriental communities, which, however, did not end in that union which the Porte and the Pope had hoped for.

The revolt of the Boyars and of the Polish fugitives in Moldavia and Wallachia speedily resulted in the strengthening of the hospodar Michael Sturdza, and in the appointment of Kantakuzen in place of Bibeskos. The Hungarian rising, on which the Porte had staked its hopes for the infliction of a blow on Austria, came to nothing, on the capitulation of Vilagos. On the other hand, the Sultan, encouraged by the presence of a British fleet in the Dardanelles, declined to hand over the Hungarian fugitives.

Austria and Hungary thereupon avenged themselves by taking advantage of a claim for damages which France had now set up. Two parties, the Catholics and the Greeks, were quarrelling about the Holy Places in Palestine. The powers protecting the Catholics were invariably France or the Pope, while the Greeks had been under a Russian protectorate since 1720. It was to deliver these Holy Places from the hands of the Moslems that the Crusades had been undertaken. Saladin had permitted the Latin clergy to perform service in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1187, while Robert of Anjou had purchased the Holy Places from the caliph in 1342.

After the conquest of the Holy City by Sultan Selim, 1517, the Georgians secured part of Golgotha, all the other remaining

places being reserved expressly to the Sultan in 1558. The title was further confirmed by the capitulations of France with the Sultans in 1535, 1621, 1629, and 1740. Violent outbreaks of jealousy took place between the Armenians, Greeks, and Catholics

The Holy Sepulchre in Dispute

concerning these marks of favour and especially concerning the possession of the Holy Sepulchre. In 1808 the Greeks, after the Church of the Holy Sepulchre had been destroyed by fire, actually reduced the tombs of Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin to ruins. The Greeks, aided by Russian money, restored the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; meanwhile the Latins, whose zeal was supported by France, gained possession of two chapels in 1820.

In the year 1850 the Pope and the Catholic Patriarch of Jerusalem applied first to France, and joined France in a further application to the Porte, to secure protection against the Greeks. Fear of Russia induced the Porte to decide almost entirely in favour of the Greeks, and the only concession made to the Catholics was the joint use of a church door in Bethlehem.

In the realm of the blind the one-eyed man is king; above the reactionary governments rose the "saviour of order," who had been carried to the throne of France by the Revolution. The presidential chair, which had gained security and permanence from the coup d'état of December 2nd, 1851, was made a new imperial throne within the space of a year by the adroit and not wholly untalented

A New Throne in France

heir to the great name of Bonaparte. On January 14th, 1852, he had brought out a constitution to give France a breathing space, exhausted as she was by the passionate struggle for freedom, and to soothe the extravagance of her imaginings. But this constitution needed a monarchy to complete it. The basis of a national imperial government was there in detail: a

legislative body elected by national suffrage; a senate to guarantee the constitutional legality of legislation; an "appeal to the people" on every proposal which could be construed as an alteration of the constitution; a strong and wise executive to conduct state business, whose "resolutions" were examined in camera, undertaking the preparation and execution of everything which could conduce to the welfare of the people.

Napoleon III. Emperor of France

The twelve million francs which the energetic senate had voted as the president's yearly income might equally well be applied to the maintenance of an emperor. When the question was brought forward, the country replied with 7,840,000 votes in the affirmative, while 254,000 dissentients appeared merely as a protest on behalf of the right of independent judgment. On December 2nd, 1852, Napoleon III. was added to the number of crowned heads in Europe as Emperor of France by the grace of God and the will of the people. No Power attempted to refuse recognition of his position. The democratic origin of the new ruler was forgotten in view of his services in the struggle against the Revolution, and in view also of the respect he had shown for considerations of religion and armed force.

Unfortunately the new monarch could not gain time to convince other Powers of his equality with themselves. The old reigning houses were not as yet sufficiently intimate with him to seek a permanent union through a marriage alliance; yet he was bound to give France and himself an heir, for a throne without heirs speedily becomes uninteresting. Born on April 20th, 1808, he was nearly forty-five years of age, and dared not risk the failure of a courtship which might expose him to the general sympathy or ridicule. Without delay he therefore married, on January 29th, 1853, the beautiful Countess Eugénie of Teba, of the noble Spanish House of Guzman, who was then twenty-six years of age. She was eminently capable, not only of

pleasing the Parisians, but also of fixing their attention and of raising their spirits by a never-ending series of fresh devices. No woman was ever better fitted to be a queen of fashion, and fashion has always been venerated as a goddess by the French.

Nothing but a brilliant foreign policy was now lacking to secure the permanence of the Second Empire. It was not enough that Napoleon should be tolerated by his fellow sovereigns; prestige was essential to him. There was no surer road to the hearts of his subjects than that of making himself a power whose favour the other states of Europe would be ready to solicit. For this end it would have been the most natural policy to interest himself in the



PRINCE MENSCHIKOFF

He was in charge of the Russian forces at the battles of the Alma and Inkerman, and also took part in the defence of Sebastopol, but, in consequence of illness, he was recalled in 1855 and died in 1869.

affairs of Italy, considering that he had old connections with the Carbonari, with Mazzini, and with Garibaldi. But it so happened that the Tsar Nicholas was obliging enough at this juncture to furnish the heir of Bonaparte with a plausible pretext for interfering in the affairs of Eastern Europe. Napoleon III. cannot be regarded as primarily responsible for the differences which arose in 1853 between Britain and Russia. But there can be no doubt that he seized the opportunity afforded by the quarrel of these two Powers and hurried the British Government into an aggressive line of policy

which, however welcome to the electorates of British constituencies was viewed with misgiving by many British statesmen, and was destined to be of little advantage to any power but the Second Empire.

The Tsar Nicholas had for a long time past regarded the partition of the Turkish Empire in favour of Russia as a step for which the European situation was now ripe. Britain and Austria were the Powers whose interests were most obviously threatened by such a scheme. But he thought that Austria could be disregarded if the assent of Britain was secured; and as early as 1844 he had sounded the British Government, suggesting that, in the event of partition, an

The Tsar's Schemes on Turkey

TURKEY AFTER THE CRIMEAN WAR

understanding between that Power and Russia might be formulated with equal advantage to both. His overtures had met with no definite reply ; but he appears to have assumed that Britain would not stand in his way. It was not till 1854,

was increased by the annoyance which Napoleon felt at the arrogant demeanour of the Russian court towards himself.

But Napoleon, busied as he was at the moment with preparing for the re-establishment of the empire, could not

afford to push his resistance to extremes, and it would have been the wisest course for Nicholas to make sure of the prey which he had in view by occupying the Danube principalities in force, before Austria and Prussia had finished quarrelling over the question of federal reforms. The fact was that the development of his plans was checked for a moment by the unexpected submissiveness of the Sublime Porte, when it agreed to guarantee the Greek Christians of the Holy Land in the possession of the coveted privileges. New pretexts for aggression were, however, very easily discovered ; and on May 11th, 1853, Prince Menshikoff despatched an ultimatum, demanding for Russia a protectorate over the fourteen millions of Greek Christians who inhabited the various countries under Turkish rule. Sub-

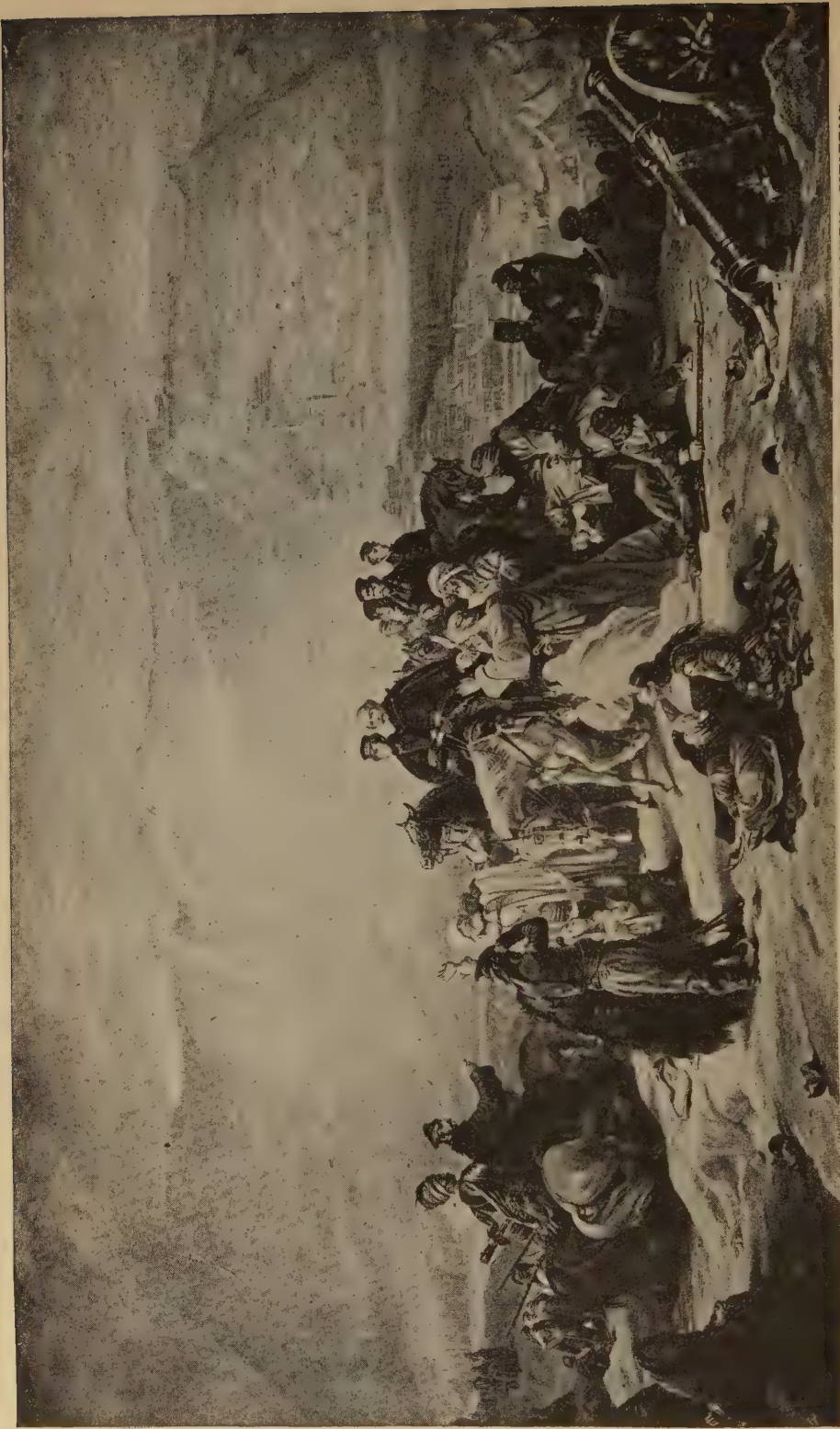


THE SHRINE OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE AT JERUSALEM

In 1808 the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, one of the shrines which the Crusaders had endeavoured to wrest from the hands of the Mohammedans, was destroyed by fire, and the Greeks, with the aid of Russian money, had the sanctuary restored.

however, that, feeling secure from further insurrections in Poland, he unmasked his batteries against the Porte. The temptation to reassert the French protectorate over the Latin Christians of the East

mission to such a demand was equivalent to accepting a partition of the Turkish dominions between Russia and the Sultan. Even without allies the Sultan might be expected to make a stand ; and allies were



AFTER THE FALL OF KARS : SIR WILLIAM FENWICK WILLIAMS PARTING WITH THE GRIEF-STRICKEN CITIZENS
 When the Crimean war broke out, in 1854, Sir William Fenwick Williams was sent to Asiatic Turkey to organise the Turkish army, and reaching Kars in September he immediately prepared it for defence. The siege began in June, 1855, by the Russians, under Muravieff, and after a heroic defence lasting till November 25th, Williams was compelled to surrender. The gallant soldier was idolised by the Turkish army as well as by the citizens of Kars, and their sorrow at parting with him is admirably illustrated in the above picture.
 From the painting by Barker

TURKEY AFTER THE CRIMEAN WAR

forthcoming. Though Napoleon had been first in the field against Russia, it was from Great Britain that Abd ul-Mejid now received the strongest encouragement. Some months before the ultimatum Nicholas had confessed his cherished object to the British ambassador; and though the shock of this disclosure had been tempered by a proposal that Britain should take Egypt and Crete as her share of the spoil, the British Government was clear that, in one way or another, the integrity of the Turkish Empire must be secured. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the British representative at Constantinople, advised that no concession whatever should be made to Russia. The advice was taken. Although the Tsar had probably not counted upon war as a serious probability, nothing now remained but to face the consequences of his precipitation, to recall his ambassador, and to send his troops into the Danube principalities. They were invaded on July 2nd, 1853, the Tsar protesting "that it was not his intention to commence war, but to have such security as would ensure

the restoration of the rights of Russia." Unprepared as he was, he had every prospect of success if he could secure the co-operation of Austria. Had these two Powers agreed to deliver a joint attack upon Turkey, inducing Prussia, by means of suitable concessions, to protect their rear, the fleets of the Western Powers could not have saved Constantinople, and their armies would certainly not have ventured to take the field against the combined forces of the two Eastern emperors. But the Tsar overrated his own powers and underrated the capacity of the Sultan for resistance. All that Nicholas desired from Austria was neutrality; and this he thought that he might confidently expect after the signal service which Russian armies had rendered in the suppression of the Hungarian rebellion. No advance was made on his part towards an understanding with Austria until the two Western Powers had appeared on the scene. This happened immediately after the Black Sea squadron of the Turkish fleet had been destroyed in the harbour of Sinope by



ALEXANDER II. OF RUSSIA

The son of Tsar Nicholas I., he succeeded to the throne of Russia on March 2nd, 1855. The emancipation of 23,000,000 serfs in 1861, chiefly due to the Tsar's own efforts, was the greatest achievement of Alexander's reign.



VIEW OF KARS FROM THE EAST, SHOWING THE FORTRESS, ABOUT THE YEAR 1840

Admiral Nakimoff on November 30th, 1853. The allied French and British fleets had been in the Bosphorus for a month past with the object of protecting Constantinople; now, at the suggestion of Napoleon, they entered the Black Sea in January, 1854. At this juncture Prince Orloff was despatched to Vienna, without authority

Austria's Rebuff to Russia

to offer any concessions, but merely to appeal to Austrian gratitude. It would have needed a statesman of unusual penetration to grasp the fact that Austrian interests would really be served by a friendly response to this dilatory and unskillfully managed application; and such a statesman was not to be found at the Hofburg. Schwarzenberg had died very suddenly on April 5th, 1852, and his mantle had fallen upon the shoulders of Count Buol, who had no qualifications for his responsible position beyond rigid orthodoxy and some small experience acquired in a subordinate capacity during the brief ministry of Schwarzenberg. Buol confirmed his master, Francis Joseph, in the erroneous idea that the interests of Austria and Russia in the East were diametrically opposed. Accordingly, Prince Orloff was rebuffed, and Austria supported a demand for the evacuation of the Danubian principalities issued by the Western Powers on February 27th, 1854.

France and Britain were encouraged by this measure of Austrian support to conclude a defensive treaty with the Sultan on March 12th and to declare war on Russia on March 27th. In the first stages of hostilities they had the support of the Austrian forces. Austria accepted from Turkey a formal commission to hold the Danube principalities during the course of the war, and co-operated with a Turkish army in compelling the Russian troops to withdraw. And on August 8th, Austria joined with France and Britain in demanding that Russia

Russia Rejects the Demands of the Powers

should abandon her protectorate over Servia and the Danubian principalities, should allow free navigation of the Danube, should submit to a revision of the "Convention of the Straits" of July, 1841, in the interests of the balance of power, and should renounce the claim to a protectorate over the Greek Christians of the Turkish dominions. When these demands were rejected by Russia, and the war passed into its second

stage, with France and Britain acting on the offensive in order to provide for the peace of the future by crippling Russian power in the East, it might have been expected that Austria would go on as she had begun. But at this point a fifth power made its influence felt in the already complicated situation. Frederic William IV. did not go to the lengths advised by Bismarck, who proposed that Prussia should restore peace by concentrating an army on the Silesian frontier, and threatening to attack whichever of the two neighbouring empires should refuse a peaceful settlement. But the King of Prussia was by no means inclined to make capital out of Russian necessities, and turned a deaf ear to the suggestions of Austria for an armed coalition against the Tsar. The result was that Austria, though she concluded, in December, 1854, an offensive alliance with France and Britain, did not take part in the Crimean War, the operations of which have already been described.

The Tsar Nicholas died, worn out with chagrin and anxiety, on March 2nd, 1855. His policy had cost Russia a loss which

Death of the Tsar Nicholas

was officially calculated at 240,000 men; and "Generals January and February" had treated him even more severely than the allied force which he had expected them to annihilate. Negotiations were opened by his son Alexander II., who declined, however, to limit the Russian fleet in the Black Sea. The allies, therefore, proceeded with the attack upon Sebastopol; and after a third unsuccessful attack upon their position in the battle of the Tchernaya, August 16th, 1855, the Russians were compelled, by a fearful cannonade and the loss of the Malakoff, September 8th, which was stormed by the French in the face of an appalling fire, to evacuate the city. The capture of the Armenian fortress of Kars by General Muravieff in November enabled the Russians to claim more moderate terms of peace than would otherwise have been possible. On February 6th, 1856, a congress opened at Paris to settle the Eastern question, and peace was signed on March 30th of the same year.

By the terms of the Peace of Paris, the Black Sea was declared neutral and open to the merchant ships of every nation. It was to be closed against the warships of all nations, except that Russia and Turkey were permitted to equip not more than

ten light vessels apiece for coastguard service, and that any state interested in the navigation of the Danube might station two light vessels at the mouth of that river. The integrity of Turkey was guaranteed by the Powers, all of whom renounced the right of interfering in the internal affairs of that state, nothing beyond certain promises of reforms being demanded from the Sultan in return for these favours. For the regulation of the navigation of the Danube a standing commission of the interested Powers was appointed. Moldavia and Wallachia were left in dependence on the Sultan, but with complete autonomy so far as their internal administration was concerned. They were to pay a tribute, and their foreign relations were to be controlled by the Porte. Moldavia recovered that part of Bessarabia which had been taken from her by Russia, and in this way the latter Power was pushed back from the Danube.

In Asia Minor the action of France and England restored the frontier to the status quo ante. Turkey, henceforward received into the concert of Europe, promised further reforms in the Hatti-humayun of February 18th, 1856, and reaffirmed the civic equality of all her subjects. The "hat" was received with equal reluctance by both Ottomans and Christians. Only since 1867 have foreigners been able to secure a footing in Turkey. If any advance has been made since these paper promises, it is due not to the imperial firman but to the increase of international communication, which brought the light of civilisation to the very interior of Asia. In 1851 the first railway was built from Alexandria to

Suez, by way of Cairo; shortly afterwards the Suez Canal was begun. In Turkey itself new roads were built, harbours constructed, the postal service improved, and telegraph lines erected, especially after the events in Jidda and Lebanon in 1858-1860. The dark side of this onward movement was the shattered condition of the finances. The financial embarrassments of the Porte had been steadily increasing since 1848. At that date there was no foreign national debt; there were about 200 millions of small coin in circulation, with an intrinsic value of 23½ per cent. of their face value. There was a large amount of uncontrolled and uncontrollable paper money, covered by no reserve in bullion, and there were heavy arrears in the way of salaries and army payments. During the

Crimean War, apart from an enormous debt at home, a loan of \$35,000,000 had been secured in England. Three further loans were effected in 1858, 1860, and 1861. Expenditure rose, in consequence of the high rate of interest, to \$70,000,000 annually, while the revenue amounted to \$45,000,000 only.

In 1861 the financial strain brought about a commercial crisis; an attempt was made to meet the danger by the issue of 1,250 millions of piastres in paper money, with forced circulation. While the upper officials, bank managers, and contractors, such as Langland-Dumonceau,

Eugene Bontoux, and Moritz Hirsch were growing rich, the provinces were impoverished by the weight of taxation and the unnecessary severity with which the taxes were collected. The concert of Europe had guaranteed the first state loan.



MILOS OBRENOVITCH

Prince of Serbia, he was driven out by a revolution in 1839, but was subsequently recalled, and after his death, in 1860, his son Michael was acknowledged by the Porte.



ABD UL-AZIZ

Becoming sultan on the death of his brother, Abd ul-Mejid, in 1861, Abd ul-Aziz found himself confronted by difficult tasks, and for ten years was guided by two very distinguished men, Fuad and Ali Pasha.



ALI PASHA

Hence in 1882 originated the international administration of the Turkish public debt; and this became the basis of the claim for a general supervision of Turkish affairs by Western Europe, which was afterwards advanced in the case of Armenia and Crete.

The Porte was thus unable to prevent the appointment of Colonel Alexander Johann Cusa, at the instance of France, as Prince of Moldavia on January 29th and of Wallachia on February 17th; the personal bond of union thus established between these vassal states resulted in their actual union as Roumania in 1861. Cusa's despotic rule was overthrown on February 22nd, 1866, and under the new prince, Charles of Hohenzollern, the country enjoyed a rapid rise to prosperity,

although the political incapacity of the people, the licence granted by the constitution, and the immorality of the upper classes did not conduce to general order. In Servia the Sultan's creature, Alexander Karageorgevitch, was forced to abdicate on December 21st-22nd, 1858, the family of Obrenovitch was recalled, and after the death of Milos at the age of eighty, on September 26th, 1860, Michael Obrenovitch II. was elected and acknowledged by the Porte. Under the revolutionary and literary government of the "youth," Servia became the scene of Panslavonic movements, hostile to Hungary, which spread to the soil of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and even endangered the absolute monarchy of Michael.

On March 6th, 1867, the last Turkish troops were withdrawn from Servian soil, in accordance with the agreements of September 4th, 1862, and March 3rd, 1867. After the murder of the prince, on June 10th, 1868, the Skupshtina appointed the last surviving Obrenovitch, Prince Milan, then fourteen years of age, and passed the new constitution on June 29th, 1869. An additional consequence was that Turkey became again involved in disputes with the Western Powers; in 1858 the occasion was the murder of the British

and French consuls at Jidda, in Arabia, and in 1860 the atrocities of the Druses against the Christians in Lebanon and Damascus. To anticipate the interference of the Powers, the Grand Vizir, Fuad Pasha, one of the greatest statesmen that Turkey has produced in the nineteenth century, was sent to the spot with unlimited powers; but it was not until a French army of occupation appeared that the leaders in high places were brought to punishment, and the province of Lebanon was placed under a Christian governor. The chief service performed by Fuad was that of introducing the vilayet constitution, the division of the Ottoman Empire into sanjaks and kasas, by which means he had already produced great effects on the Danube provinces. Had it not been for the opposition of the whole company of the Old Turks, the imams, mollahs, mütevelis, hojas, the dervishes, and softas, in the mosques, the schools, the monasteries, and also the coffee-houses, he would possibly have succeeded in cleansing the great Augean stable of Arabic slothfulness.

Upon the death of Abd ul-Mejid, on June 26th, 1861, his brother, the new ruler, Abd ul-Aziz, 1861-1876, was confronted by difficult tasks, and the question arose as to his capacity for dealing with them. The good-natured Abd ul-Mejid had generally allowed his

Grand Vizirs to govern on his behalf, but after 1858, when the royal privy exchequer had been declared bankrupt, he relapsed into indolence and weak sensuality. Notwithstanding the shattered state of the empire, his brother and successor, Abd ul-

Aziz, promised a government of peace, of retrenchment, and reform. To the remote observer he appeared a character of proved strength, in the prime of life, and inspired with a high enthusiasm for his lofty calling. All these advantages, however, were paralysed by the criminal manner in which his education had been neglected. The ruler of almost forty millions of subjects was, at that time, scarcely able to write a couple of lines in his own language. The result was the failure of his first attempts



GEORGE I. OF GREECE

The despotic rule of King Otto led to his deposition, and in 1863 a new king was chosen in the person of George I., a son of the King of Denmark.

From an early photograph

Programme
of the
New Sultan

to bring some order into the administration and the finances, a failure which greatly discouraged him. Until 1871 he allowed himself to be guided by these two distinguished men, Fuad and Ali Pasha; at the same time his want of firmness and insight, his nervous excitability, which often made him unaccountable for his actions, and his senseless and continually increasing extravagance led him; not only to the arms of Ignatieff, "the father of lies," but also to his own destruction.

In the commercial treaties of 1861-1862 gunpowder, salt, and tobacco had been excepted from the general remission of duties. The salt tax, which was shortly afterwards revived, was a lamentable mistake. Sheep farmers suffered terribly under it, for the lack of salt produced fresh epidemics every year among the flocks and destroyed the woollen trade and the manufacture of carpets. The culture of the olive and tobacco also suffered under the new imposts, while internal trade was hindered by octroi duties of every kind.

**A new King
on the Throne
of Greece**

To these difficulties military and political complications were added. Especially dangerous was the revolt in Crete, in the spring of 1866; in 1863 Greece had expelled the Bavarian prince and chosen a new king, George I., formerly Prince Wilhelm of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, and had received the seven Ionian Islands from England in 1864; she now supported her Cretan brothers and co-religionists with money, armies, troops, and ships, notwithstanding the deplorable condition of her own finances.

Only when an ultimatum had been sent to Greece did the Porte succeed in crushing this costly revolt under pressure from a conference of the Powers in 1869. Meanwhile, Ismail Pasha of Egypt had received, in 1866 and 1867, the title of "Khedive" and the right to the direct succession. Undisturbed by English jealousy, the "viceroy" continued the projects of his predecessor, especially the construction of the Suez Canal, which had been begun by Lesseps; he increased his army, built warships, appointed his own Minister of Foreign Affairs in the person of the Armenian Nubar Pasha, travelled in

Europe, and invited the courts of several states to a brilliant opening of the canal in 1869; by means of a personal visit to Constantinople, by large presents and an increase of tribute, he further secured in 1873 the sovereignty which he had assumed. In the summer of 1867 the Sultan appeared in Western Europe accompanied

**The Grand
Tour of
the Sultan**

by Fuad; it was the first occasion in Ottoman history that a sultan had passed the frontiers of his empire, not for the purpose of making conquests, but to secure the favour of his allies. He had already visited the Khedive in Egypt in 1863. Now he saw the World's Exhibition at Paris, and that of London in June, 1863. On July 24th he paid his respects to the King and Queen of Prussia at Coblenz and returned to Constantinople by way of Vienna on August 7th. The success of Fuad Pasha in inducing his master to take this step was a masterpiece of diplomacy and patriotism; unfortunately, the journey, which had cost enormous sums, did not produce the hoped-for results.

On February 11th, 1869, Fuad died, as also did his noble friend and rival, Ali, on September 6th, 1871; thereupon, simultaneously with the fall of the Second Empire, Ottoman politics entered upon that path which for Napoleon III. began before the walls of Sebastopol and ended at Sedan. In place of the influence of the Western Powers the eagles of Russia and Prussia were henceforward victorious on the Bosphorus. Upon his death-bed Fuad had written from Nizza on January 3rd, 1869, to Sultan Abd ul-Aziz: "The rapid advance of our neighbours and the incredible mistakes of our forefathers have brought us into a dangerous position;

**Death-bed
Warning of
Fuad Pasha**

if the threatening collision is to be avoided, your Majesty must break with the past and lead your people in fresh paths."

The committee of officials which travelled through the provinces of the empire in 1864 expressed this thought even more bluntly: "The officials grow rich upon the taxes, while the people suffer, working like slaves under the whip. The income of the taxes is divided among the officials instead of flowing into the state exchequer."





THE WORLD'S EXHIBITION AT PARIS IN 1855: DISTRIBUTING THE AWARDS TO THE SUCCESSFUL EXHIBITORS

The Great Exhibition held at Paris in the year 1855 did much to restore the French capital to her former prestige as the Continental centre. The presentation of awards to the successful exhibitors, which ceremony took place in the Palace of Industry on November 15th, and marked the closing of the Exhibition, is illustrated in the above interesting picture.

THE
RE-MAKING
OF
EUROPE



THE
CONSOLIDATION OF THE
POWERS III

THE SECOND EMPIRE OF FRANCE

THE ASCENDANCY OF NAPOLEON III. AND THE WANING OF HIS STAR

FOR a short time, the diplomatic results of the Crimean war made Napoleon III. appear to be the most powerful ruler in Europe; and he took upon himself the part of a second Metternich. He concealed his actual position and succeeded in inspiring Europe with a wholly unfounded belief in the strength of his country and himself. The World's Exhibition of 1855, and the congress which immediately followed, restored Paris to her former prestige as the centre of Europe. Pilgrims flocked to the city of pleasure and good taste, upon the adornment of which the Prefect of the Seine, Georges Eugène Haussmann, was permitted to expend \$20,000,000 per annum.

The sound governmental principle laid down by the first Napoleon, of keeping the fourth estate contented by high wages, and thus securing its good behaviour and silent approval of an absolute monarchy, was followed with entire success for the moment in the "restored" empire.

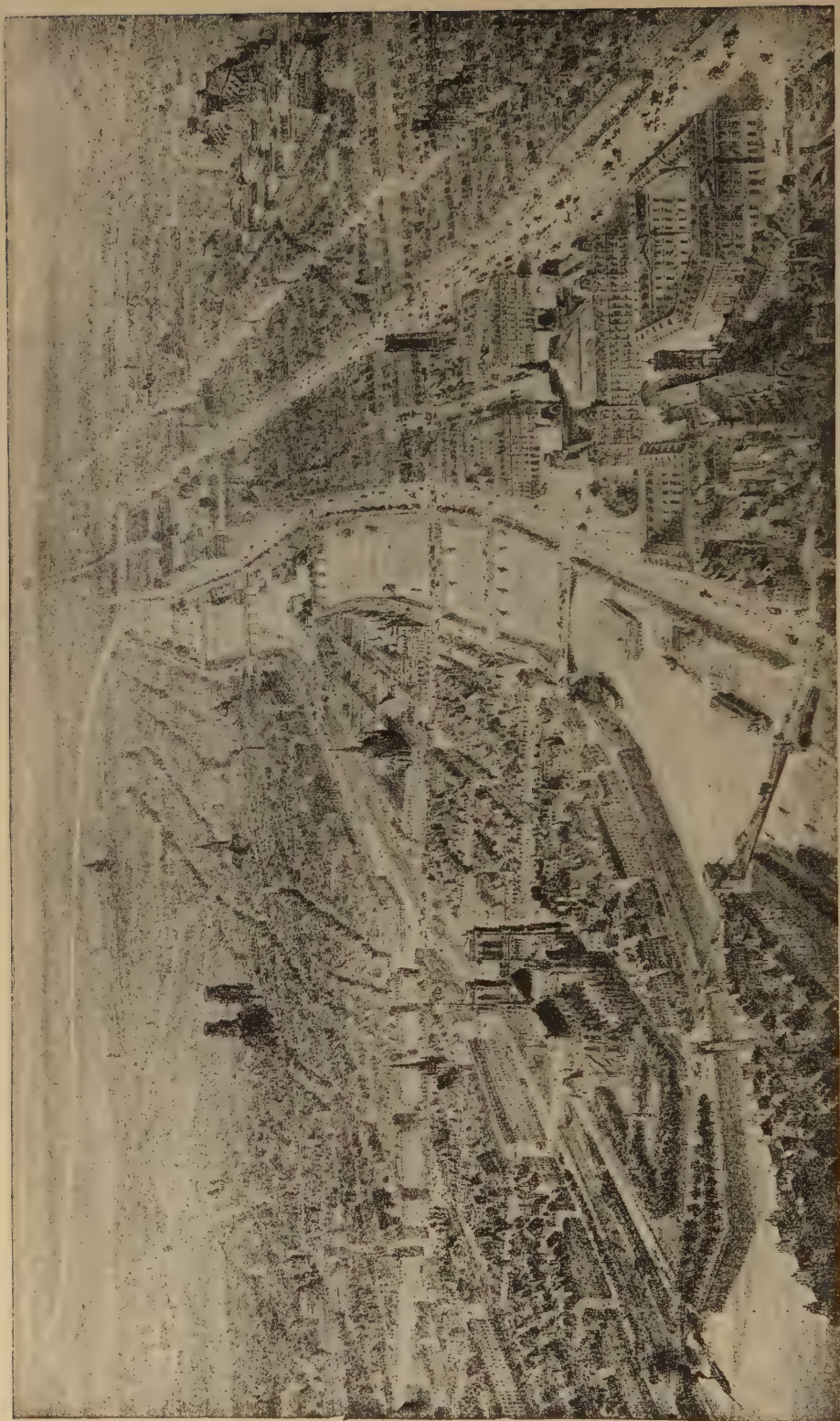
However, Napoleon III., like Metternich, was penetrated with the conviction that the ruler must of necessity be absolute. His greatest mistake consisted in the fact that he refrained from giving a material content to the constitutional forms under which his government was established. By this means he might have united to himself that section of the population which is not subject to the influence of caprice.

The "legislative body" should have been made representative, and should have been given control of the finances and the right of initiating legislative proposals. Such a change would have been far more profitable to the heir who was born to the emperor on March 16th, 1856, than the illusory refinements which gained the Second Empire the exaggerated approbation of all the useless epicures in existence. Russia seemed to have been reduced to

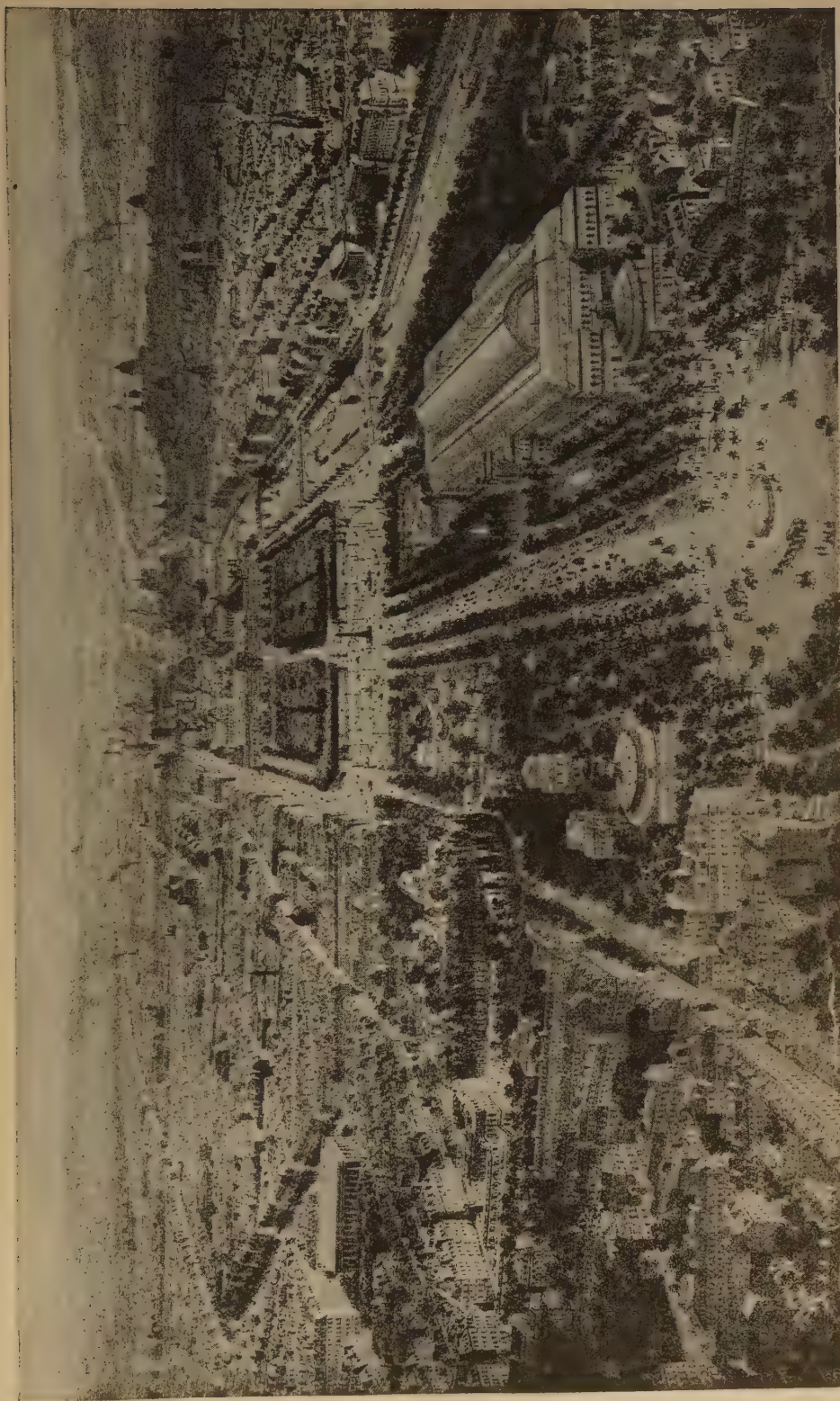
impotency for a long time to come, and her power to be now inferior to that of Turkey. She proceeded to accommodate herself to the changed conditions. Alexander II. assured his subjects that the war begun by his father had improved and secured the position of Christianity in the East, and proceeded with magnificent dispassionateness to make overtures to the French ruler, who had just given him so severe a lesson. The Russian politicians were correct in their opinion that Napoleon was relieved to have come so well out of his enterprises in the East, and that they need fear no immediate disturbance from that quarter.

Napoleon III. showed himself worthy of this confidence. With real diplomacy he met Russia half way, respected her desires whenever he could do so, and received a tacit assurance that Russia would place no obstacle in the way of his designs against any other Power. Though Austria had not fired a shot against the Russian troops, she proved far less accommodating than France, whose troops had triumphantly entered Sebastopol. Austria had declined to repay the help given her in Hungary; she had also appeared as a rival in the Balkans, and had only been restrained by Prussia from dealing Russia a fatal blow. Thus Austria's weakness would imply Russia's strength, and would enable her the more easily to pursue her Eastern policy.

Prussia had fallen so low that no interference was to be feared from her in the event of any great European complication, though there was no immediate apprehension of any such difficulty. In a fit of mental weakness which foreshadowed his ultimate collapse, Frederic William IV. had concentrated his thoughts upon the possibility of recovering his principality of



GENERAL VIEW OF THE CITY OF PARIS IN THE YEAR 1860, LOOKING NORTH-WEST ALONG THE COURSE OF THE SEINE. Whatever Napoleon III. failed to do for France, he certainly made vast improvements in Paris. The above view shows Notre Dame in the left foreground, while beyond it, in the middle distance, the graceful shape of the Sainte Chapelle is seen, and farthest beyond we discern the tower of the Hôtel des Invalides. In the right foreground stands the Hôtel de Ville, with the broad Rue de Rivoli stretching straight ahead, and bending to the left beyond the Tuilleries, we see the Champs Elysées reaching to the Arc de Triomphe in the farthest distance.



A GENERAL VIEW OF THE HEART OF PARIS AS IT WAS DURING THE BRILLIANT DAYS OF THE SECOND EMPIRE. In the above illustration the spectator is looking in the opposite direction from the view on the preceding page. The Place de la Concorde is seen in the centre of the picture, and beyond it are the Tuileries Gardens and the Louvre, while in the middle distance on the left the Graciosa of the Madeleine is easily distinguished, and the routes of many of the most famous thoroughfares can be readily traced, as the changes in the general aspect of this part of the city during the last half century have not been extraordinary.

Neuenberg. Success was denied him. After the ill-timed attempt at revolution, set on foot by the Prussian party in that province on September 3rd, 1856, he was forced to renounce definitely all claim to the province on May 26th, 1857. The fact that the principality was of no value to Prussia did not remove the impression that the German state had again suffered a defeat. Napoleon was one of the few statesmen who estimated the power of Prussia at a higher rate than did the majority of his contemporaries; in a conversation with Bismarck in March, 1857, he had already secured Prussia's neutrality in the event of a war in Italy, and had brought forward proposals of more importance than the programme of the union. With the incorporation of Hanover and Holstein a northern sea-power was to be founded strong enough, in

alliance with France, to oppose England. All that he asked in return was a "small delimitation" of the Rhine frontier; this, naturally, was not to affect the left bank, the possession of which would oblige France to extend her territory and would rouse a new coalition against her. Bismarck

declined to consider any further projects in this direction, and sought to extract an undertaking from the emperor that Prussia should not be involved in any great political combination. Great Britain's resources were strained to the utmost by conflicts with Persia and China, and by the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny, and she needed not only the goodwill but the friendly offices of France. For these reasons the Tory Ministry, which came into office in 1858 upon the fall of Palmerston, could not venture to disturb the good understanding with Napoleon, however strongly inclined to this course.

Napoleon was thus free to confront the apparently feasible task of increasing his influence in Europe and conciliating the goodwill of his subjects to the empire. It

was now necessary to apply the second fundamental principle of the Bonapartist rulers, to avoid any thorough investigation of internal difficulties by turning attention to foreign affairs, by assuming a commanding position among the Great Powers, and

by acquiring military fame when possible. Polignac had already made a similar attempt. He had failed through want of adroitness; the capture of Algiers came too late to prevent the July Revolution. Napoleon did not propose to fail thus, and for once, at least, his attempt proved successful. Naturally the methods by which Ministers had begun war under the "old regime" were impossible for a popular emperor. Moreover, Napoleon III. was no soldier; he could not merely wave his sword, like his great uncle, and announce to Europe that this or that dynasty must

be deposed. Principles must be followed out, modern ideas must be made triumphant; at the least, the subject nation must be made to believe that the individual was merely the implement of the great forces of activity latent in peoples. He had turned constitutionalism to excellent

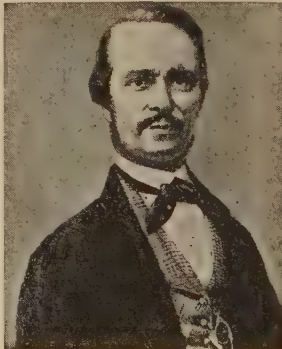
account; the struggles of the Liberal party to obtain a share in the government had ended by raising him to the throne. Another idea with which modern Europe was fully penetrated, that of nationality, might now be exploited by an adroit statesman. Napoleon neither exaggerated nor underestimated its potency; only he had not realised how deeply it was rooted in the hearts of the people. He knew that it was constantly founded upon folly and presumption, and that the participation of the people in the task of solving state

problems fostered the theory that the concentration of the national strength was ever a more important matter than the maintenance of the state; hence he inferred the value of the national idea as a means of opening the struggle against



COUNT CAVOUR

A liberal statesman, he laboured strenuously for the restoration of Italian nationality, and at last, in 1861, he witnessed the summoning of an Italian Parliament.



URBANO RATTAZZI

He was twice Prime Minister of Italy, in 1862 and again in 1867, but held office for only a brief period on each occasion, resigning through his opposition to Garibaldi.



THE STATESMEN WHO ENDED THE CRIMEAN WAR: THE CONGRESS OF PARIS IN 1856

Attended by two plenipotentiaries from each of the seven Powers—Britain, France, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Turkey, and Sardinia—the Congress of Paris agreed to the terms of peace that brought the Crimean war to an end. The integrity of the Ottoman Empire was guaranteed, the Danube declared free for navigation, and the Black Sea recognised as neutral.

From the painting by Dubufe in Versailles Museum

existing political institutions. But of its moral power he had no conception; he never imagined that, in the fulness of time, it would become a constructive force capable of bending statecraft to its will. Here lay the cause of his tragic downfall—he was like the apprentice of some political magician, unable to dismiss the spirits whom he had evoked when they became dangerous.

His gaze had long been directed towards Italy; the dreams of his youth returned upon him in new guise and lured him to make that country the scene of his exploits. It was, however, in the East, which had already proved so favourable to Napoleon's enterprises, that he was to make his first attempt to introduce the principle of nationality into the concert of Europe. Turkey was forced to recognise the rights of the Roumanian nation, of which she had hardly so much as heard when the question arose of the regulation of the government in the Danube principalities. She could offer no opposition when Moldavia and Wallachia, each of which could elect a hospodar tributary to the Sultan, united in their choice of one and the same personality, Colonel Alexander Johann Cusa, and appointed him their prince at the beginning of 1859 on January 29th and February 17th.

By this date a new rising of the kingdom of Sardinia against Austria had already been arranged for the purpose of overthrowing the foreign government in Italy. The victorious progress of the national idea in the Danube principalities, which not only

destroyed Austria's hopes of extending her territory on the Black Sea, but also became a permanent cause of disturbance in her Eastern possessions, was now to

justify its application in Italy. The attempt of the Italian, Orsini, and his three associates, who threw bombs at the imperial couple in Paris on January 14th, 1858, wounding both of them and 141 others, is said to have materially contributed to determine Napoleon's decision for the Italian war. He was intimidated by the weapons which the Nationalist and Radical party now began to employ, for Orsini in the very face of death appealed to him to help his oppressed fatherland, and it became manifest that this outrage was merely the expression of national excitement.

A similar state of tension existed in the Sardinian state, its dynasty and its leader, Count Camillo Cavour, who had been the Prime Minister of King Victor Emmanuel since November 4th, 1852. At

first of moderate views, he had joined the Liberals under Urbano Rattazzi and Giovanni Lanza, and had entered into relations with the revolutionary party throughout the peninsula. He had succeeded in inspiring their leaders with the conviction that the movement for Italian unity must proceed from Piedmont. Vincenzo Gioberti, Daniel Manin, and Giuseppe Garibaldi adopted Cavour's programme, and promised support if he would organise a new rising against Austria. Cavour, with the king's entire approval, now made this rising his primary object; he was confident that Napoleon would not permit Austria to



GARIBALDI

The central figure in the battle for Italian independence, Garibaldi, the son of a poor sailor, led the revolvers against the Austrian rule, continuing the struggle till Italy became a nation, with Victor Emmanuel as her king, and then retiring to Caprera.



VICTOR EMMANUEL II.

He ascended the throne of Sardinia in 1849, in succession to his father, and in 1861 he was proclaimed King of Italy at Turin, reigning until his death, which occurred in January, 1878.

against Austria. Cavour, with the king's entire approval, now made this rising his primary object; he was confident that Napoleon would not permit Austria to



THE ITALIAN CAMPAIGN OF NAPOLEON III.: DEFEAT OF THE AUSTRIANS AT THE BATTLE OF PALESTRO ON MAY 30TH, 1859
From the painting by Emilio Lapi in the Gallery of Modern Paintings, Florence



THE FRENCH ATTACK UNDER MACMAHON AT THE BATTLE OF MAGENTA ON JUNE 4TH, 1859
From the painting by Yvon in the Versailles Museum



ANOTHER SCENE IN THE BATTLE OF MAGENTA: THE ITALIAN CAMP DURING THE FIGHT

From the painting by Giovanni Fattori



THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. AT THE BATTLE OF SOLFERINO

From the painting by Meissonier in the Louvre



SOLFERINO: "ONE OF THE BLOODIEST CONFLICTS OF THE CENTURY"

On June 24th, 1859, was fought the battle of Solferino, "one of the bloodiest conflicts of the century." Three hundred thousand men, with nearly 800 guns, were opposed in the terrible fight, and while the French had no definite plan of action, the Austrian leaders were unable to avoid a series of blunders. Rarely, indeed, have troops been handled with so little generalship. In the battle, which ended in the defeat of the Austrians, no fewer than 12,000 Austrians and nearly 17,000 allies were killed or wounded, and 9,000 Austrian prisoners were taken, as against 1,200 Italians.

From the painting by Jules Rigo in the Versailles Museum

aggrandise herself by reducing Italy a second time. The Austrian Government played into his hands by declining to continue the arrangements for introducing an entirely autonomous and national form of administration into Lombardy and Venice, and by the severity with which the aristocratic participants in the Milan revolt of February 6th, 1853, were punished. Sardinia sheltered the fugitives, raised them to honourable positions, and used every means to provoke a breach with Austria. The schemes of the House of Savoy and its adherents were discovered by the Viennese government, but too late; they were too late in recognising that Lombardy and Venice must be reconciled to the Austrian supremacy by relaxing the severity of the military occupation. Too late, again, was the Archduke Maximilian, the enlightened and popular brother of the emperor, despatched as viceroy to Milan, to concentrate and strengthen the Austrian party. Cavour gave the Lombards no rest; by means of the national union he spread the fire throughout Italy, and continually incited the Press against Austria. The Austrian Government was soon forced to recall its ambassador from Turin, and Piedmont at once made the counter move.

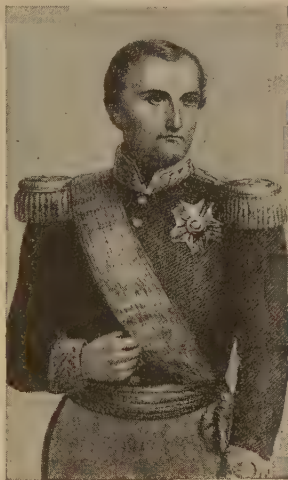
In July, 1858, Napoleon came to an agreement with Cavour at Plombières; France was to receive Savoy if Sardinia acquired Lombardy and Venice, while the county of Nizza was to be the price of the annexation of Parma and Modena. The House of Savoy thus sacrificed its ancestral territories to gain the paramountcy in Italy. The term "Italy" then implied a federal state which might include the Pope, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the King of Naples.

Sardinia at once began the task of mobilisation, for which preparation had been already made by the construction of 250 miles of railway lines. On January 1st, 1859, at the reception on New Year's Day, Napoleon plainly announced to the Austrian ambassador, Hübner, his intention of helping the Italian cause. On January 17th, the community of interests between France and Sardinia was reaffirmed by the engagement of Prince Joseph Napoleon—Plon-Plon—son of Jerome of Westphalia, to Clotilde, the daughter of Victor Emmanuel. Even then the war might have been avoided had Austria accepted British intervention and the condition of mutual disarmament. Napoleon dared not provoke England, and informed Cavour on April



THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III.
Many improvements in internal administration were carried out under Napoleon III., but the emperor's policy was one of vacillation, and the story is told that Bismarck on one occasion described him as "an undetected incapable."

20th that it was advisable to fall in with the British proposals. But the Cabinet of Vienna had in the meantime been so ill-advised as to send an ultimatum to Sardinia threatening an invasion within thirty days if Sardinia did not forthwith and unconditionally promise to disarm. This action was the more ill-timed, as Austria was herself by no means prepared to throw the whole of her forces into Italy. By accepting British intervention Cavour evaded the necessity of replying to the ultimatum. France declared that the crossing of the Ticino by the Austrians would be regarded as a *casus belli*. The crossing was none the less effected on April 30th, 1859. The war which then began brought no special honour to any of the combatants, though it materially altered the balance of power in Europe. In the first place, the Austrian army showed itself entirely unequal to the performance of its new tasks; in respect of equipment it was far behind the times, and much of its innate



JOSEPH NAPOLEON
The son of Jerome of Westphalia, he married Clotilde, the daughter of Victor Emmanuel, thus strengthening the community of interests between France and Sardinia.

the Austrian army showed itself entirely unequal to the performance of its new tasks; in respect of equipment it was far behind the times, and much of its innate

capacity had disappeared since the campaigns of 1848 and 1849; leadership and administrative energy were alike sadly to seek. Half-trained and often wholly uneducated officers were placed in highly responsible positions. High birth, irrespective of capacity, was a passport to promotion; a fine presence and a kind

The Austrian Army Corrupt and Incapable

of dandified indifference to knowledge and experience were more esteemed than any military virtues. There was loud clashing of weapons, but general ignorance as to their proper use. The general staff was in an unusually benighted condition; there were few competent men available, and these had no chance of employment unless they belonged to one of the groups and coteries which made the distribution of offices their special business.

At the end of April, 1859, the army in Italy amounted to little more than 100,000 men, although Austria was said to have at command 520,000 infantry, 60,000 cavalry, and 1,500 guns. The commander-in-chief, Count Franz Gyulay, was an honourable and fairly competent officer, but no general. His chief of the staff, Kuhnfeld, had been sent to the seat of war from his professorial chair in the military academy, and while he displayed the highest ingenuity in the invention of combinations, was unable to formulate or execute any definite plan of campaign.

With his 100,000 troops Gyulay might easily have overpowered the 70,000 Piedmontese and Italian volunteers who had concentrated on the Po. The retreat from that position could hardly have been prevented even by the French generals and a division of French troops, which had arrived at Turin on April 26th, 1859; however, the Austrian leaders were apprehensive of being outflanked on the Po by a disembarkation of the French troops at Genoa. Gyulay remained for a month in purposeless inaction in the Lomellina,

Napoleon and Garibaldi in Battle

the district between Ticino and Sesia; it was not until May 23rd that he ventured upon a reconnaissance to Montebello, which produced no practical result. The conflict at Palestro on May 30th deceived him as to Napoleon's real object; the latter was following the suggestions of General Niel, and had resolved to march round the Austrian right wing. Garibaldi, with three or four thousand ill-armed guerrilla troops, had crossed the

Ticino at the south of Lake Maggiore. This route was followed by a division under General MacMahon, and Niel reached Novara on the day of Palestro and proceeded to threaten Gyulay's line of retreat, who accordingly retired behind the Ticino on June 1st. He had learned nothing of MacMahon's movement on his left, and thought his right wing sufficiently covered by the division of Clam-Gallas, who was advancing from the Tyrol. The battle on the Naviglio followed on June 3rd, and Gyulay maintained his position with 50,000 men against the 58,000 under the immediate command of the Emperor Napoleon in person.

MacMahon had crossed the Ticino at Turbigo, driven back Clam-Gallas, and found himself by evening on the Austrian left flank at Magenta on June 4th, 1859. Unable to rely on his subordinates for a continuance of the struggle, Gyulay abandoned his position on the following day, evacuated Milan, and led his army to the Mincio. At this point the Emperor Francis Joseph assumed the command in person; reinforcements to the number of 140,000 troops had arrived, together with reserve and occupation troops amounting to another 100,000. With these the emperor determined to advance again to the Chiese on the advice of General Riedkirchen, who presided over the council of war in association with the old quartermaster-general Hess.

On June 24th they encountered the enemy advancing in five columns upon the Mincio, and to the surprise of the combatants the Battle of Solferino was begun, one of the bloodiest conflicts of the century, which ended in the retreat of the Austrians, notwithstanding the victory of Benedek over the Piedmontese on the right wing. Three hundred thousand men with nearly 800 guns were opposed on that day, and rarely have such large masses of troops been handled in an important battle with so little intelligence or generalship. The French had no definite plan of action, and might have been defeated without great difficulty had the Austrian leaders been able to avoid a similar series of blunders. The losses were very heavy on either side. Twelve thousand Austrians and nearly 17,000 allies were killed or wounded; on the other hand, 9,000 Austrian prisoners were taken as against 1,200 Italians.



VICTOR EMMANUEL AND HIS STAFF AT THE BATTLE OF SAN MARTINO

From the painting by Cassioli in the Palace of the Signory at Siena



THE HEIGHT OF THE CONFLICT AT SAN MARTINO ON JUNE 24TH, 1859

While the main battle was in progress at Solferino, other sections of the combatants were engaged in a prolonged and deadly conflict near San Martino, and, ignorant of the fate which had overtaken the Austrian army, Benedek, who had twice repulsed the Sardinians, continued the struggle for several hours after the issue had been decided, retiring at last when a severe storm had broken out. This engagement was noteworthy for the conspicuous part taken in it by Marshal Niel, "who distinguished himself above all the other leaders on the French side."

From the painting by Professor Ademollo in the Gallery of Modern Paintings at Florence



THE WELCOME OF PARIS TO THE FRENCH ARMY ON ITS RETURN FROM ITALY ON AUGUST 14TH, 1869

From the painting by E. Glinin in the Versailles Museum

The Emperor Napoleon had not yet brought the campaign to a successful conclusion; his weakened army was now confronted by the "Quadrilateral" formed by the fortresses of Peschiera, Mantua, Verona, and Legnago, which was covered by 200,000 Austrians. Moreover, Austria could despatch reinforcements more rapidly and in greater numbers than France. Austrian sympathies were also very powerful in South Germany, and exerted so strong a pressure upon the German Federation and on Prussia that a movement might be expected at any moment from that direction. Frederic William IV. had retired from the government since October, 1857, in consequence of an affection of the brain; since October 7th, 1858, his brother William had governed Prussia as prince-regent. He had too much sympathy with the Austrian dynasty and too much respect for the fidelity of the German Federal princes to attempt to make capital out of his

neighbour's misfortunes; he had even transferred Bismarck from Frankfort to St. Petersburg, to remove the influence upon the Federation of one who was an avowed opponent of Austrian paramountcy. But



GENERAL HESS

Chief of the staff in the Austrian army under Field-Marshal Radetzky, General Hess shared with that great leader many of his victories.

he awaited some definite proposal from the Vienna government. Six army corps were in readiness to advance upon the Rhine on receipt of the order for mobilisation. The Emperor Francis Joseph sent Prince Windisch-Graetz to Berlin, to call on Prussia for help as a member of the Federation, although the terms of the federal agreement did not apply to the Lombard-Venetian kingdom; but he could not persuade himself to grant Prussia the leadership of the narrower union, or even to permit the foundation of a North German Union. A politician of the school of Felix Schwarzenberg was not likely to formulate a practicable compromise. Austria thus threw away her chance of defeating France and Bonapartism with the help of her German brethren, and of



THE MEETING OF VICTOR EMMANUEL AND GARIBALDI AT SESSIA IN 1860
From the painting by Aldi in the Palace of the Signory, Siena

remaining a permanent and honoured member of the Federation which had endured a thousand years, merely because she declined an even smaller sacrifice than was demanded in 1866.

During the progress of these Federal negotiations at Berlin the combatants had themselves been occupied in bringing the war to a conclusion. The Emperor Napoleon was well aware that the temper of the Federation was highly dangerous to himself, and that Great Britain and Prussia would approach him with offers of intervention. He therefore seized the opportunity of extricating himself by proffering an armistice and a provisional peace to the Emperor Francis Joseph.

After two victories his action bore the appearance of extreme moderation. Austria was to cede Lombardy to France, the province then to become Sardinian territory; the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Modena were to be permitted to return to their states, but were to be left to arrange their governments for themselves, without the interference of either of the Powers; Austria was to permit the foundation of an Italian Federation; the desire of the Emperor Francis Joseph to retain Peschiera and Mantua was granted. On these terms the armistice was concluded on July 8th, and the provisional Peace of Villafranca on July 11th; and Napoleon withdrew.

The official account of the war of 1859 by the Austrian general staff attempts to account for the emperor's conclusion of peace on military grounds, emphasising the difficulty of continuing hostilities and the impossibility of placing an army on the Upper Rhine, in accordance with the probable demands of the Federation. This is an entirely superficial view of the question. Had Prussia declared war on France on the ground of her agreement with Austria, without consulting the Federation, and sent 150,000

Influence of the Emperor in Europe men within a month from the Rhine to the French frontier, the anxieties of the Austrian army in Italy would have been entirely relieved. Napoleon would certainly have left Verona if the Prussians had been marching on Paris by routes perfectly well known to him.

Although the Italian policy of Napoleon III. seemed vague and contradictory, even to his contemporaries, yet he was still in

their eyes entitled to the credit of being the creator of the kingdom of Italy; so that in the year 1860 he stood at the zenith of his influence in Europe. He successfully concealed from public opinion how much had really been done contrary to his wishes. It was discovered that his character was sphinx-like, and what was really weakness seemed to be Machiavellian calculation.

Cavour, indeed, saw through him and made full use of his vacillation; and years later the story was told how Bismarck, even in those days, called the French emperor "une incapacité méconnue," an undetected incapable. But as against this unauthenticated verdict we must remember that the emperor possessed a wide range of intellectual interests and a keen comprehension of the needs of his age. On the other hand, he was lacking in firmness; natures like Cavour and Bismarck easily thwarted his plans, and could lead him towards the goal which they had in view.

Outside France, Napoleon's advocacy of the national wishes of the smaller nations of Europe made him popular. When Moldavia and Wallachia, contrary to the tenor of the treaties, chose a common sovereign, Alexander Cusa, Napoleon III., with the help of Russia, induced the Great Powers to recognise him, and protected the Roumanians when their principalities were united into a national state. Cusa, it is true, was deposed by a revolution on February 23rd, 1866. Prince Charles of Hohenzollern, who was chosen on April 20th, obtained for the youthful state, by the force of his personality, complete independence on May 21st, 1877, and the title of a kingdom on March 26th, 1881.

It was Napoleon's purpose to perform equal services for the Poles. The Tsar Alexander II., in order to conciliate them, placed, in June, 1862, their countryman, the Marquess of Wielopolski, at the side of his brother Constantine, the viceroy of Poland. Wielopolski endeavoured to reconcile his people to Russia, in order to help his countrymen to win some share, however modest, of self-government. But the passionate fury of the Poles frustrated his purpose, and he was unable to prevent the outbreak of the insurrection in January, 1863. He thereupon gave up his post, and the Russian Government adopted the sternest measures. In February, Prussia put the Russian emperor under an obligation by granting permission to Russian



THE EMPEROR AND EMPRESS OF FRANCE RECEIVING THE AMBASSADORS OF SIAM AT THE PALACE OF FONTAINEBLEAU
From the painting by Gérôme

troops to follow Polish insurgents into Prussian territory. This compact, it is true, did not come into force, since it aroused the indignation of Europe; but it showed the goodwill of Prussia, and Bismarck, by this and other services in the Polish question, won the Tsar over so completely that Russia's neutrality was assured in the event of a

How France Helped the Poles

quarrel in Germany. Napoleon now induced England, and, after long hesitation, Austria also, to tender to Russia a request that the Poles should be granted a complete amnesty; but this was refused. The support of Prussia was peculiarly valuable to Russia, because France, England, and Austria resolved to intercede further for the Poles. In a note of June 27th, 1863, the three Powers recommended to Russia the grant of six demands, of which the most important were a Polish Parliament and a complete amnesty.

Palmerston supported these first steps of Napoleon, in the interests of British rule in India. In Poland he saw a wound to Russian power, which he determined to keep open. But he refused his assent to more serious measures which Napoleon pressed on his consideration, because the Polish question was not so important for the British that they would embark on a war for this sole reason; still less could Austria, since it was one of the participatory Powers, follow Napoleon on his path. The Tsar, however, was so enraged at Austria's vacillating attitude that he thereupon immediately proposed to King William an alliance against France and Austria. Bismarck advised his sovereign not to accept the Tsar's proposal, because in a war against France and Austria the brunt of the burden would have devolved on Prussia. Napoleon then proposed to the Austrian emperor, through the Duc de Gramont, that he should cede Galicia to Poland, which was to be emancipated,

The French Emperor in the Lurch

but in return take possession of the Danubian principalities. Count Rechberg answered that it was strange to suggest to Austria to wage a war with Russia for the purpose of losing a province, when it was customary to draw the sword only to win a fresh one. Napoleon thus saw himself completely left in the lurch, and Russia suppressed the rebellion with bloodshed and severity; the Governor-general of Wilna, Michael Muravjev, was

conspicuous for the remorseless rigour with which he exercised his power. It would be a mistake to consider Napoleon as a sympathetic politician who, if free to make his choice, would have devoted the resources of his country to the liberation of oppressed nations. His selfishness was revealed in the expedition against Mexico; and there, too, he tried to veil his intention by specious phrases.

He announced to the world that he wished to strengthen the Latin races in America as opposed to the Anglo-Saxons, who were striving for the dominion over the New World. He had originally started on the expedition in concert with Great Britain and Spain, in order to urge upon the Mexican Government the pecuniary claims of European creditors. The two allies withdrew when Mexico conceded their request; the French general, Count Lorencez, thereupon, in violation of the treaty, seized the healthy tableland above the fever-stricken coast of Vera Cruz, where the French had landed. General Forey then conquered the greatest part of the land, and an assembly of notables, on July

The Waning Power of Napoleon

11th, 1863, elected as emperor the Archduke Maximilian, brother of Francis Joseph. He long hesitated to accept the crown, because Francis Joseph gave his assent only on the terms that Maximilian should first unconditionally renounce all claim to the succession in Austria. After Napoleon had promised, in the treaty of March 12th, 1864, to leave at least 20,000 French soldiers in the country until 1867, the archduke finally consented to be emperor; he did not shut his eyes to the fact that monarchy would be slow to strike root in the land. Napoleon, by placing the Emperor Maximilian on the throne, pursued his object of gradually withdrawing from the Mexican affair, since the United States protested against the continuance of the French in Mexico. The reader is referred to a later volume for the history of the way in which Napoleon deserted the unhappy emperor, and incurred a partial responsibility for his execution at Queretaro. The restless ambition of Napoleon's policy aroused universal distrust in Europe. When the war of 1866 broke out, after his failures in the Polish and Mexican affair, his star was already setting; and a growing republican opposition, supported by the younger generation, was raising its head menacingly in France.

THE
RE-MAKING
OF
EUROPE



THE
CONSOLIDA-
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POWERS IV

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY AND GARIBALDI'S BRAVE FIGHT FOR LIBERTY

THE greatest political event of the nineteenth century on the European Continent is the simultaneous establishment of the national unity of the German and Italian peoples. The aspect of Europe was more permanently changed by this than by any event since the creation of an empire by Charles the Great. The feeling of nationality is as old as the nations themselves, and the history of the two nations with their divisions and subdivisions records in almost every generation proud exhortations or plaintive appeals to assert their unity by force of arms. From Dante and Petrarch, from Machiavelli and Julius II.—“Out with the barbarians from Italy!”—down to Alfieri and Ugo Foscolo, the line is almost unbroken.

The Germans show the same sequence. But the appeals of the writers of the German Renaissance, from Hutten to Puffendorf and Klopstock, never had such

Awakening of German Nationality

a passionate ring, since the nation, even when most divided, was always strong enough to ward off the foreign yoke. At

last the intellectual activity of the eighteenth century raised the spirit of nationality, and the German people became conscious that its branches were closely connected. The intellectual culture of the Germans would, as David Strauss says in a letter to Ernest Renan, have remained an empty shell if it had not finally produced the national State.

We must carefully notice that the supporters of the movement for unification both in Germany and Italy were drawn exclusively from the educated classes; but their efforts were powerfully supported by the establishment and expansion of foreign trade, and by the construction of roads and railways, since the separate elements of the nation were thus brought closer together. The scholar and the author were joined by the manufacturer, who produced goods for a market outside his own small country, and by the merchant,

who was cramped by custom-house restrictions. Civil servants and military men did not respond to that appeal until much later. The majority of the prominent officials and officers in Germany long remained particularists, until Prussia declared for the unity of the nation. In Italy the course of affairs was somewhat different.

The New Regime in Italy

There the generals and officers of the Italian army created by Napoleon were from the first filled with the conviction that a strong political will was most important for the training of their people; the revolution of 1821 was greatly due to them. Similarly, the officers of the smaller Italian armies between 1859 and 1861 joined in large numbers the side of King Victor Emmanuel. The movement reached the masses last of all. But they, even at the present day in Italy, are indifferent towards the new regime; while in South Germany and Hanover, and occasionally even on the Rhine, they are still keenly alive to their own interests.

When Garibaldi marched against the army of the King of Naples, the soldiers of the latter were ready and willing to strike for his cause, and felt themselves betrayed by generals and officers. It is an undoubted fact that the Neapolitan Bourbons had no inconsiderable following among the lower classes. The Catholic clergy of Italy were divided; the leaders supported the old regime, while the inferior clergy favoured the movement. The mendicant friars of Sicily were enthusiastic for Garibaldi, and the Neapolitan general,

Garibaldi the Patriot Leader

Bosco, when he marched against the patriot leader, was forced to warn his soldiers in a general order not to allow themselves at confession to be shaken in their loyalty to their king. Pius IX. endured the mortification of seeing that in 1862 no less than 8,493 priests signed a petition praying him to place no obstacles in the way of the unification of Italy.

It was from Germany, the mother of so many ideas, that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the modern movement, of which the watchword is national and political unity, took its start. But the impulse was not given by the current of internal development; it came from outside, through the tyranny of Napoleon. The nation recognised that it could only attain independence by union, and keep it by unity.

The conception of emperor and empire found its most powerful advocate in Stein. But he and his friends, as was natural, considered the overthrow of the foreign tyranny more important at first than formal unity. In his memorial addressed to the Tsar in 1812 he pointed out how desirable it was that Germany, since the old monarchy of the Ottos and the Hohenstauffen could not be revived, should be divided between the two Great Powers, Prussia and Austria, on a line corresponding to the course of the Main.

He would, however, have regarded this solution only as an expedient required by existing circumstances. "I have only one fatherland," he wrote to Count Münster at London, on December 1st, 1812—"that is called Germany; and since I, according to the old constitution, belong to it and to no particular part of it, I am devoted, heart and soul, to it alone, and not to one particular part of it. At this moment of great developments the dynasties are a matter of absolute indifference to me. They are merely instruments." Stein's efforts at the Congress of Vienna, where he vainly stood out for the emperor and the imperial Diet, remained as noble examples to the next generation. The thought of nationality radiated from Germany, where Arndt, Uhland, Körner, and Rückert had written in its spirit. But Napoleon had roused also the Italians and the Poles, the former by uniting at least Central and Upper Italy, with the exception of Piedmont, into the kingdom of Italy; the latter by holding out to them the bait of a restored constitution. It is significant that

the first summons to unity was uttered by Murat, who, when he marched against the Austrians in 1815, wished to win the nation for himself, and employed Professor Rossi of Bologna, who was murdered in 1848, when a Liberal Minister of the Pope, to compose a proclamation embodying the principle of Italian unity. The peoples of the Austrian monarchy were subsequently roused by Germany to similar efforts.

There was this distinction between Germany and Italy—in the former the Holy Roman Empire had served to keep alive the tradition of unity, while in Italy no political unity had existed since Roman times. In Italy the movement towards unity had no historical foundation, and the "municipal spirit" was

everywhere predominant until the middle of the nineteenth century. When, in 1848, a number of officers, who were not natives, were enrolled in the Piedmontese army, the soldiers long made a sharp distinction between their "Piedmontese" and their "Italian" superiors. So again in the Crimean War, when 15,000 Piedmontese were sent to fight on the side of the French and English, most of them heard for the first time that the foreign nations termed them Italians.

In Germany, again, it was a question of uniting prosperous states, but in Italy of overthrowing unstable ones—for example, the States of the Church and Naples. In Germany it was necessary to reckon with superabundant forces and the jealousy of two Great Powers; and by the side of them stood a number of prosperous petty states where culture flourished. Italy, on the other hand, was dependent on the Austrians, who were termed

Italy's Dependence on Austria

Tedeschi, or Germans; in this connection, however, the Italians were forced to admit that an organised government and a legislature, which in comparison with Piedmont itself showed considerable advance, existed only in the Austrian districts. And in addition the Italians had to struggle against the great difficulty that the papacy, as a



JOSEPH MAZZINI

The Italian patriot who suffered in the cause of liberty and unity, Mazzini devoted his whole life to the furtherance of his ideals, and, taking as his watchword "God and the People," pursued his purpose with passionate zeal.

spiritual empire, opposed their unification. The risings of 1821 in Naples and Piedmont, as well as that of 1831 in the Romagna, aimed far more at the introduction of parliamentary forms than at the attainment of national unity. The thought of liberty was stronger than that of nationality. Only in

Mazzini's Great Work for Unity

the background did the secret society of the Carbonari entertain the vague idea of the union of Italy. The followers of the Genoese, Joseph Mazzini, 1805-1872, claim for him the honour of being the first to follow out the idea of unity to its logical conclusion. Certain it is that Mazzini, undeterred by failures, devoted his whole life to the realisation of this idea. "I have just taught the Italians," he said, on one occasion after the war of 1859, "to lisp the word 'unity.'"

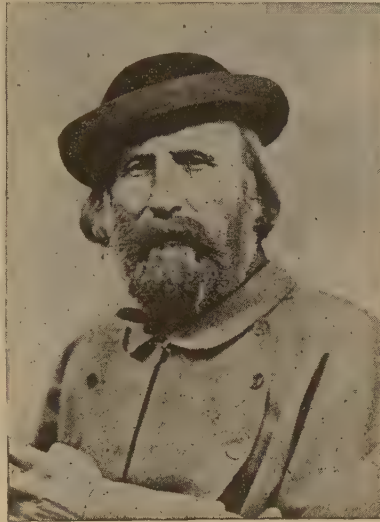
It was after his arrest in 1830 by the Piedmontese Government as a member of the Carbonari, when he spent several months as a prisoner in the fortress of Savona, that he formed the plan of founding a league under the name of "Young Italy," with the object of creating an Italian republic. Animated by a faith which amounted to fanaticism, he took as his watchword "God and the People!" He described later his feelings as a prisoner: "I saw how Rome, in the name of God and of

a republican Italy, offered the nations a common goal and the foundation of a new religion. And I saw how Europe, wearied of scepticism, egoism, and anarchy, received the new faith with enthusiastic acclamations. These were my thoughts in my cell at Savona." He did not shrink from employing all the weapons of conspiracy, including even assassination.

All the rebellions and conspiracies which he plotted proved failures; but even under the stress of conscientious scruples as to the right he had to drive so many highly gifted colleagues to death and long years of captivity, he was supported by the thought that only thus could the ideal of nationality

be kept before the eyes of the people. In the oath which he administered to the members of his secret league they vowed: "By the blush which reddens my face when I stand before the citizens of other countries and convince myself that I possess no civic rights, no country, no national flag . . . by the tears of Italian mothers for their sons who have perished on the scaffold, in the dungeon, or in exile . . . I swear to devote myself entirely and always to the common object of creating one free, independent, and republican Italy by every means within my power."

The league spread over Italy and every country where Italians lived. Giuseppe Garibaldi heard for the first time of



GARIBALDI

The great champion of Italian liberty, Giuseppe Garibaldi, became associated with Mazzini in the early days of the movement, and was condemned to death, but escaping, he returned later to Italy to lead his people to victory.

From a photograph

Mazzini in 1833, when as captain of a small trading-vessel he was sitting in an inn at Taganrog on the Black Sea, and listened to the conversation at the next table of some Italian captains and merchants with whom he was unacquainted. "Columbus," he wrote in 1871, "certainly never felt such satisfaction at the discovery of America as I felt when I found a man who was endeavouring to liberate his country." He eagerly joined the fiery orator of that dinner-party, whose name was Cuneo, and, armed with an introduction from him, hastened to Mazzini, who was then plotting his conspiracies at Marseilles.

Garibaldi took part in one of the futile risings of February, 1834, was condemned to death, and escaped to Argentina, where he gathered his first experiences of war. He long followed the leadership of Mazzini, although the natures of the two men were too different to permit of any very intimate relations between them. Garibaldi called Mazzini the "second of the Infallibles"; but he esteemed him so highly, that at a banquet given in his honour at London in 1864 he toasted him as his master.

Mazzini was the central figure of the Italian movement only up to the middle of the fifties. After that an amelioration

was traceable in the life of his nation. When the middle classes took up the cause of freedom as one man, the importance of the conspiracies disappeared and the entire system of secret societies—for the Carbonari and the Young Italy were opposed by the Sanfedists, the league of the reaction—became discredited. Public

Mazzini Condemned to Death

life was now more instinct with vitality. A blind and biased republicanism was no longer the only cry; the leaders of the movement began to take the actual conditions into account, and the Piedmontese, in particular, worked in the cause of constitutional monarchy. Mazzini, on the other hand, hated the house of Savoy equally with every other dynasty. Two of his conspiracies were aimed against Piedmont, so that sentence of death was pronounced on him by the courts of that kingdom.

The new ideas started from Piedmont. The noble priest Vincenzo Gioberti proposed the plan that all Italy should rally round the Pope, and follow him as leader in the war of independence. A number of Piedmontese nobles, Count Cesare Balbo, Marquis Massimo d'Azeglio, and the greatest of them, Count Camillo Cavour, were filled with the conviction that the government of Italy belonged by right to the constitutional monarchy of Piedmont. They had all grown up in an atmosphere of conservative ideas, respectful towards the monarchy, and filled with admiration for the army and the civil service of Piedmont. The revolutionists of 1848 were united only in their hatred of the foreign yoke; their views for the future were of the most conflicting character, and must have led to dissension if they had been clearly formulated.

The hope that Pope Pius would be permanently won for the great thought soon faded away. In the whole agitation the idea of federalism was still widely predominant. Venice and Rome under Daniel Manin and Mazzini declared for independent republics; even

Cavour in Public Disfavour

Lombardy felt some reluctance to unite with Sardinia. Rossi, the papal Minister, wished merely for a league of the sovereign princes of Italy, not a united Parliament. In Piedmont the middle-class citizens opposed with suspicion the representatives of the monarchical military state, and Cavour, who defended the royal authority, was in 1849 one of the most unpopular of politicians. Even then he was opposed to

Urbano Rattazzi, who was soon destined to become the leader of the bourgeois circles. Italy thus succumbed to the sword of Radetzky. Napoleon, as President of the French Republic, put an end to the Roman Republic, since he did not wish to allow all Italy to be subjugated by the Austrians. The heroic and, for some time, successful defence of Rome by Garibaldi—on the scene of this memorable fight, at the summit of the Janiculum, a colossal monument has been erected in his honour—raised him to be the popular hero of the nation, while Mazzini's republican phrases began to seem vapid to the intelligent Italians.

The wars of 1848 and 1849 left the Italians with the definite impression that only Piedmont could have ventured to face the Austrian arms in the open field. King Charles Albert was clearly a martyr to the cause of Italian unity; he died soon after his abdication, a broken-hearted man, in a Portuguese monastery. Since his son, Victor Emmanuel, alone among the Italian princes maintained the constitution granted in 1848, the hopes of Italy

Cavour at the Goal of his Ambition

were centred in him. In the year 1852, Cavour reached the immediate goal of his burning but justifiable ambition; for after he had allied himself with Rattazzi and the liberal middle class, he was entrusted with the direction of the government. He soon ventured openly to indicate Piedmont, which had been overthrown so recently, as the champion in the next war of liberation. He drew his weapons from the arsenal of the clever Ministers who, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had helped the Dukes of Savoy to hold their own between France and Austria. He was the heir of the old dynastic policy of Savoy, but in a greater age, dominated by the thought of nationality. He formed an alliance with the man whom the republicans of Italy hated intensely, and against whose life they plotted more than one conspiracy.

The question may well be asked whether the Italian blood was stirred in the veins of the Bonapartes when, in 1805, the first Napoleon created the kingdom of Italy, and when, in 1830, his nephew entered into a secret Italian alliance, and, finally, as Napoleon III., allied himself with Cavour for the liberation of Italy. It is not an unlikely supposition, although diplomatic reasons and the lust of power were

the primary motives which actuated the nephew of the great conqueror in forming this alliance; for he considered that his uncle had bequeathed to him the duty of destroying the work of the Congress of Vienna, especially in Italy, where Austria had entered on the inheritance of France.

Napoleon won friends for France on all sides when he came forward as the advocate for the idea of nationality. While he did so, there lay in the bottom of his heart the intention of increasing the territory of France on the basis of this idea, by the annexation of Belgium and Savoy, and of thus uniting all French-speaking peoples under the Empire. On the other side, he thought it dangerous to stretch out his hand to the Rhine, where the Germans, whom he called the

coming race, might oppose him. He wished to free Italy from the Austrian rule, but only in order to govern it as suzerain. For this reason he declined from the outset to entertain the idea of giving political unity to the peninsula. He only agreed with Cavour at Plombières that Sardinia should be enlarged into a North Italian kingdom with from 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 inhabitants.

There was to be a Central Italian kingdom, consisting of Tuscany and the greater part of the States of the Church. Naples was to be left untouched. The Pope was to be restricted to the territory of the city of Rome and its vicinity, and in compensation was to be raised to the headship of the Italian Confederacy. Napoleon reserved to himself the nomination of his cousin, Joseph, called Jerome, to the throne of Central Italy, but concealed his intention from Cavour, while he hinted to him that he wished to place the son of King Murat on the throne at Naples. In return

for his armed assistance the emperor stipulated for the cession of Savoy and Nice. The story of the campaign of 1859 and of its termination by the Treaty of Villafranca has been told in the last chapter. By the treaty, Napoleon's promises, therefore, were only partially fulfilled. By allowing Venetia to remain Austrian he belied the proclamation

announcing that "Italy shall be free from the Alps to the Adriatic," with which he had opened the war on May 3rd. Cavour felt himself deceived and exposed. His old opponent, Mazzini, had derided his policy before the war, and had warned

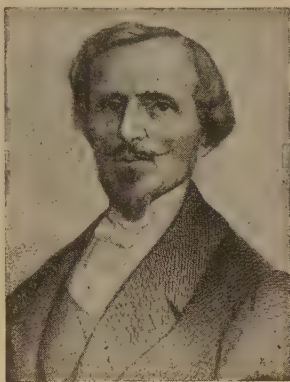
Cavour is Deceived by Napoleon III. the Italians not to exchange the rule of Austria for that of France. However unwise this attitude of the old conspirator

might be, he now seemed to be correct in the prediction that Napoleon would deceive the Italians. The passionate nature of Cavour, which slumbered behind his half good-natured, half mockingly-diplomatic exterior, burst out in him with overwhelming force. He hurried to the headquarters of Victor Emmanuel and required him to lay down his crown, as

his father, Charles Albert, had done, in order to show clearly to the world the injustice perpetrated by Napoleon. Cavour displayed such violence that the two men parted in downright anger. But Cavour, without further demur, resigned his office. That was the wisest step he could take to turn aside the reproach of treachery, which the republican party was already bringing against him. In the course of a conversation with the senator Joachim Pietri, an intimate friend of Napoleon, he gave vent to his displeasure in the most

forcible terms, and threw in the teeth of the emperor the charge of deceit. "Your emperor has insulted me," he cried; "yes, sir, insulted me. He gave me his word, and promised me to relax no efforts until the Austrians were completely driven out of Italy. As his reward for so doing he stipulated for Nice and Savoy. I induced my sovereign to consent to make this sacrifice for Italy. My king, my good and honourable king, trusted me and consented. Your emperor now pockets his reward and lets us shift for ourselves. . . . I am dishonoured before my king. But," added Cavour, "this peace will lead to nothing; this treaty will not be carried out."

One of the causes which led Napoleon to conclude peace so rapidly was the fear that the Italians would go far beyond his original intention and win complete



BARON RICASOLI
On the flight of the Grand Duke in 1859, he was made dictator of Tuscany, and was at the head of the Ministry in 1861 and again in 1866.

political independence for themselves. Cavour, in spite of his proud words about the integrity of the Piedmontese policy, had really wished on his side to outwit the emperor. For, at his instigation and in consequence of the agitations of the National Union, which he had secretly organised, not merely had Parma, Modena,

The Demand for United Italy

and the Romagna risen against the Pope, but even in Central Italy, in Tuscany, in the Marches and in Umbria, the authorities had been driven out, and everywhere there was an outcry for United Italy. Victor Emmanuel had certainly, at the wish of Napoleon, refused this request, and had only accepted the supreme command of the volunteer corps which were forming everywhere.

Napoleon wished to preclude any further extension of this movement. Hence the hasty conclusion of the armistice, and the provisions of the Peace of Zürich, November 10th, 1859, that Sardinia might retain Lombardy, but not extend her territory further. In Tuscany, Parma, and Modena the old order of things was to be restored, if the people agreed to accept it; and the States of the Church, and this condition was taken as obvious, must once more be subject to the Pope.

All Italian States were to form a Confederation, which Austria, as representing Venice, wished to join. Cavour, incensed at these fetters imposed on the Italians, said as he left the Ministry: "So be it! they will force me to spend the rest of my life in conspiracies." And in the last letters before his retirement he secretly urged the leaders of the movement in Central Italy to collect money and arms, to wait their time loyally, and 'o resist the wishes of Napoleon.

Rattazzi, Cavour's successor, was an eloquent and practised advocate, of a tractable disposition, and therefore more acceptable to the king than Cavour; he possessed a mind more capable of words

Cavour's Eloquent Successor

and schemes than of action. Cavour, speaking of him, said that he was the first among the politicians of the second class. In accordance with the popular feeling Giuseppe Dabormida, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, declared on July 23rd that Sardinia would never enter into an Italian Confederation in which Austria took any part. This policy was absolutely essential for self-preservation, since Piedmont, in a league with Austria, the Pope, and Naples,

would always have been in the minority. The new Cabinet was wavering and insecure, and so dependent on the will of Napoleon that it did not venture to take any forward step without his consent. But at this point the fact became evident that the work of unification was not dependent on the ability of individuals, but on the attitude of the whole nation.

It is astonishing with what political tact the several Italian countries struggled for union with Sardinia. The Sardinian Government was compelled to recall, immediately after the preliminary peace, the men it had sent to Bologna, Florence, Modena, and Parma to lead the agitation. These districts were consequently thrown upon their own resources; but Tuscany found, on August 1st, 1859, in Baron Bettino Ricasoli, and the Romagna and the duchies in Luigi Carlo, a retired physician, leaders who governed the provisional commonwealths with sagacity, and guided the public voting which declared for submission to Victor Emmanuel.

Only in quite exceptional cases was any violence used against the hated tools of the former governments; **The Swiss Mercenaries of the Pope** otherwise order prevailed generally, and a childlike, almost touching, enthusiasm for the unity of Italy. The Pope attempted a counter-blow, and succeeded in conquering Perugia on July 20th, 1859, by means of his Swiss mercenaries, who did not shrink from outrage and plunder.

Thereupon the Romagna, Tuscany, and Modena concluded a defensive alliance. General Manfredo Fanti organised in October, 1859, a force of 40,000 men; so that the Pope desisted from further attacks. Since the Treaty of Villafranca left the return of the former governments open, so long as foreign interference was excluded, the Pope and the dukes calculated upon an outbreak of anarchy, which would provoke a counter-blow. They centred their hopes on the Mazzinists; and Walewski, the Minister of Napoleon, who was unfavourable to the Italians, said that he preferred them to a party which styled itself a government. But this hope faded away before the wise attitude of the Central Italians.

The Emperor Napoleon now saw himself confronted by the unpleasant alternative of allowing the Italians full liberty, or of restoring the old regime by force. But ought the liberator of Italy to declare

war on the country? And it was still more out of the question to allow the interference of the defeated Austrians. He repeatedly assured the Italians that he persisted in his intention to carry out his programme of federation.

Doubt has been felt whether the letter to this effect which he addressed on October 20th, 1859, to Victor Emmanuel really expressed his true intention. In that letter he repeated his demand for the restoration of the old regime in Central Italy and for the formation of an Italian Confederation with the Pope at its head. But it is clear that this was really his own and his final scheme; for he was too wise not to foresee that a united and powerful Italy might one day turn against France.

With this idea, therefore, he said to Marquis Napoleone di Pepoli: "If the movement of incorporation crosses the Apennines, the union of Italy is finished, and I do not wish for any union—I wish simply and solely for independence." His programme would have proved the most favourable solution for France, since it would then always have had a hand in the

The Italian Dislike of the French

affairs of Italy, from the simple reason that the North Italian kingdom, which owed its existence to him, would have had no other support against Austria and the remaining sovereigns of Italy. That was the precise contingency which Cavour most feared; and for that reason he secretly urged the leaders of Central Italy not to comply with the intentions of Napoleon. In fact, deputations from the Romagna, Tuscany, and the duchies offered the sovereignty to King Victor Emmanuel. He did not dare to accept the offer against the wish of Napoleon, and merely promised in his reply that he would represent to Europe the wishes of the Central Italians.

It is a remarkable fact that Victor Emmanuel, in these complications, entertained for a moment the idea of joining hands with Mazzini and raising the standard of revolt against Napoleon. By the agency of Angelo Brofferio, the leader of the democratic opposition in the Piedmontese Parliament, and the opponent of Cavour's diplomacy, the king negotiated with the old republican conspirator on whom first his father, and later, he himself, in 1857, had caused sentence of death to be passed on account of his organisation of a revolt in Piedmont. Mazzini showed at this crisis how greatly the welfare of his country out-

weighed with him all other considerations. He sent a message to that effect to the king, and only asked him to break off entirely with Napoleon, whom the Republicans regarded as Antichrist. In return Mazzini offered to raise the whole of Italy, including Rome and Naples, after which would follow the promotion of Victor Emmanuel to be

The King's Advice to Brofferio

king of the peninsula. But then—for Mazzini expressly made this proviso—he intended to fight, as previously, for the republic and for the expulsion of the House of Savoy. The king is reported to have said to Brofferio: "Try to come to an understanding; but take care that the Public Prosecutor hears nothing of it."

The negotiations, however, did not lead to the desired goal, for the game seemed to the king to be too dangerous. Mazzini certainly promised on that occasion more than he could perform; his schemes could not have been carried into execution against the express wishes of Napoleon, who would not have abandoned the Pope and Rome. Italy had only obtained the support of the emperor against Austria because the monarchical policy of Cavour offered a guarantee that in Italy at least the revolutionaries, who threatened his rule in France, were kept in restraint. The emperor, as his action in the year 1867 clearly proves, would have certainly employed force against Italy, even though Rome had been raised in rebellion; for since the French Democrats were implacably hostile to him, he was bound at least to have the clerical party on his side.

Garibaldi, who then was entrusted by the provisional government with the command of the Tuscan troops, overlooked all these considerations, and was already determined to advance on Rome. But Farini, the dictator of Romagna and of the duchies, thought his enterprise dangerous, and, going to meet him, induced him to withdraw from Central Italy. Having

Garibaldi's Call to Italy

returned to Turin, Garibaldi was received with consideration by Victor Emmanuel, who was privy to this plot; he then addressed a manifesto to Italy, in which he condemned the miserable, fox-like politicians, and called upon the Italians to place their hopes exclusively on Victor Emmanuel. That monarch, under his outward simplicity, possessed natural shrewdness enough to remain on good terms with all who wished to further the unity of Italy.

In this consists his inestimable services in the cause of the unification of Italy. Towards the end of the year 1859, Napoleon was forced to admit that he could not carry out his programme in Central Italy by peaceful methods. He thus ran the risk of losing Savoy and Nice, which had been promised him as a reward before the war. His own interests and his predilection for the Italian cause combined to induce him to leave a part, at any rate, of Central Italy to Victor Emmanuel. In order to carry out this change of policy, Walewski was dismissed and Edouard Antoine Thouvenel, a liberal who shared Napoleon's preference for Italy, was nominated Foreign Minister on January 5th, 1860. But the new policy was not possible with the Cabinet of Rattazzi, since that Minister did not possess the courage to assume the responsibility for the cession of Savoy and Nice. A bold and broad policy could only be carried out with the assistance of Cavour. The latter was already thirsting for power, while Rattazzi was vainly trying to block his road. It is true that the king was not pleased with the exchange of Ministers; he still cherished some rancour against Cavour for the "scene" which the latter had made with him after the Peace of Villafranca. Public opinion, on the other hand, more especially in Central Italy, looked to Cavour alone for the realisation of its wishes. Since his ambition was fired by the prospect of new and grand exploits, he induced his friends to work vigorously on his behalf, so that the Cabinet of Rattazzi was compelled to make way for him on January 16th, 1860. Rattazzi and his colleagues were not all so candid in their views as Dabormida, the Foreign Minister, who felt he could not compare with Cavour, and wrote at the time: "I was impatient

to give up my place to him. But he was still more impatient than I was. I am sorry that he expended so much trouble in bursting the doors that stood open to him. But he has the right to be ambitious."

Napoleon, although not disposed to a grand and sweeping policy, had the astuteness requisite to disguise his frequent changes of front, and to veil his machinations with a semblance of magnanimity. Since he knew that the British distrusted him, and foresaw that the annexation of Savoy and Nice would appear to them the prelude to an extensive policy of aggrandisement, he lulled their suspicions by concluding a commercial treaty on free-trade principles, January 23rd, 1860. At the same time he informed the Pope that France no longer wished to insist on the restoration of the legations of the Romagna, Bologna, and Ferrara to the States of the Church.

This change in the policy of Napoleon could not have been more unwelcome to anyone than to the Pope. After all, Pius IX. had himself to blame for it, since he opposed

the sensible counsels of Napoleon. The emperor had requested him in a letter of July 14th, 1859, to grant to the already rebellious legations a separate administration and a lay government nominated by the Pope. "I humbly conjure your Holiness," so the letter ran, "to listen to the voice of a devoted son of the Church, who in this matter grasps the needs of his time, and knows that force is not sufficient to solve such difficult problems. In the decision of your Holiness I see either the germs of a peaceful and tranquil future, or the

continuation of a period of violence and distress." But the Curia continued obstinate, and declared that it could not break with the principles on which the States of the Church had been governed hitherto. The Pope, in fact, protested against



ADMIRAL PERSANO

Admiral of the Italian fleet, Persano, on the occasion of Garibaldi's bold expedition to Sicily, was ordered by Cavour to place his ships between Garibaldi's transports and the Neapolitan fleet.

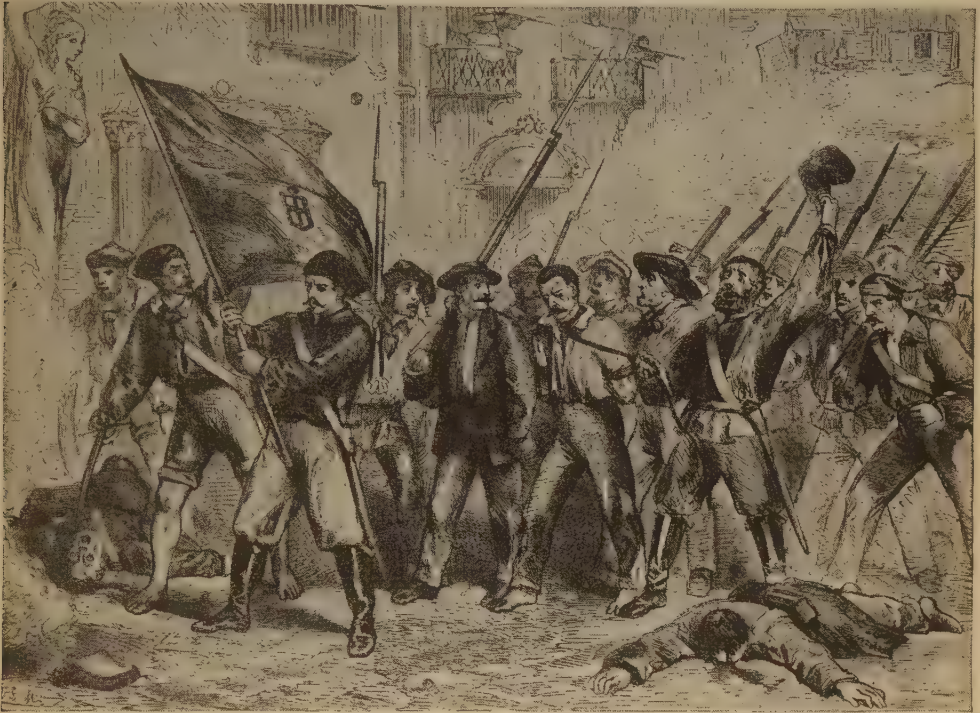


GENERAL LAMORICIÈRE

One of the leaders of the Legitimist party in France, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the papal forces in 1860, when the Pope surrounded himself with an army of 20,000 enlisted soldiers.

the concession of religious liberty which had been granted by the provisional government at Bologna. Napoleon now adopted a severer tone. He published in December, 1859, a pamphlet, "The Pope and the Congress," in which it was stated that a restoration of papal rule in Central Italy had become impossible. Granted that a secular kingdom was necessary for the Pope in order to maintain his independence, a smaller territory would be sufficient for that purpose. Shortly afterwards, Napoleon addressed a second letter to Pius IX., in which he called upon the

throne. Cavour, however, met the refusal of Napoleon by a bold move, on which Rattazzi would never have ventured. Without asking the emperor, and against his will, a plebiscite was taken in March, 1860, in all the provinces of Central Italy, including Tuscany, on the question whether they wished for incorporation in the kingdom of Italy. The elections for the Parliament of Upper Italy proceeded at the same time with equal enthusiasm. All the capitals entrusted Cavour with full powers in order to express their confidence. It was no rhetorical figure when Napoleon,



THE REVOLUTION IN SICILY: RELEASED PRISONERS IN THE STREETS OF PALERMO Rebellling against their Neapolitan rulers, the Sicilians looked eagerly for the assistance of Garibaldi, who at last decided to join the movement, sailing on May 5th, 1860, with about a thousand volunteers. In the above picture released prisoners are seen leading their gaoler through the streets of Palermo before putting him to death.

Pope on his side also to make some sacrifice for the union of Italy, which was slowly and surely progressing.

Cavour, meantime, had not reached his goal. On February 17th, 1860, Italy learnt the latest of the constantly changing programmes of Napoleon. According to this, only Parma and Modena were to be incorporated with Sardinia. Victor Emmanuel would rule the legations as Vicar of the Pope; but Tuscany must remain independent; at most a prince of the House of Savoy might be placed on the

throne. Cavour, however, expressed his dissatisfaction at the arbitrary action of Italy. Cavour, however, had cleverly secured the goodwill of Britain, which had quite agreed to the proposal that Italy should withdraw from the influence of Napoleon. Palmerston was malicious enough to praise Cavour in the British Parliament for the boldness of his action.

Now, at length Cavour opened regular negotiations about the cession of Savoy and Nice, which had been promised by the treaty of January, 1858. What was

the emperor to do ? Was he, on his side, to risk the loss of the two provinces by his obstinacy ? Perhaps even at the eleventh hour he might have prevented the incorporation of Tuscany if he had declared that under these conditions he would be contented with Savoy ; but now the expectations and the covetousness of

**Cavour's
Magical
Influence**

the French had been whetted, and he could not draw back. There is no question that Napoleon then abandoned the real interests of France, and was vanquished by Cavour. It had often been said, and subsequent events have proved the truth of the statement, that Cavour exercised a positively magical influence on Napoleon's vacillating mind. The Italian had probed the soul of the French emperor, and knew how far he might go. Having correctly gauged on the one hand the selfish interests of Napoleon, and on the other his sympathetic attitude towards the Italian question, Cavour could venture to play with him up to a certain point.

But there were limits to this policy. Cavour in vain tried all the arts of his diplomacy, and every expedient which his subtle mind suggested, to save Nice at least for the Italians. But here he was confronted by the definite resolution of the emperor, who would have exposed himself in the face of France, had he given in. Cavour and Benedetti signed the treaty on March 24th, 1860. When this was done, the Italian Minister, with a flash of humour, turned round suddenly and whispered in the ear of Benedetti : " We are partners in guilt now, are we not ? "

But an anxious time was in store for Cavour—the debate in the Italian Parliament. The great majority of the people, certainly, understood that King Victor Emmanuel and Cavour could not have acted otherwise. Rattazzi, however, the old rival of Cavour, placed himself at the head of the opposition ; and he had a

**Garibaldi
Deceived
by Cavour**

strong supporter in Garibaldi, who took his seat in Parliament with the express object of opposing the cession of Nice, his native town, to France. Henceforth he hated Cavour, who, as he said, had made him an alien in his own country. Garibaldi was not so indignant at the fact itself as he was that Cavour had deceived him ; since a year previously, in answer to a direct question, the Minister had denied the cession of Nice. In no other way

could the crafty statesman have secured Garibaldi's sword for the war of liberation. On the other hand, Garibaldi esteemed the king highly, because some months later to the question, " Yes or no," he had returned the true answer. Victor Emmanuel then added that, if he as king submitted to cede Savoy, the country of his ancestors, to France, Garibaldi must be prepared to make equal sacrifices for the sake of the union of Italy.

We are told that Cavour, at this critical time, in order to soothe Garibaldi's feelings, sent him a note with the brief question, " Nice or Sicily ? " He is thus said to have incited the enthusiastic patriot to conquer the island. The story is quite improbable ; for Cavour would certainly have preferred to mark time for the present, and consolidate the internal and economic conditions of the kingdom of North Italy, which consisted of 4,000,000 Piedmontese, 2,500,000 Lombards, and 4,000,000 Central Italians. This state, without the States of the Church, which were in an impoverished condition through bad administration, and without the

**Sicily's
Coming
Revolt**

pauper population of Naples, would certainly have risen to considerable prosperity. It would have been well for North Italy not to have been burdened with the task of drawing the semi-civilised districts of the south into the sphere of its higher culture and its greater prosperity. " We must first organise ourselves," Cavour said at the time, " and form a powerful army ; then we can turn our eyes to Venetia and further to the south, and to Rome." It was certainly, therefore, no hypocrisy when, up to March, 1860, he repeatedly sent envoys to Naples, in order to induce the Bourbons to follow a national policy and enter into an alliance with the kingdom of North Italy.

But here the genius of the Italian people took other paths. The wary statesman soon saw himself carried onward by the party of action farther than he himself had wished ; for Mazzini and his partisans were incessantly scheming the revolt of Sicily. Under their instructions Francesco Crispi, who had long before been condemned to death by the Neapolitan courts, travelled through the island at great personal risk, collecting on all sides sympathisers with the cause, and preparing for the day of rebellion. The Sicilians did indeed rise in various places, but their attempts

were hopeless if Garibaldi could not be induced to invade Sicily. He declared to the Mazzinists from the very first that he would only join the struggle under the standard of "Italy and Victor Emmanuel"; in spite of his republican leanings he saw with unerring perception that Italy could only be united by means of the Piedmontese monarchy. Mazzini also declared, as in the previous year, that he wished first and foremost to conform to the expressed will of the people.

But the conscientious Garibaldi still hesitated; he was weighed down by the enormous responsibility of leading the fiery youth of Italy to danger and to death, since all former plots against the Bourbons had miscarried and been drowned in the blood of their promoters. King Ferdinand II. of Naples, called "Bomba" since the savage bombardment of Messina in September, 1848, understood how to attach the soldiers of his army to his person; he was hard-hearted but cunning, and by his affectation of native customs won himself some popularity with the lower classes on the mainland. The

**Garibaldi's
Heroic
Expedition**

Sicilians, indeed, hated their Neapolitan rulers from of old; and the people gladly recalled the memory of the Sicilian Vespers, by which they had wrested their freedom from Naples in 1282. King Ferdinand died on May 22nd, 1859, and was succeeded by his weak son, Francis II., a feeble nature, with no mind of his own. Since the outbreak in Sicily was suppressed, and seemed to die away, Cavour urgently dissuaded Garibaldi from his enterprise, even though he later secretly aided it by the supply of arms and ammunition. It was Cavour's business then to decline any responsibility in the eyes of the diplomatists of Europe for the unconstitutional proposal of the general.

Garibaldi finally took the bold resolution of sailing for Sicily on May 5th, 1860, with a thousand or so of volunteers. This marks the beginning of his heroic expedition, and also of the incomparable game of intrigue played by Cavour; for the whole body of European diplomatists raised their voices in protest against the conduct of the Italian Government which had allowed a warlike expedition against a neighbouring state in time of peace. Cavour, assailed by all the ambassadors, declared, with some reason, that Garibaldi had acted against the wishes of the

Government, and informed the French emperor that the Government was too weak to hinder the expedition by force, since otherwise there was the fear of a republican rising against the king. At the same time Cavour adopted measures to avert all danger from Garibaldi. Admiral Persano received commands from him to

**Insurrection
Among
the Sicilians**

place his ships between Garibaldi's transports and the Neapolitan fleet which was watching for them. To this intentionally cryptic order Persano replied that he believed he understood; if need arose Cavour might send him to the fortress at Fenestrelles. He must have made up his mind to be repudiated, like Garibaldi, in the event of the failure of the expedition.

Garibaldi landed at Marsala, the Lily-bæum of the ancients, on May 11th, 1860. He obtained but little help from the Sicilians; when he attacked on May 15th, near Calatafimi, the royal troops, the 2,400 Sicilians who had joined him, ran away at the first shot, while he won a splendid victory with his volunteers. At Palermo, however, all was ready for the insurrection. In concert with his friends there Garibaldi, notwithstanding the great numerical superiority of the Bourbon troops, ventured on a bold attack during the night of the 27th-28th May. The people sided with him; the troops of the king were fired upon from the houses and withdrew to the citadel, whence they bombarded Palermo. Rebellion blazed up through the whole island, and the scattered garrisons retired to the strong places on the coast, especially to Messina.

Alarmed at the revolt of the island, King Francis of Naples changed his tone; in his dire necessity he summoned liberal Ministers to his counsels, and promised the Neapolitans a free constitution. He sent an embassy to Napoleon III. with a petition for help. The attitude of the latter was significant. He explained to the envoys that he desired the continuance

**King Francis
Appeals to
Napoleon III.**

of the Kingdom of Naples, but that it did not lie in his power to check the popular movement. The Italians, he said, were keen-witted, and knew that, after having once shed the blood of the French for their liberation, he could not proceed against them with armed force. He added: "The power stands on the national side, and is irresistible. We stand defenceless before it." He advised the King of

Naples, however, to abandon Sicily, and to offer an alliance to King Victor Emmanuel. Napoleon promised to support his proposal. This was done, and all the Great Powers assented to the wishes of France—even Great Britain, which, with all its inclination to Italy, still wished that the peninsula should be divided into two kingdoms. Cavour was in the most difficult position; it was impossible, in defiance of Europe, to refuse negotiations with Naples, yet he could not but fear to risk his whole work if he offered his hand to the hated Bourbons. He therefore consented to negotiations, for form's sake, and even induced King Victor Emmanuel to write a letter to Garibaldi, calling upon the latter to discontinue landing troops on the mainland of Naples.

Garibaldi thereupon replied to the king on June 27th: "Your Majesty knows the high respect and affection which I entertain for your person; but the state of affairs in Italy does not allow me to obey you as I should wish. Allow me, then, this time to be disobedient to you. So soon as I have accomplished my duty and the peoples are freed from the detested yoke, I will lay down my sword at your feet, and obey you for the rest of my life."

But Cavour was harassed by a still further anxiety. Garibaldi, on his march through Sicily, surrounded himself almost exclusively with partisans of Mazzini, and was resolved, so soon as Naples was liberated, to march on Rome. If then the republican party of action in this way did their best for the liberation of Italy, the fate of the monarchy was sealed. Cavour, therefore, staked everything to provoke a revolution on the mainland, by which not Garibaldi, but Persano or the king himself, should be proclaimed dictator. He

Suspensions of the Bourbon Government entered into a compact with one of the Ministers of the King of Naples, Liborio Romano, who equally with Alessandro

Nunziante, Duke of Majano, adjutant-general of Ferdinand II., was ready for treachery. Cavour hoped by aid of the latter to rouse a part of the Neapolitan army to revolt. He wrote to Persano: "Do not lose sight of the fact, Admiral, that the moment is critical. It is a question of carrying out the greatest enterprise of modern times, by protecting Italy from foreigners, pernicious principles, and fools."

But Nunziante, awakening the suspicion of the Bourbon Government, was obliged to take refuge on board the Piedmontese fleet. The king's uncle, Prince Louis,



THE LIBERATORS OF SICILY: GARIBALDI WITH A GROUP OF PATRIOT HEROES



THE MISERABLE HIDING-PLACE OF THE KING AND QUEEN OF NAPLES

During the bombardment of Gaeta by the Piedmontese in 1861, the King and Queen of Naples sought refuge in the damp, unwholesome vaults illustrated in the above picture. "Their fear," says a contemporary account of the siege, "must have been very great indeed to have induced them to live in such a wretched hole. The stench, on entering, is great; and in some chambers through the doorway four generals died during the siege from the bad atmosphere and confinement."

Count Aquila was ordered by his nephew to quit the kingdom. It was thus evident that Garibaldi's services must once more be utilised in order to overthrow the Bourbons. He landed on August 19th, 1860, on the coast of the peninsula near Melito, and marched directly on Naples. The generals who were sent against him were unreliable, since their hearts were in the Italian cause. The

Garibaldi's Entry into Naples soldiers who supported the Bourbons thought themselves betrayed, and murdered General Fileno Briganti at Mileto,

August 25th, after he had concluded terms of capitulation with Garibaldi. The latter was received everywhere with enthusiasm; the common people regarded him as an invulnerable hero. When he entered Naples on September 7th, 1860, with his 18,000 volunteers, he was greeted by Liborio Romano as liberator; the king withdrew with his army of 60,000 men into a strong fortress on the Volturno. A momentous crisis had arrived. For the

adherents of Mazzini in the train of Garibaldi it was of vital importance to prevent the people of Naples from being called upon to vote whether they wished Victor Emmanuel to be king. They confirmed Garibaldi in the idea of marching immediately on Rome, of driving out the French troops, and of putting an end to the hierarchy. Garibaldi's breast swelled with his previous successes; he was susceptible to flattery, and firmly persuaded himself that it was merely Cavour's jealousy if Victor Emmanuel did not follow the noble impulses of his heart and throw open to him the road to Rome and Venice.

When Cavour sent his trusted envoy, the Sicilian Giuseppe La Farina, in order to put himself in communication with Garibaldi, the latter insulted him by ordering his expulsion from Sicily. At first Garibaldi acquiesced in the dictatorship of Agostino Depretis, who was sent by the king; but on September 18th he replaced him, from suspicion of his connection with Cavour, by Antonio Mordini,

an intimate friend of Mazzini. In this way Garibaldi succeeded in involving Italy simultaneously in a war with France and Austria. The Emperor Napoleon looked sullenly at Naples, where a revolutionary focus was forming that threatened his throne with destruction.

Once more Cavour faced the situation with the boldest determination. He was firmly convinced that the monarchy and the constitutional government of North Italy must contribute as much to the union of the peninsula as Garibaldi; he therefore counselled the king to advance with his army into the papal territory and

itself and its immediate vicinity, had surrounded himself with an army of 20,000 enlisted soldiers, at whose head he placed General Lamoricière, one of the leaders of the legitimist party in France. The mercenaries consisted of French, Austrians, Belgians, and Swiss; their officers were partly the flower of the legitimist nobility of France—a fact which could not be very pleasant to Napoleon. But King Victor Emmanuel sent 40,000 men, under the command of General Manfredo Fanti, against the States of the Church; and Lamoricière, who was obliged to leave half his troops



FAREWELL VISIT OF GARIBALDI TO ADMIRAL MUNDY ON THE HANNIBAL AT NAPLES

to occupy it—with the exception of Rome, which was protected by Napoleon—to march on Naples and to defeat the army of the Bourbon king, which was encamped on the Volturno. Matters had come to such a crisis that, when Victor Emmanuel sent his Minister Luigi Farini, from 1859–1860 dictator of the Emilia, and General Cialdini to Napoleon III., to expound his plan, the emperor gave a reply which showed that he was not blind to the necessity of the action taken by Victor Emmanuel.

The Pope, in order not to be entirely dependent on the help of France, which was intended merely to protect Rome

to suppress the inhabitants of the States of the Church, was attacked by a greatly superior force. He was so completely defeated at Castelfidardo on September 18th, 1860, that he was only able to escape to Ancona with 130 men, while almost the entire papal army was taken prisoners. Persano received orders to bombard Ancona; it surrendered on September 29th.

The troops of Garibaldi had in the meantime attacked the Bourbon army on the Volturno, but without any success. The Bourbon troops crossed the Volturno in order, in their turn, to attack. Garibaldi boldly held his ground with his men, and



GENERAL VIEW OF CAPRERA, GARIBALDI'S ISLAND HOME



THE RETREAT OF GARIBALDI, NEAR RAVENNA, ONE OF ITALY'S HISTORIC TREASURES

THE HOME AND REFUGE OF ITALY'S GREATEST PATRIOT



ITALY'S TRIBUTE TO GARIBALDI: THE PATRIOT'S MONUMENT ON THE JANICULUM AT ROME

the Neapolitans, although three to one, could not gain a victory; but Garibaldi was far from being able to calculate upon a rapid success. Under these circumstances public opinion was strongly impressed when the army of Victor Emmanuel appeared on the bank of the Volturno; the Neapolitans withdrew behind the Garigliano.

It was high time that King Victor Emmanuel appeared in Naples; for Garibaldi was now so completely under the influence of the opponents of Cavour that he flatly refused to allow the incorporation of Naples and Sicily in the kingdom of Italy to be carried out. Mordini, his representative in Sicily, worked at his side, with the object that independent Parliaments should be summoned in Naples and Palermo, which should settle the matter. Garibaldi actually informed the king that he would not agree to the union unless Cavour and his intimate friends were first dismissed from the Ministry. By this demand, however, he ran counter to almost the entire public opinion of Italy. In Naples especially and in Sicily all prudent men wished for a rapid union with Italy, since the break-up of the old regime, in Sicily especially, had brought in its train confusion, horrors, and political murders. Garibaldi long debated with himself whether he should yield; but when the Marquis Pallavicino—who had fretted away the years of his manhood as a prisoner in the Spielberg at Brünn and was now the leader of the party of action—and with him virtually the whole population of Naples, went over to the other side, the patriot general mastered himself and ordered the voting on the union with Italy to be arranged, October 21st.

The king would have been prepared to grant his wish and to nominate him lieutenant-general of the districts con-

quered by him, had not Garibaldi attached the condition to it that he should be allowed to march on Rome in the coming spring. As this could not be granted, he withdrew in dignified pride, although deeply mortified and implacably hostile to Cavour, to his rocky island of Caprera. In his farewell proclamation he called upon the Italians to rally round "Il Rè galantuomo"; but he foretold his hope that in March, 1861, he would find a million Italians under arms, hinting in



GARIBALDI'S STATUE AT FLORENCE

this way that he wished by their means to liberate Rome and Venice. But a fact, which many years later was disclosed in the memoirs of Thouvenel and Beust, shows how correct the judgment of Cavour was when he kept the Italians at this time away from Rome. When Garibaldi wished to march against Rome, Napoleon told the Vienna Cabinet that he had no objection if it wished to draw the sword against Italy to uphold the Treaty of Zürich—that is to say, for the papacy; only, it could not be allowed to disturb Lombardy again. It is conceivable that Rechberg, the Foreign Minister, dissuaded the Emperor Francis Joseph from a war which could bring no gain to Austria even in case of victory. The Bourbon army could not hold its ground against the troops of Victor Emmanuel, and King Francis threw himself into the fortress of

Gaeta. When he surrendered there with 8,000 men on February 13th, 1861, the Union of Italy was almost won. Cavour himself was not fated to see the further accomplishment of his wishes. He was attacked by a deadly illness not long after an exciting session of Parliament, in which Garibaldi heaped bitter reproaches on his head. In his delirium he dreamed of the future of his country. He spoke of Garibaldi with great respect; he said that he longed, as much as the general, to go

to Rome and Venice. He spoke with animation of the desirability of reconciling the Pope with Italy. When his confessor Giacopo handed him the sacrament on June 6th, 1861, he said to him: "Brother, brother, a free Church in a free state" ("Frate, frate, libera chiesa in libero stato"). There were his last words.

**Cavour's
Dying
Words**

No problem had engrossed the maker of Italy in the last months of his life so much as the Roman question. There was a section of his friends who considered it necessary to yield Rome to the Pope, in order that the secular power of the papacy might remain undisturbed. Such was the idea of D'Azeglio. Stefano Jacini thought that Rome, on the model of the Hanse towns, might be turned into a Free State, where the Pope might maintain his residence in the character of a protector and suzerain.

Cavour, on the contrary, was convinced that Italy without its natural capital was an incomplete structure. He would have granted the Pope the most favourable conditions if the latter would have met the wishes of the Italians. The Throne of Peter, which so many able statesmen had filled in the past, was now held by Pius IX., a man of deeply religious nature, who allowed himself to be influenced by the irreconcilable ideas of Giacomo Antonelli and his followers, and by his persistence proved the greatest obstacle to the union of Italy.

In spite of repeated pressure from the Emperor Napoleon, he refused to admit the introduction of reforms in the administration of the Papal States, or to conciliate the national feelings of the

**The Pope
an Obstacle
to Union**

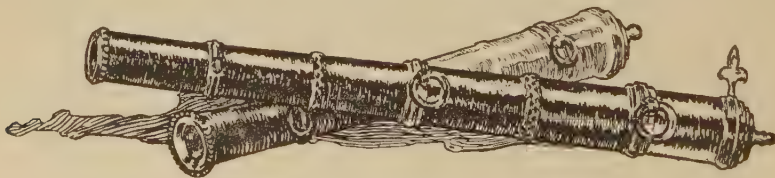
Italians. Victor Emmanuel, even before his march into the States of the Church, professed his readiness to recognise the papal sovereignty within the old territorial limits, provided that the Curia transferred to him the vicariate over the provinces taken from it. It was an equally helpful circumstance for the infant state that the Pope, in his Encyclical of Decem-

ber 8th, 1864, and in the Syllabus, *Syllabus complectens præcipuos nostræ ætatis errores*, estranged and lost the support of many Catholics who wished for the maintenance of the temporal power, but did not wish to plunge back into mediævalism. Liberal ideas would not have been able to continue their victorious progress between 1860 and 1870 in the Catholic countries of Austria, Italy, and France if the Papal Chair had not involuntarily proved their best ally.

Baron Bettino Ricasoli, the successor of Cavour, thought that he acted in his predecessor's spirit when he made dazzling proposals to the Pope, on condition that the latter should recognise the status quo. Ricasoli proposed a treaty, which not merely assured all the rights of the papal primacy, but offered Pius, as a reward for his conciliatoriness, the renunciation by the king of all his rights as patron, especially that of the appointment of the

bishops. By this the Pope would have completely ruled the Church of Italy; and that State would have been deprived of a sovereign right, which not merely Louis XIV., but Philip II. of Spain and Ferdinand II. of Austria, would never have allowed themselves to lose. In place of any answer the cardinal secretary, Antonelli, declared, in the official "Giornale di Roma," that the proposal of Ricasoli was an unparalleled effrontery.

This unfortunate attempt overthrew the Ministry of Ricasoli, and under his successor, Rattazzi, Garibaldi hoped to be able to carry out his design against Rome. He mustered his volunteers in Sicily, and landed with 2,000 men on the coast of Calabria; but the Government was in earnest when it announced that it would oppose his enterprise by arms. Garibaldi, wounded by a bullet in the right foot, was forced to lay down his arms after a short battle at Aspromonte on August 29th, 1862. The road to Rome was not opened to the Italians until the power of France was overthrown by the victories of Germany.



THE
RE-MAKING
OF
EUROPE



THE
CONSOLIDA-
TION OF THE
POWERS V

PRUSSIA UNDER KING WILLIAM I. AND COUNT BISMARCK'S RISE TO POWER

CAVOUR, on his death-bed, spoke unceasingly of the future of his country, and thus expressed himself about Germany: "This German Federation is an absurdity; it will break up, and the union of Germany will be established. But the House of Hapsburg cannot alter itself. What will the Prussians do, who are so slow in coming to any conclusions? They will need fifty years to effect what we have created in three years." This was the idea of the future which the dying statesman, to whom the name of Bismarck was still probably unknown, pictured to himself. It is quite possible that Germany, notwithstanding its efficiency and its culture, would have required, without Bismarck, another half-century for its union. King Frederic William I. had possessed an efficient army, without being able to turn it to account, as his great son did. Twice the tools

The Goal of King William I.

were procured and ready before the master workman appeared on the scene who knew how to use them. We know precisely the goal which King William I. put before himself in the German question before Bismarck became his Minister. The plans which, as Prince Regent, he unfolded to the Emperor Francis Joseph at the conference at Töplitz, towards the end of July, 1860, were modest.

He was prepared to form an alliance with Austria which would have guaranteed to that country its existing dominions, thus including Venice. In return he required a change in the presidency of the German Federation as well as the command in the field over the troops of North Germany in future federal wars; the supreme command in South Germany was to fall to Austria. Thus, for the future there would be no possibility of the Federation choosing a general for itself, as Austria had desired on June 6th, 1859, when Germany armed against Napoleon III. Prussia was bound to

prevent a majority in the Federation deciding the question of the supreme command of its army. Neither William I. nor his Ministers then aimed at the subjugation of Germany. But even those claims were rejected by Austria. Francis Joseph declared that the presi-

The King's Work for the Army

dency in the Federation was an old prerogative of his house, and therefore unassailable. On the other matter no negative answer was returned, and negotiations were opened with the Federal Diet; but Austria was certain that the Assembly would reject the proposition.

If we leave out of sight the army reforms, the inestimable work of William I., we shall observe, until the appearance of Bismarck on the scene, serious vacillation in the home policy no less than in the foreign policy of Prussia. When the Prince Regent became the representative of King Frederic William IV., he issued on October 9th, 1858, a programme which announced in cautious language the breach with the reactionary method of government. The avoidance of all canting piety produced a beneficial impression; but there were only platitudes on the German question, among others the phrase: "Prussia must make moral conquests in Germany." When the Prince Regent soon afterwards summoned a Ministry of moderate Liberals, with Prince Anton von Hohenzollern at its head, public opinion breathed more freely, and the dawn of a "new era" was expected. The name of Count Maximilian Schwerin, Minister of the

Prussia in the Dawn of a "New Era"

Interior, seemed to guarantee a broad-minded policy of reform. Count Alexander von Schleinitz, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, was, on the contrary, still firmly attached to the old system.

The Prussian people meantime understood the good intention, and the new elections to the Chamber brought a majority of moderate Liberals which was prepared

to support the Government. A number of Liberal leaders intentionally refrained from standing, in order not to arouse in the Prince Regent misgivings lest a repetition of the state of things in 1848 was intended. The leading figure in the Chamber, which met in January, 1859, was Vincke, whose loyalty was beyond suspicion. Commendable political wisdom was shown in this moderation on the part of the constituencies. As a matter of fact, the new Government introduced schemes of reform touching the abolition of the land-tax privileges of the nobility and the abolition of the police powers of the owners of knight-estates. Great efforts were expended to induce the Upper House, where the Conservatives possessed a majority, to accept the reforms. In a matter of German politics, where the conscience of the people chimed in, the new era fulfilled the expectations formed of it. Prussia spoke boldly in the Federal Diet on behalf of the restoration of the constitution of Electoral Hesse, which had been meanly curtailed. The Government could not rise superior to these attacks. The Prince Regent was unable to bring himself to make a clean sweep of a set of unpopular high officials, who had been much to blame in the reactionary period for open violations of the laws. The revolt of Italy had a great and immediate effect on the German people. The founding of the National Society, with Rudolf von Bennigsen at its head, in July, 1859, was a direct consequence of the Italian war. The society aimed at the union of all German-speaking races outside the Austrian Empire under the leadership of a Liberal Prussia. The Regent, far from being encouraged, felt alarmed by the events in Italy; the revolutionary rising in Naples and Garibaldi's march repelled him. He could not convince himself that the national will was entitled to override legitimist rights. His whole policy, both at home and

abroad, was thus stamped by conservatism and uncertainty. The Austrian Minister, Rechberg, at the conferences of the Emperor Francis Joseph with the Prince Regent and with the Tsar at Töplitz and Warsaw, succeeded in confirming these two monarchs in the conviction that they, too, were threatened by the national and Liberal tendencies. Austria was no longer isolated in that respect as in 1859.

All these circumstances co-operated to close the ears of the Prussian people when the king, who succeeded his brother on the throne on January 2nd, 1861, came before the Chamber with the plan of army reform. William I. was superior to the majority of



KING WILLIAM I. OF PRUSSIA

He was born in 1797, and on the death of his brother, Frederic William IV., succeeded to the throne of Prussia, being the seventh king of that country, and on January 18th, 1871, was proclaimed first German Emperor.

his German contemporaries in recognising that a comprehensive Prussian policy could only be carried out with a strong army. Leopold von Ranke says of a conversation which he had with the king on June 13th, 1860: "The sum of his resolution was . . . to leave the German princes undisturbed in their sovereignty, but to effect a union in military matters which would conduce to a great and general efficiency. He fully grasped the idea that the military power comprised in itself the sovereignty." As long before as the preparations which might have led to a war with Austria in 1859, the prince was convinced that the Prussian army, which

nominaly, on a war footing, numbered 200,000 men with the colours and 400,000 in the Landwehr, was not sufficient for protracted campaigns. The existing organisation had been formed in the critical times when the distrust of Napoleon I. and vexatious treaty obligations compelled Prussia to keep up a small peace army. Under the financial stress of the period subsequent to 1815, she was forced to continue with this defensive army, which in comparison with that of other military states was much weaker than the army which Frederic II. had raised in his far smaller kingdom. The mobilisation of 1859 had shown serious deficiencies in every



CORONATION CEREMONY OF KING WILLIAM I. AT KONIGSBERG, OCTOBER 18TH, 1861

direction. Besides this the Prince Regent even then, in order to remedy the most crying evils, had instituted an important reform on his own authority. Hitherto there had been few or no permanent staffs for the Landwehr regiments; so that on a fresh mobilisation the troops could not be placed in the ranks as soon as they were called out, but had first to be formed into regiments. Such a state of things seems incredible at the present day.

At the demobilisation of 1859, the Prince Regent directed that the recently formed staffs of the Landwehr regiments should be kept up. This change could not, however, go far enough; for since the members of the Landwehr were bound to be dismissed, those staffs consisted mostly of officers only, and were not sufficient to form the basis of a powerful new organisation. The attention of William I. was now directed to this point. But the War Minister of the day, Bonin, was too timid to undertake the responsibility of the necessary measures, and on December 5th, 1859, Roon had to be summoned in his place.

The new proposal came before the Prussian Diet on February 10th, 1860. One of the great drawbacks of the existing constitution of the army lay in the fact that, while annually, on the average, 155,650 men reached their twentieth year, only 20,000 men were enrolled in the army. Thus twenty-six per cent. of the young men capable of bearing arms bore the whole burden of military service, which was especially heavy, since the obligation to serve in the Landwehr lasted to the thirty-ninth year. The consequence of this was that in the first levy of the Landwehr one-half of the total numbers, and in the second levy five-sixths, were married men.

The number of men liable to serve had remained the same for more than forty years, although the population of the country had increased from ten to eighteen millions. The obligatory period of service in the standing army, three years with the colours, two years in the reserve, was too short for the body of the army. The

government therefore proposed to levy annually, instead of 40,000 men, 60,000 men—forty per cent., that is, of all those liable to serve; while in return the obligation to serve in the Landwehr was to last only to the age of thirty-five years. Besides this, the three years' service in the reserve was to be raised to five years.

This change signified a considerable strengthening of the standing army and a reduction of the Landwehr. This is shown by the figures of the full war

Reforming the Army of Prussia

footing which it was hoped to reach. The army was intended henceforth to consist of 371,000 men with the colours, 126,000 men in the reserve, and 163,000 in the Landwehr. The scheme demanded the attention of the Diet in two respects. On the one side a money grant was necessary, since it was impossible to enrol the numerous new corps in the old regiments, and thirty-nine new line regiments had to be raised. An annual sum, 6,750,000 dollars, was required for the purpose. Besides this, the existing law as to military service required to be considerably modified. This applied not merely to the division of the period of service

between the standing army and the Landwehr, but also concerned the length of compulsory active service. At that time, in order to spare the finances, the soldiers were often dismissed after serving two or two and a half years. King William did not consider this period sufficient, and demanded the extension of the period of service to three, and in the case of the cavalry to four, years. Measures of no less importance had then been taken with regard to the tactics of the infantry. After the war of 1859, there arose the question



COUNT MAXIMILIAN SCHWERIN
Among the Ministry of moderate Liberals summoned by the Prince Regent in 1858 was Count Schwerin, Minister of the Interior; a "new era" was confidently anticipated, and the public looked to Schwerin for reforms.

of the conclusions to be drawn from the experiences of the Italian campaign. The defensive methods of the Austrians had proved inferior to the offensive tactics of the more dashing French. The French had often succeeded, in infantry combats, in rushing with an impetuous charge under the Austrian bullets, which had a very

curved trajectory, and in thus winning the day. For this reason it was the ordinary belief in the Austrian army that defensive tactics must once for all be given up.

The successes of the French were over-estimated, and there was a return in the years 1859-66 to "shock tactics"; these attached little importance to the preliminary musketry engagement, and consisted in firing a few volleys and then charging with the bayonet. Many voices even in the Prussian army advocated a similar plan. Colonel Ollech was sent by the Prussian General Staff to France in August, 1859, in order to investigate the condition of the French army. He returned strongly prejudiced in favour of the system of shock tactics, and advised the king to issue an order, in connection with a similar order issued by Frederic the Great for the cavalry, that "every infantry commander would be brought before a court-martial who lost a position without having met the attack of the enemy by a counter attack."

King William was at all times clever in discovering prominent men for leading positions. The chief of the General Staff, Lieutenant-General Helmuth von Moltke, clearly saw the risk of this advice. In his remarks on Ollech's report he laid great weight on the attacking spirit in an army; but he recognised correctly that the needle-gun, introduced in 1847, secured the Prussians the advantage in the musketry fighting, and that in the reorganisation of the army stress should be laid on that point. Moltke's principle was that the infantry should make the fullest use of their superior firing power at the beginning of the battle, and should for that purpose select open country, where the effect of fire is the greatest. An advance should not be made before the enemy's infantry were shattered, and in this movement attacks on the enemy's flank were preferable. The Prussians fought in 1866 with these superior tactics, and they owed to them a great part of the successes which they

achieved. The Prussian Landtag did not mistake the value of the proposals made by the Government, but raised weighty objections. The majority agreed to the extension of the annual recruiting, to the increase of the officers and under-officers, and to the discharge of the older members of the Landwehr. On the other hand, the



THE HISTORIAN RANKE
Professor of History at Berlin from 1825 till 1872, Leopold von Ranke was the author of many works dealing with European history.

great diminution in the number of the Landwehr on a war footing, and the resulting reduction of their importance, but especially the three-years' compulsory service, aroused vigorous opposition. General Stavenhagen, who gave evidence for the proposal, characterised the two-years' service as sufficient. The Government recognised that it could not carry the Bill relating to compulsory service, and therefore withdrew it. It was content to demand an increase of 9,000,000 thalers—6,750,000

dollars—in the war Budget, in order to carry out the increase of the regiments.

The Finance Minister, Baron von Patow, explained in the name of the Government that the organisation thus created was provisional, and would not assume a definite character until the Government and the popular representatives had agreed about the law itself. The Old Liberal majority of the Chamber of Representatives adopted this middle course, and sanctioned the required increase. Thus the yearly budget for the army was raised to 32,800,000 thalers—24,600,000 dollars, or, roughly, a quarter of the entire revenue of 130,000,000 thalers—97,500,000 dollars.

This expedient was manifestly illusory. The king at once ordered the disbanding of thirty-six regiments of Landwehr, whose place was taken by an equal number of line regiments. Altogether 117 new battalions and twelve new squadrons were formed. Obviously the king, who presented colours and badges to the new regiments on January 18th, 1861, in front of the monument of Frederic the Great, could not disband these newly formed units or dismiss their officers. The Chamber of Representatives became, in fact, suspicious, but agreed to the

Increased army budget once more for the next year. Since the elections to the Landtag were imminent, the final decision stood over for the new House.

It would be a mistake to treat the events which followed in the ordinary manner, relating how the king was prudent but the Chamber petty in the army question, and how in this struggle the wisdom of the Regent fortunately prevailed over the meddlesomeness of the professional politicians. The state of affairs was quite otherwise. The dispute in the matter itself was not indeed beyond settlement. In case of necessity it would have been possible to arrive at a compromise as to the amount of compulsory service, and the Prussian army would hardly have been less effective if the two-years' military service had been introduced then and not postponed until after the death of Emperor William I. This consideration does not in any way lessen the credit due to the king.

But, as the new elections showed, there was another and greater issue at stake. The influence of Liberal ideas in Europe was precisely then at its height, and public opinion tended towards the view that the royal power in Prussia must be checked, exactly as it had been in that model parliamentary state, England. The citizen class had then, it was thought, come to years of maturity, and it possessed a right to take the place of the monarchy and nobility in the power hitherto enjoyed by them. At the new elections, on December 6th, 1861, the Progressive party, in which the members of the movement of 1848 assumed the lead, was formed in opposition to the Old Liberals, who had left their stamp on the former Chamber. This political group had not yet the whole electorate on its side; it carried a hundred seats, barely a third of the whole Assembly. The Old Liberals felt themselves meanwhile outstripped, especially since the king no longer extended his confidence to

the Liberal Ministers, who were defeated on the army question. While this change was being effected among the citizen class, the nobility and the Conservative party on the other hand, who had been greatly chagrined at being

dismissed from the helm of state after the assumption of the regency by the prince, put forward their claim not less resolutely. The great services of the Prussian nobility to the army and the civil service, to which, both before and after, it supplied first-class men, could not, of course, be disputed. But to justifiable pride at this fact was joined such intense class prejudice that even a man like Roon could not for a long time bring himself to recognise the justification of an elected representation of the people. General Man-teuffel, as chief of the royal military cabinet, worked with him in the same spirit. Ernst von Gerlach and Hermann



FIELD-MARSHAL ROON

Entering the Prussian army in 1821, he revealed a thorough grasp of military matters, and his reorganisation of the army found brilliant justification in the success of the national arms in the wars of 1866 and 1870-1.

From a photograph

Wagner represented in the "Kreuzzeitung" similar views. Karl Twesten, one of the most prominent members of the Liberal party, called General Mantteuffel a mischievous man in a mischievous position—a taunt which Mantteuffel answered by a challenge to a duel, in which Twesten was wounded.

The Liberal Ministers saw with concern how the king inclined more and more towards the paths of the Conservative party. They counselled him, in view of the impending struggle over the military question, to conciliate public opinion by undertaking reforms in various departments of the legislature. Roon vigorously opposed this advice, which he saw to be derogatory to the Crown. He induced the king on March 1st, 1861, to adjourn these Bills, which had already been settled upon. He unceasingly urged the king to dismiss his Liberal colleagues and to adopt strong measures. In a memorial laid before the king, dated April, 1861, he wrote of the Hohenzollern-Schwerin

Roon's Advice to the King

Cabinet, in which, nevertheless, he himself had accepted a seat, that "it is only compatible with the pseudo-monarchy of Belgium, England, or of Louis Philippe, not with a genuinely Prussian monarchy by the grace of God, with a monarchy according to your ideas. People have tried to intimidate your Majesty by the loud outcry of the day. All the unfortunate monarchs of whom history tells have so fared; the phantom ruined them, simply because they believed in it."

Prussian Conservatives in Power

The opposition was apparent as soon as the new Chamber assembled on January 14th, 1862. Opponents of the proposal were elected on the commission for discussing the Army Bill in a large majority. When the Budget was discussed, a resolution was adopted which called for more precise details of the state finances. This was a reasonable demand, and was soon afterwards conceded by Bismarck. But the Conservative advisers of the king then stigmatised the wish as an encroachment on the rights of the Crown, and the Chamber of Representatives was dissolved on March 18th, 1862, after a short term of life. At the same time the Liberal Ministry was dismissed. Its place was taken by a Cabinet in which officials preponderated, but which, on the whole, bore a Conservative character. It is certainly to the credit of Roon and Manteuffel that their influence on the king paved the way for Bismarck. But they made the beginning of his term of office more difficult for the great Minister, since he was at once drawn into the most violent antagonism to popular representation. The question must be raised whether Prussia, with her great military and intellectual superiority, would not have obtained the same results if there had been no such rupture with public opinion. The Crown Prince Frederic William held this view, and it was shared not only by Albert, the English Prince

Consort, but also by the king's son-in-law, the Grand Duke Frederic of Baden, who just then was reforming his country with the help of the Liberal Ministers, Baron Franz von Roggenbach and Karl Mathy. Men of a similar type would have gladly co-operated to help King William to gain the imperial crown. King William himself felt that, in consequence of his quarrel with the Chamber, many sincere friends of Prussia were mistaken as to his country's German mission. This point was emphasised even in the National Assembly.

In order to counteract this tendency, the king had appointed Bernstorff, who advocated the union of Germany under the leadership of Prussia, to be Minister of Foreign Affairs in the place of Schleinitz, who held legitimist views. Bernstorff adopted, in fact, most vigorous measures, when several states of the German Zollverein, on the conclusion of the Free-Trade commercial treaty with France, threatened that they would in consequence withdraw from the Zollverein. They found a sup-
porter in Austria, who would gladly have

broken up the Zollverein; but they were forced to yield to Prussia, since their own economic interests dictated their continuance in the Zollverein. Bernstorff furthermore, in a note addressed to the German courts on December 20th, 1861, announced as a programme the claim of Prussia to the leadership of Lesser Germany. By this step the Berlin Cabinet reverted to the policy of union which had been given up in 1850. The party of Greater Germany collected its forces in opposition. Austria resolved to anticipate Prussia by a tangible proposition to the Diet, and proposed federal reforms: that a directory with corresponding central author-

ity should be established, and by its side an assembly of delegates from the popular representatives of the several states. But, before this proposal should be agreed to, steps were to be taken to elaborate a



CROWN PRINCE FREDERIC

The only son of William I., he married Victoria, Princess Royal of England, in 1858. A man of courage, he opposed the reactionary policy of Bismarck, and fought with distinction in the various wars waged by Prussia.

From a photograph

common system of civil procedure and contract law for the whole of Germany. Both the Prussian note and the Austrian proposal met with opposition and a dissentient majority in the Federal Diet at Frankfurt, for the secondary states did not wish to relinquish any part of their sovereignty in favour of either the Prussian or the Austrian Government.

Ascendancy of Radical Liberalism

The necessary condition for the success of the Prussian policy would have been a majority in a German Parliament on the side of Prussia, as in 1849. But Bernstorff, although in his heart he favoured the plan, could not advise the king to summon a National Assembly, because, as things then stood, its majority would have approved of the opposition of the Prussian progressive party.

In the new elections to the Chamber of Representatives Radical Liberalism gained the greatest number of seats. The two sections of this party numbered together 235 members—two-thirds, that is, of the 352 representatives of the Landtag; the Old Liberals under the leadership of Vincke had dwindled to 23 votes. The new majority gladly accepted the challenge flung to them; for the idea, which Roon had erroneously termed the ultimate goal even of the moderate Liberals, was actively dominant among them. They wished for no compromise, but aimed at the subordination of the king to the Parliament. The examples of England and Belgium dominated their plans in every detail.

The army question became the outward pretext on which the two constitutional theories came into conflict with each other. Since the king did not concede the two years' compulsory service, which the Chamber demanded as a condition of the army reform, the House resolved, on September 23rd, 1862, to strike out entirely the costs of the reform, which was tantamount to disbanding the new regiments.

The Bold Stand of the King

In this way a humiliation was laid on the king, which was intended to bend or break him. King William was resolved rather to lay down the Crown than to submit to a compulsion by which, according to his view, he would have been degraded to the position of a puppet ruler. He seriously contemplated this step, when the Ministry of Hohenlohe, seeing no way out of the difficulty, asked to be dismissed.

The king doubted whether men would be found bold enough to confront the Chamber of Representatives. Whenever Roon and Manteuffel had formerly spoken of Bismarck, the king had hesitated to entrust the government to a man whom he considered to be a hot-head. Now, he told Roon, Bismarck would no longer entertain any wish to be at the head of affairs; besides that, he happened to be on leave, travelling in Southern France.

Roon, however, could assure the king that Bismarck, who had been already recalled, was prepared to enter the service of the king. Soon afterwards the latter learned that Bismarck had, immediately on his return, paid a visit, by invitation, to the Crown Prince. King William's suspicions were aroused by this, and he thought, "There is nothing to be done with him; he has already been to my son."

All doubts, however, were dissipated when Bismarck appeared before him and unfolded his scheme of government. The king showed him the deed of abdication, which he had already drafted, because, so he said, he could not find another Ministry.

Bismarck encouraged him by the assurance that he intended to stand by him in the struggle between the supremacy of the Crown and of Parliament. On the day when the Chamber of Representatives passed the resolution by which the monarch felt himself most deeply wounded, on September 23rd, 1862, the nomination of Bismarck as President of the Ministry was published.

Bismarck's work is the establishment of the unity of Germany no less than the revival of the power of the monarchy and of all conservative forces in that country. His contemporaries have passed judgment upon him according to their political attitudes. Those who regarded the advancing democratisation of Great Britain and France as equally desirable for Germany, and as the ultimate goal of its development, were bound to see an opponent in the powerful statesman. A difficult legal question was put before Bismarck at the very outset of his activity. He counselled the king to disregard the Budget rights of the Chamber of Representatives.

For the historical estimate of Bismarck it is not of primary importance whether the constitutional arguments which he employed on this occasion are tenable or not; this legal question must certainly

be decided against him. He took his stand on the ground that the Budget was, according to the constitution, a law on which the Crown, the Upper Chamber, and the Chamber of Representatives must agree; and that the authors of the Prussian constitution had on this point reversed the practice of England, where money grants are exclusively the province of the Lower House. They had not provided for the event that the three might not be able to agree and the law could thus not be passed; there was therefore an omission. But since the state could not stand still, a constitutional deadlock had resulted, which would be fatal unless the Budget for the year were provided by the arbitrary action of the Crown.

The consequence of this theory was that the Crown could enforce all the larger Budget demands, even though the two Chambers had pronounced in favour of the smaller sum. From this point of view every theory turned on the exercise of the powers of the constitutional authorities. In the great speech in which the Prussian Minister-President

**Bismarck's
Dangerous
Declaration**

explained his views, he confronted the Chamber with his political principles: "The Prussian monarchy has not yet fulfilled its mission; it is not yet ripe to form a purely ornamental decoration of the fabric of your constitution, nor to be incorporated into the mechanism of parliamentary rule as an inanimate piece of the machinery." Even the king wavered for a moment when Bismarck in the Budget commission of the Chamber of Representatives, September 30th, 1862, made his famous assertion that "the union of Germany could not be effected by speeches, societies, and the resolutions of majorities; a grave struggle was necessary, a struggle that could only be carried through by blood and iron." Even Roon considered this phrase as dangerous.

The state was administered for four years without a constitutionally settled Budget. The Chamber of Representatives declared this procedure illegal, and great excitement prevailed throughout the country. In order to suppress the opposition, strict enactments were published on June 1st, 1863, which were directed against the freedom of the Press and of the societies. At this period the Crown Prince Frederic William joined the opponents of Bismarck, because he thought the

procedure of the Ministers might provoke a new revolution in Prussia. He made a speech on June 5th, in the town hall at Danzig when receiving the municipal authorities, which was directed against the Government: "I, too, regret that I have come here at a time when a quarrel, of which I have been in the highest

**The Crown
Prince Criticises
Bismarck**

degree surprised to hear, has broken out between the Government and the people. I know nothing of the enactments which have brought about this result." The Crown Prince at the same time sent a memorandum to the king to the same effect; but on June 30th he wrote to the Minister-President a letter full of indignation and contempt, which would have shaken the resolution of any other man than Bismarck: "Do you believe that you can calm men's minds by continual outrages on the feeling of legality? I regard the men who lead his Majesty the king, my most gracious father, into such paths as the most dangerous counsellors for Crown and country."

The king was deeply hurt at the public appearances of his son; he contemplated harsh measures against him, and Bismarck was compelled to dissuade him from his purpose. The Minister reminded the king that in the quarrel between Frederic William I. and his son the sympathy of the times, as well as of posterity, had been with the son; and he showed the inadvisability of making the Crown Prince a martyr. Thus the situation in Prussia seemed to be strained to the breaking point. The Representative Chamber adopted in 1863, by a large majority, the resolution that Ministers should be liable out of their private fortune for any expenditure beyond the Budget.

It is marvellous with what independence and intellectual vigour Bismarck guided foreign policy in the midst of these commotions. We need only examine the pages of history from 1850 to 1862 to find clearly how little Prussia counted as a European Power. It played, in consequence of the vacillation of Frederic William IV., a feeble rôle, especially at the time of the Crimean War. Even later, when William I. was governing the country as prince regent and as king, Cavour, who was continually forced to rack his brains with the possibilities which might effect a change in the policy of France and

**Prussia's
Place
in History**

Austria, Great Britain and Russia, hardly took Prussia into consideration. That state, during the Italian crisis of 1860, had little more weight than a Power of the second rank—only about as much as Spain, of which it was occasionally said that it would strengthen or relieve the French garrison in Rome with its troops.

Bismarck an Object of Ridicule

Great as are the services of King William to the army and the State of Prussia, he could not have attained such great successes without a man like Bismarck. Considering the feebleness of Prussia, which had been the object of ridicule for years, every one was, at first, surprised by the vigorous language of Bismarck. When, in one of the earliest Cabinet councils, he broached the idea that Prussia must watch for an opportunity of acquiring Schleswig-Holstein, the Crown Prince raised his hands to heaven, as if the orator had uttered some perfectly foolish thing, and the clerk who recorded the proceedings thought he would be doing a favour to Bismarck if he omitted the words; the latter was obliged to make the additional entry in his own writing.

The newspapers and political tracts of that time almost entirely ridicule the attitude of the new Minister, whom no one credited with either the serious intention or the strength to carry out his programme. His contemporaries were therefore only confirmed in their contempt for him when, on November 26th, 1862, he suddenly ended the constitutional struggle in Electoral Hesse, which had lasted several decades, by sending an orderly to the Elector Frederic William, with the peremptory command that he should give back to the country the constitution of 1831.

And now came his amazing conversation with the Austrian Ambassador, Count Aloys Karolyi. Austria, shortly before, without coming to terms with Prussia, had brought before the Assembly in Frankfort the proposal already mentioned for

Bombshell of the "Terrible" Bismarck

federal reform. Bismarck, in that conversation, taunted Austria with having deviated from the method of Prince Metternich, who came to a previous arrangement with Prussia as to all measures concerning German affairs; and he declared to the count that Austria would soon have to choose between the alternatives of vacating Germany and shifting its political centre to the east, or of finding Prussia in the

next war on the side of its opponents. This assertion fell like a bombshell on Vienna. Count Rechberg was not so wrong when he talked of the "terrible" Bismarck, who was capable of doing anything for the greatness of Prussia.

The two great parties in Germany were organised at the precise moment when Bismarck entered upon office. A Diet of representatives from the different German Parliaments, which was attended by some 200 members, met at Weimar on September 28th, 1862. This assembly demanded the summons of a German Parliament by free popular election, and the preliminary concentration of non-Austrian Germany; to begin with, at any rate, Austria would have to remain outside the more restricted confederation. This assembly and the activity of the National Society led on the other side to the formation of the Greater Germany Reform Society, which came into existence at Frankfort. It demanded a stricter consolidation of the German states under the leadership of Austria. The narrow particularism of the princes and their

The Greater Germany Movement

immediate followers, who were unwilling to sacrifice for the welfare of the whole body any of the sovereignty of the individual states, kept aloof from these efforts. Their underlying thought was expressed by the Hanoverian Minister, Otto, Count Borries, who, when opposing the efforts of the National Society on May 1st, 1860, went so far as to threaten that the secondary states would be forced into non-German alliances in order to safeguard their independence.

The Greater Germany movement gained adherents not merely by the constitutional struggle in Prussia but also by the movement towards liberalism in Austria. The absolute monarchy, which had ruled in Austria since 1849, ended with a defeat on the battlefield and the most complete financial disorder. The pressure of the harsh police regulations weighed all the more heavily, as the state organs, since the conclusion of the concordat with Rome, were put equally at the service of ecclesiastical purposes. The discontent of every nationality in the empire impelled the emperor, after Solferino, June 24th, 1859, to make a complete change. It would have been the natural course of proceedings if the emperor had at once resolved to consolidate the unity of the

Empire, which had been regained in 1849, by summoning a General Parliament. But the Crown, and still more the aristocracy, were afraid that in this imperial representation the German bourgeoisie would come forward with excessive claims. For this reason an aristocratic interlude followed. Count Goluchowski, a Pole, hitherto Governor of Galicia, became Minister of the Interior on August 21st, 1859, while Count Rechberg, who had already succeeded Count Buol as Minister of the Interior and of the Imperial House on May 17th, was given the post of President.

The administrative business of the entire monarchy was, by the imperial manifesto of October 20th, 1860, concentrated in a new body, the National Ministry, at whose head Goluchowski was placed, while the conduct of Hungarian affairs was entrusted to Baron Nikolaus Bay and Count Nikolaus Szécsen; at the same time orders were issued that the provincial councils—Landtage—and a council of the empire elected from them—Reichsrat—should be summoned. These bodies were, however, only to have a deliberative voice; and besides that, a preponderant influence in the provincial bodies was assigned to the nobility and the clergy. It was a still more decisive step that the members of the conservative Hungarian haute noblesse, in their aversion to German officialism, induced the emperor once more to entrust the administration of Hungary and the choice of officials to the assemblies of nobles, known as "county courts," as had been the case before the year 1848. These measures produced a totally different result from that anticipated by Bay and Szécsen.

The meetings of the county courts, which had not been convened since 1849, were filled with a revolutionary spirit, and, while offering at once the most intense opposition, refused to carry out the enactments of the Ministers, because, so they alleged, the constitutionally elected Reichstag was alone entitled to sanction taxation; and they chose officials who refused to collect taxes, or only did so in a dilatory fashion. The country in a few months bordered on a state of rebellion.

As the Hungarian Ministers of the emperor had plunged the Empire into this confusion, they were compelled to advise him to entrust a powerful personality from the ranks of the high German officials

with the conduct of affairs. Anton von Schmerling was nominated Minister of Finance on December 17th, 1860, in the place of Goluchowski. He won over the emperor to his view, which was unfavourable to the Hungarians, and carried his point as to maintaining one united constitution and the summoning

The Magyars' Expectations of Independence of a central parliament. He proposed also that a limited scope should be conceded to the diets of the individual provinces. These were the fundamental principles of the constitution granted on February 26th, 1861. Schmerling deserves credit for having restored the prestige of the constitution in Hungary without bloodshed, even if severe measures were used.

The county assemblies were dissolved, and trustworthy native officials substituted for them. The vacillation of the emperor in 1860 strengthened, however, the conviction of the Magyars that in the end the Crown would yield to their opposition, and once more concede the independence of Hungary in the form in which it was won by the constitution of April, 1848. The leadership of this opposition in the Landtag summoned in 1861 was taken by Franz Deák; the Landtag, in the address which was agreed upon, refused to send representatives to the central Parliament, and complete independence was demanded for Hungary.

Schmerling advanced unhesitatingly on the road which he had taken. At the same time he won great influence over the management of German affairs, and for some period was more powerful in that sphere than the Minister of the Exterior, Count Rechberg. The latter considered it prudent to remain on good terms with Prussia, and not to stir up the German question. Schmerling, on the other hand, put higher aims before himself, and wished to give Germany the desired federal reform, and to strengthen Austria's influence in Germany by the establishment of a strong central power in Frankfort. He hoped to overcome the resistance of

Austria's Influence in Germany

Prussia by help of the popular feeling in non-Prussian Germany. He enlisted confidence in Germany also by the introduction of constitutional forms in Austria. Austria tried to sweep the German princes along with her in one bold rush. The emperor, in deference to a suggestion of his brother-in-law, Maximilian, the

hereditary prince of Thurn and Taxis, resolved to summon all German princes to a conference at Frankfort-on-Main, and to lay before them his plan of reform.

The King of Prussia in this matter was not treated differently from the pettiest and weakest of the Federal princes. The emperor communicated his intention to King William at their meeting in Gastein on August 2nd, 1863, and, without waiting for the stipulated written decision of the king, handed him by an adjutant on August 3rd the formal invitation to the Diet of Princes summoned for August 16th.

The blow aimed by Austria led to a temporary success. Public opinion in South Germany was aroused, and in some places became enthusiastic; the sovereigns and princes gave their services to the Austrian reform. All this made a deep impression on King William; the Bavarian queen, Marie, and her sister-in-law, the widow of King Frederic William IV., urged him on his journey from Gastein to Baden-Baden to show a conciliatory attitude towards the Austrian proposal. Nevertheless he followed Bismarck's advice, and kept away from the meeting at Frankfort. The Emperor Francis Joseph made his entry into the Free Town amid the pealing of the bells and the acclamations of the inhabitants, who favoured the Austrian cause. He skillfully presided over the debate of the princes, and King John of Saxony, 1854-1873, an experienced man of business and an eloquent speaker, confuted the protests which were preferred by a small minority. The Grand Duke Frederic Francis II. of Mecklenburg-Schwerin proposed to invite King William to make the journey to Frankfort. King John assented,

but made two additional proposals, which were not quite friendly to Prussia. He first induced the meeting to declare that it considered the Austrian proposals suitable

as a basis for reform; and it was also soon settled that the refusal of the King of Prussia was no obstacle to further deliberation. After these resolutions, which were taken on August 18th, King John went to Baden-Baden, in order to take the invitation to the King of Prussia.

King William did not seem disinclined to accept the invitation, and said to Bismarck: "Thirty princes sending the invitation, and a king as Cabinet messenger, how can there be any refusal?" But Bismarck saw that this surprise, planned by

Austria, was a blow aimed at Prussia, and he would have felt deeply humiliated by the appearance of his monarch at Frankfort. Germany was to see that any alteration of the German constitution must prove abortive from the mere opposition of Prussia. Bismarck required all his strength of will to induce William

to refuse; he declared that if the king commanded him, he would go with him to Frankfort, but that when the business was ended he would never return with him to Berlin as Minister. The king, therefore, took his advice. What Bismarck had foreseen now occurred. It is true that the Austrian proposal was in the end discussed and accepted, against the votes of Baden, Schwerin, Weimar, Luxemburg, Waldeck, and the younger line of Reuss. But since the meeting only

pledged itself in the event of an agreement with Prussia as the basis of these resolutions, Austria had failed in the achievement of her main result.



KING JOHN OF SAXONY

Under this king, who reigned from 1854 till 1873, and who was distinguished for learning and culture, many schemes for the betterment of the people of Saxony were introduced, while the army was reformed.



ANTON VON SCHMERLING
Minister of Finance, he restored the prestige of the constitution in Hungary without bloodshed.



PRUSSIA & AUSTRIA ^{ON THE} EVE OF WAR THE FATE OF SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

ALL these debates and intrigues between Prussia and Austria sank into the background when the fate of Schleswig-Holstein was destined to be decided by arms. The occasion for this was given by the death of the Danish king, Frederic VII., on November 15th, 1863, with whom the main line of the royal house became extinct. The collateral line of Holstein-Glücksburg possessed the hereditary right to Denmark, while the House of Augustenburg raised claims to Schleswig-Holstein. All Germany thought that the moment had come to free Schleswig-Holstein from the Danish rule by supporting the Duke of Augustenburg. The two great German Powers were, however, pledged in another direction by the Treaty of London.

Denmark had expressly engaged by that arrangement to grant Schleswig-Holstein an independent government; on this

Denmark's Claim on the Duchies

basis the Great Powers on their side guaranteed the possession of the duchies to the King of Denmark and all his successors. The two great German Powers were to blame for having compelled the inhabitants of Schleswig-Holstein in 1850 to submit to Denmark. From hatred of Liberalism and all the mistakes it was supposed to have made in 1848, they destroyed any hopes which the inhabitants of Schleswig-Holstein might have formed for the future, after the royal house should have become extinct. Duke Christian of Augustenburg sold his hereditary rights to Denmark for 2,250,000 thalers—\$2,500,000—although his son Frederic protested. But Denmark did not think of fulfilling her promise. The German Federation was content for years to remonstrate and propose a court of arbitration. Finally, the Federal Council resolved on armed intervention against Denmark. Hanoverian and Saxon troops occupied Holstein, but they were forced to halt on the Eider, as Schleswig did not belong to the Federation.

In Copenhagen the Eider-Danish party drew peculiar conclusions from these circumstances; since, they said, Schleswig did not belong to the Federation, the Treaty of London might be disregarded, the bond between Schleswig and Holstein dissolved, and Schleswig, at any rate, amalgamated into the unified State of Denmark.

Duke Frederic and His Supporters

Threatening crowds forced the new monarch, Christian IX., in spite of his superior insight, to consent to the united constitution. The Treaty of London was to all intents and purposes broken.

The claim of Duke Frederic of Augustenburg to Schleswig-Holstein was thus unanimously applauded by the popular voice of Germany. He declared himself ready to follow loyally the democratic constitution which the duchies had given themselves in 1848, and surrounded his person with liberal counsellors. A large proportion of the governments of the petty German states recognised the duke as the heir, and the majority of the Federal Council decided in his favour.

Prussia and Austria, indeed, as signatories of the Treaty of London, felt themselves bound by it towards Europe. They possessed, according to it, the right to compel Denmark to grant to the duchies independence and union under one sovereign; but they could exempt themselves from recognising the hereditary right of King Christian IX. Austria in particular, whose stability rested on European treaties, did not venture to admit that the right of nationality could undo those treaties.

Prussia Against the Powers

Was Prussia able to confront the other Great Powers with her unaided resources? Bismarck, with all his determination, thought such a move too dangerous. The stake in such a struggle would have been too trivial; for, as Bismarck showed the Prussian House of Representatives, Prussia would have lent its arms to establish the claims of a duke who, like the other petty

states, would have mostly voted with Austria at Frankfort. "The signing of the Treaty of London," so Bismarck said on December 1st, 1863, in the Prussian House of Representatives, "may be deplored; but it has been done, and honour as well as prudence commands that our loyal observance of the treaty be beyond all doubt." These reasons did not, however, convince the House. It pronounced in favour of the hereditary right of the Duke of Augustenburg. Bismarck vainly put before the Opposition that, as soon as Prussia abandoned the basis of the Treaty of London, no pretext whatever could be found for interfering in Schleswig, which stood entirely outside the German Confederation.

The violent opposition of the House of Representatives to Bismarck's methods was due to the fact that the Conservative party, to which Bismarck had belonged, had in 1849 and 1850 condemned the rebellion of Schleswig-Holstein against Denmark; and there was the fear that the supporters of legitimacy would once more in the end make the duchies subject to Denmark. As a matter of fact, the two great German Powers had tolerated the infringements of the Treaty of London by Denmark since 1852, and had not contributed at all to preserve the rights of the duchies. This explains the blame laid upon the two Great Powers by the committee of an assembly of representatives at Frankfort on December 21st, 1863, in an address to the German people. For twelve years, it said, the Danes had been allowed to trample under foot the Treaty of London. Now, with the extinction of the royal house, and the revival of the hereditary right of Augustenburg, the possibility had come of getting rid of the shameful treaty. "Now, when the execution of that treaty would be fatal to the cause of the duchies, armies were being put into the field in order to enforce its execution." This reproach against the Prussian policy

would have been justified if Bismarck had still been, as he was in 1848, a man of exclusively Conservative party politics. The German people could not know that he had become a far greater man. He had now fixed his eye on the acquisition of the duchies by Prussia, and steered

steadily towards that goal which King William still considered unattainable. Just now he won a great diplomatic triumph. Austria, on the question of the duchies, was divided from the German minor states, her allies, and Bismarck widened the breach. He explained to the Vienna Cabinet that Prussia was resolved to compel Denmark to respect the Treaty of London by force of arms, and, if necessary, single-handed.

Austria now could not and dared not leave the liberation of Schleswig to her rival alone, otherwise she would

have voluntarily abdicated her position in Germany. Rechberg, who in any case was favourably disposed to the alliance with Prussia, induced his master, under the circumstances, to conclude the armed alliance with Prussia; Francis Joseph was, however, disappointed that the Diet

at Frankfort and the anti-Prussian policy had borne no fruits. The two Great Powers pledged themselves in the treaty of January 16th, 1864, to attack Denmark, and settled that after the liberation of the duchies no decision should be taken about them except by the agreement of the two Powers. Austria thus felt protected against surprises on the part of Prussia. The treaty met with the most violent opposition both in the Prussian and the Austrian representative assemblies. The money for the conduct of the war was

actually refused in Berlin. The Austrian Chamber did not proceed to such extreme measures, but the majority held it to be a mistake that Austria adopted a hostile position against the minor states, and neglected the opportunity to make a friend of the future Duke of Schleswig-Holstein.



KING FREDERIC VII.

King of Denmark from 1848, his tyrannous rule in Schleswig-Holstein was bitterly resented, and by his death, in 1863, the main line of the royal house became extinct.



KING CHRISTIAN IX.

He succeeded to the throne of Denmark in 1863, on the death of Frederic VII. His eldest daughter, Alexandra, married King Edward VII. of Great Britain and Ireland.

From a photograph

The army to conquer Schleswig consisted of 37,000 Prussians and 23,000 Austrians, who were opposed by 40,000 Danes. The supreme command of the invading force was held by Count Wrangel. The Danes hoped to the last for foreign help, but the threats of England to the German Powers were smoke without a fire. The Danes first attempted resistance along the Danewerk. But the Austrians in the battles of Jagel and Okerselk, on February 3rd, stormed the outposts in front of the redoubts and pursued the Danes right under the cannons of the Danewerk. Since there was the fear that the strong position would be turned by the Prussians below Missunde, the Danish general, De Meza, evacuated the Danewerk on February 5th, and withdrew northwards. The Austrians followed quickly and came up with the Danes the next day at Oeversee, and compelled them to fight for their retreat. Schleswig was thus conquered with the exception of a small peninsula on the east, where the lines of Düppel were raised, which



FREDERIC VII. OF DENMARK AND HIS CONSORT
From a photograph

Denmark by a personal union. The allies thereupon conquered Jütland as far as the Liim Fiord, and by storming the lines of Düppel, on April 18th, the Prussian arms won a brilliant success, and the blockade of the mouths of the Elbe was relieved by the sea-fight of Heligoland on May 9th, 1864.

The future of the duchies was now the question. Popular opinion in Germany protested loudly against their restoration to the Danish king, and Bismarck now fed the flame of indignation, since he wished

to release Prussia from the promise she had made. But he would not have attained this object had not the Danes, fortunately for Germany, remained obstinate. A conference of the Powers concerned met in London on April 25th, 1864. The Danish plenipotentiaries, still hoping for British support, rejected on May 17th the proposal of Prussia and Austria for the constitutional independence of the duchies, even should their possession be intended for their King Christian. The matter was thus definitely decided. Austria was now com-

pelled to retire from the agreement last made with Prussia. The Vienna Cabinet, making a virtue of necessity, resolved to prevent Schleswig-Holstein from falling to Prussia by nominating the Duke of Augustenburg. King William had long been inclined to this course, if only Duke Frederic was willing to make some arrangement with Prussia about his army, as Coburg had already done; if he would grant Prussia a naval station and allow the North Sea Canal to be constructed; and if the duchies

were to be united with

entered the Zollverein. The duke would certainly have agreed to these terms in order to obtain the sovereignty had not Austria on its side made more favourable promises. There was a strong wish at Vienna to prevent Schleswig-Holstein becoming a vassal state of Prussia. The duke, encouraged by this, promised the king indeed to observe those conditions, but he added the qualification that he could not know whether the Estates of Schleswig-Holstein would assent to the treaty. If not, he was ready to withdraw in favour of his son.

This additional proviso filled Bismarck with misgivings; for the farce might be repeated which had been played before, when Duke Christian of Augustenburg sold his claims to Denmark, and his son Frederic then came forward with his hereditary right to Schleswig-Holstein. The determination of the Prussian Prime Minister not to give in until the countries were incorporated into Prussia grew stronger day by day. The first step in that direction was the conclusion of peace with Denmark on October 30th, 1864; the two duchies were unconditionally resigned to Austria and Prussia, without any consideration being paid to the hereditary claims of the Houses of Augustenburg and Oldenburg. Bismarck did not want to break with Austria yet. He was sorry, therefore, to see that Count Rech-

berg retired on October 27th, 1864, from his office as Minister of the Exterior; the charge was brought against him in Austria that the policy of alliance with Prussia which he followed was to the advantage of the latter state only. His successor, Count Alexander Mensdorff, had, it is true, the same aims as Rechberg; but since he was less experienced in affairs, the opponents of Prussia gained more and more influence among his higher officials. This circumstance was the more mischievous since the two Great Powers were administering the duchies jointly—an arrangement which in any case led to

friction. In February, 1865, Prussia came forward with the conditions under which she was willing to nominate the Duke of Augustenburg to Schleswig-Holstein. They contained in substance what had already been communicated to the duke. But Austria did not agree to them. Weight was laid in Vienna on the argument that the German Confederation was a union of sovereign princes, and no vassal state of Prussia could be allowed to take its place in it.

Prussia thereupon adopted stricter measures and shifted her naval base from Danzig to Kiel. Bismarck then openly declared, "If Austria wishes to remain our ally, she must make room for us."



DUKE OF AUGUSTENBURG

On the death of the Danish King in 1863, the Duke of Augustenburg raised claims to the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein, but by the war of 1864 these went to Prussia and Austria.
From a photograph

The war cloud even then loomed ominously. The Berlin Cabinet inquired at Florence whether Italy was prepared to join the alliance. The two German Powers still, however, shrank from a passage at arms immediately after a jointly conducted campaign. The result of prolonged negotiations was the Treaty of Gastein on August 14th, 1865. The administration of the duchies, hitherto carried on in common, was divided, so that Nearer Holstein was left to Austria, and Further Schleswig to Prussia. Lauenburg was ceded absolutely to Prussia for 2,250,000 thalers—\$2,500,000. Prussia was clearly advancing on a victorious career, and the

acquisition of the duchies was in near prospect. The Prussian Representative Chamber, which eighteen months previously had spoken distinctly for the hereditary right of the Duke of Augustenburg, once more in the summer of 1865 debated the affair. But now the friends of the scheme of incorporation were already so numerous that it could no longer agree to a resolution by a majority. It was seen that the foreign policy of the Progressives in Prussia had been wrecked. The king, as a recognition of his services, raised Bismarck to the rank of count, September 15th, and thus proclaimed

to the outside world that he had absolute confidence in his conduct of affairs. Bismarck called the Treaty of Gastein a patching of the crack in the building. In reality the Premier had long determined on a war with Austria. Since Austria favoured the partisans of the Duke of Augustenburg as much as ever, and afforded opportunity for their agitations against Prussia, the Prussian note of January 26th, 1866, complained of the "means of rebellion" which Austria employed. It was announced in this document that Prussia claimed henceforward complete liberty for her policy. Bismarck still kept the door of peace open to himself, in case Austria was willing to withdraw from Schleswig-Holstein. But the course of proceedings at the Prussian Cabinet Council of February 28th, 1866, shows that the king was familiar with the idea of war. The Minister-President

The Austrian Emperor Dissatisfied

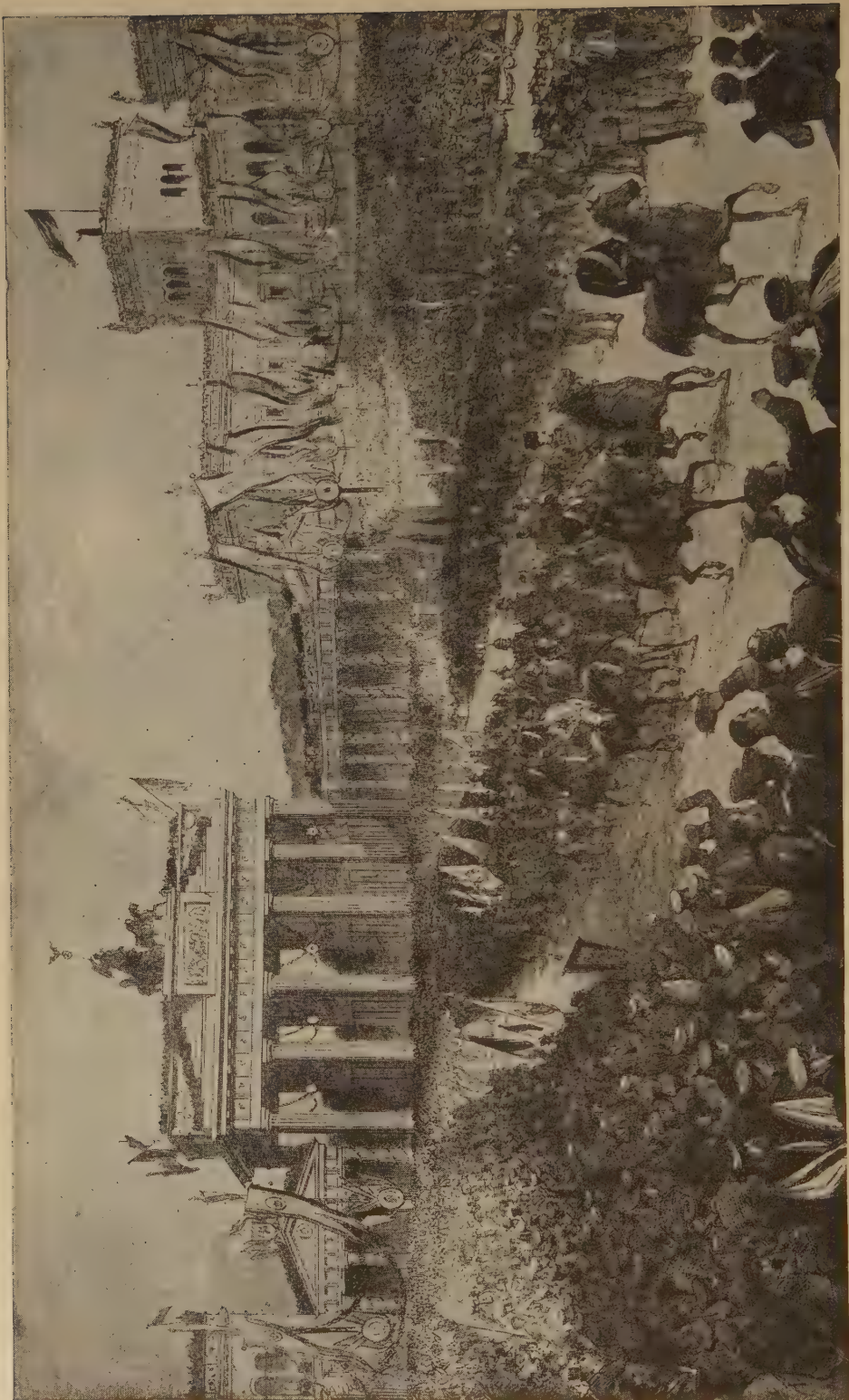
developed at this council the thought that no war was to be kindled for the sake of Schleswig-Holstein only; a greater goal, the union of Germany, must be contemplated. It was resolved, first of all, to open negotiations with Italy for a defensive and offensive alliance. In this council of war, Moltke gave his unqualified vote for the war, while the Crown Prince uttered an emphatic warning against such a policy, for the reason that it rendered

probable the interference of foreigners. An important change had occurred in Austria in July, 1865. Schmerling had failed to win the emperor over permanently to his political views. Francis Joseph was dissatisfied because the Parliament raised excessive claims to a share in the government, and went too far in reducing the war Budget. The Austrian and Hungarian aristocracy joined the opponents of the united constitution, and Count Moritz Esterházy, Minister without portfolio since July 19th, 1861, used the dissatisfaction of the emperor to undermine the German Cabinet.

On July 30th, 1865, the "Counts' Ministry," under the presidency of Count Richard Belcredi, was nominated in the place of Schmerling; an imperial manifesto on September 20th, 1865, proclaimed the suspension of the constitution and adjournment of the Imperial Council. The high nobility was favoured in every branch of the government, Slavism pitted against Germanism, and the way prepared for the settlement with Hungary. Prince Esterházy in this Cabinet was the dominant figure in foreign policy, and he was influenced in an anti-Prussian direction by Biegeleben of the Foreign Office, while the weak Minister of the Exterior, Count Mensdorff, vainly spoke for the maintenance of peace.



THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST JÜTLAND: AUSTRIANS CROSSING THE LIIM FIOR



AFTER THE DEFEAT OF AUSTRIA IN 1866: BERLIN'S JOYOUS WELCOME TO THE VICTORIOUS PRUSSIAN ARMY

From a contemporary drawing.

THE
RE-MAKING
OF
EUROPE



THE
CONSOLIDA-
TION OF THE
POWERS VII

THE ADVANCE OF PRUSSIA VICTORIOUS CAMPAIGN AGAINST AUSTRIA

ALARMED by the warlike intentions of the Prussian Government, the Austrians thought it advisable in March, 1866, to take measures for arming. Some ten battalions were transferred to Bohemia, in order to strengthen the corps stationed there, and several cavalry regiments from Hungary and Transylvania were ordered to move into the province which was first menaced. Count Károlyi, the Austrian ambassador in Berlin, was at the same time commissioned to ask if Prussia really intended to attack Austria. This precipitate procedure of Austria rendered it easier for Bismarck and the generals, who were advising war, to induce King William also to make preparations. The measures taken by the Cabinet Council of March 28th comprised the supply of horses for the artillery, the repair of the fortresses, and the strengthening of the divisions quartered in the south of the country.

Bismarck Promises Reform

Bismarck answered the really objectless inquiry of Count Károlyi in the negative, but sent a circular to the German courts, in which he accused Austria of wishing to intimidate Prussia by her preparations, as she had done in 1850. He further announced that Prussia would soon come forward with a plan for the reform of the German Federal Constitution.

But more important than these measures and notes, which caused so much public uneasiness, were the secret negotiations for the conclusion of the alliance with Italy. These did not proceed smoothly at first, since Italy was afraid of being made a tool, since Prussia might use the threat of an Italian alliance to induce Austria to give way. The Italian Government, in order to avoid this, declared it could only consent to a formal and offensive alliance for the purpose of attacking Austria-Hungary. King William could not agree to this, since he did not contemplate an invasion of Austria, for which indeed there was no pretext. The Prussian

Government was only prepared for a friendly alliance, which should prevent either party forming a separate convention with Austria and leaving the other in the lurch. The result was the compromise of a defensive and offensive alliance, to be

The Advice of the French Emperor

valid for three months only, in case war was not declared by Prussia before that date. Italy hesitated to agree to it, and applied to Napoleon III. for advice. The French emperor desired nothing more ardently than a war in Germany, in order, during its continuance, to pursue his schemes on Belgium and the Rhine districts.

He knew that William I. would not be persuaded by Bismarck to fight unless he were previously assured of the alliance of Italy; otherwise the king thought the campaign would be dangerous, since nearly the whole remaining part of Germany stood on the side of Austria. It may be ascribed to the advice of Napoleon that the hesitating Italian Premier, La Marmora, concluded a treaty, to hold for three months, on April 8th, 1866.

Bismarck wished to employ this period in pushing on the German question. He intended to show the nation that it must look to Prussia alone for the fulfilment of its wishes for union. Prussia proposed on April 10th, in the Diet of Frankfort, to summon a German Parliament on the basis of universal suffrage. In order to separate Bavaria from Austria, a proposal was made to the former state that the supreme command of the German federal troops should be divided; Prussia should

Liberal Mistrust of Bismarck

command in the north, Bavaria in the south. But Bismarck's intention, sincere as it was, did not meet with the approval of the majority of the German people. The Liberals asserted that the conversion of Bismarck to the idea of a German Parliament with universal suffrage was not genuine, and derided the idea that a government which did not respect the

right of popular representation in its own country would unite Germany under a Parliamentary constitution. So rooted was the distrust of Prussia that Bavaria refused this favourable proposal. Pfordten, the Minister, was in his heart not averse to the plan; but the court, especially Prince Charles, the uncle of the young King

Austria's Improved Prospects

Ludwig II., urged an alliance with Austria. When Austria saw that her prospects of winning over to her side the minor German states had improved, the war party in Vienna gained the ascendancy, and the cautious counsels of Mensdorff were disregarded. During the course of April, however, negotiations were begun between Vienna and Berlin for a simultaneous disarmament on both sides; and, as the result of a conciliatory note of Austria, prospects of peace were temporarily disclosed. King William thought that Prussia ought not to be obstinate in resisting all attempts at an understanding.

This more peaceful tendency was nullified by the preparations of Italy, which watched with uneasiness the inauguration of better relations between Prussia and Austria. By command of King Victor Emmanuel some 100,000 men were enrolled in the army during the month of April. As a result of this, the Emperor Francis Joseph, disregarding the warnings of Count Mensdorff, ordered the mobilisation of the southern army on April 21st, and that of the northern army on the 27th.

The counsellors of King William, who were urging war, thus were given weighty reasons why Prussia could not remain behind in her preparations. The king was in any case already convinced of the necessity of crossing swords with Austria, since he contemplated even in April a sudden attack on the still unprepared imperial capital. But since he was unwilling to appear in the eyes of Europe as the breaker of the peace, he had

On the Verge of War

waited for the mobilisation of Austria. Now the same steps were taken by him between May 5th and 12th. War was thus almost inevitable. The Vienna Cabinet, which did not under-rate the dangers of an attack from two sides simultaneously, resolved at the eleventh hour on a complete change of policy towards Italy. Of late years the sale of the province of Venetia had been refused, as detrimental to the honour of

Austria; she was now willing to relinquish the province, in order to have a free hand for a war of conquest against Prussia. Prince Metternich, the Austrian ambassador at Paris, was commissioned to call in the mediation of Napoleon III.

The Vienna Cabinet was willing to pledge itself to cede Venetia, on condition that Italy remained neutral in the coming war and that Austria was then able to conquer Silesia. Napoleon thought it a stroke of good fortune to have received simultaneous proposals from Prussia and Austria. By a skilful employment of the situation the aggrandisement of France in the north or east was virtually assured.

When he communicated the offer of Austria to the Italian Government, the latter justly retorted that the conditional promise of a cession of Venetia did not present the slightest certainty; the conquest of Silesia by Austria was doubtful, and if it did succeed, Austria's position would be so much improved that she would certainly not feel disposed to redeem her pledge. Thereupon Austria professed readiness to

Italy Tempted by Austria

sign a treaty which should secure Venetia unconditionally to the Italians. This offer presented a great temptation to Italy, but could only be accepted at the expense of a flagrant breach of faith towards Prussia. The Italian Cabinet, after a debate of several hours, resolved on May 14th to refuse the offer, since the wish for war was already kindled in Italy, and the acceptance of the gift would certainly have been attributed by the republican portion of the population to the craven and dishonourable policy of the House of Savoy.

The negotiations, nevertheless, were so far profitable to Austria that Italy was no longer arming for a war to the knife, since she was almost certain to gain Venetia even if the result of the war was less favourable. Austrian diplomacy further succeeded in establishing closer relations with France. Napoleon once more attempted to induce Prussia to give a distinct undertaking with reference to cessions of territory on the Rhine. Bismarck, however, put him off with general promises; his "dilatatory" diplomacy, as he afterwards expressed himself, aimed at rousing in Napoleon the belief that he was quite ready to be somewhat of a traitor to his country, but that the king would not hear

a word of any cession of German territory to France. His policy was both bold and astute; he secured the neutrality of the emperor, without giving him the slightest pledge which compromised Prussia.

Napoleon, like almost all Frenchmen of that time, was convinced that Austria in the struggle with Prussia had the military superiority. For that reason the emperor had induced Italy to form an alliance with Prussia, in order to restore the balance of power; and similarly, he wished to secure his position for the probable event of an Austrian victory. Napoleon, therefore, concluded a secret treaty with the Vienna Cabinet on June 12th, in which Austria undertook to cede Venice, even in the event of a victory, to Italy, which the emperor always favoured. The scheme which he had now made the goal of his policy was as follows: Venetia was to be ceded to Italy, Silesia to Austria, Schleswig-Holstein and other North German districts to Prussia, which, in turn, would have to give up considerable territory on the Rhine to France. But instead of arming in order to carry out this desirable solution, Napoleon thought he would pose as arbitrator of Europe after the exhaustion of his rivals. That was his mistake. The Italy of 1860, unprepared and poorly armed, had been easily forced to give up Nice and Savoy; but Napoleon never suspected that Prussia after the war would be strong enough to refuse the claims of France. His mistake lay in adopting one and the same line of policy with Cavour and Bismarck, with Italians and Germans.

The nearer the war came the more unfavourable became the diplomatic situation of Prussia. The ambassador at Paris, Count Goltz, warned his countrymen not to depend on the neutrality of Napoleon. The governments of the German secondary states felt themselves menaced by the propositions for federal reform, and public opinion in South and West

Germany was averse to Prussia. Any hope that Bavaria and Hanover would remain neutral disappeared; Saxony was closely united with Austria. It was peculiarly painful to King William that he was besieged with petitions from Prussian towns and communities praying for the maintenance of peace. Intense aversion to the war prevailed, especially in the Catholic districts on the Rhine; when the members of the Landwehr were called up, there was actual insubordination shown in some places. The king, therefore, considered it advisable to entertain the proposals for mediation which were being mooted.

When Anton von Gablenz, a Saxon landowner and brother of the Austrian general, came to Berlin, to recommend a partition of Germany between the two Powers, he received full authority to place this proposal before the Vienna Cabinet. But the Austrian Ministry rejected that mediation, obviously because the Government had already decided for a war, and because Austria could no longer desert the minor German states, with which she practically had come to terms, and let them be partitioned at the last moment. It was Austria now who urged on the war and rendered Bismarck's steps easier. The Vienna Cabinet thus refused the proposal, emanating from Napoleon, to



LUDWIG II. KING OF BAVARIA

The history of this monarch, who succeeded to the throne of Bavaria in 1864, is a particularly sad one. He was in constant opposition to his Ministers and family, and in 1886, in a fit of insanity, drowned himself near his castle of Berg.

From a photograph

send representatives to a congress, on the ground that the fate of Venetia would form the object of the negotiations; one Great Power could not allow other states to decide on its rights of ownership.

King William still hesitated to give the signal for war. By June 5th all Prussian army divisions on the southern frontier had taken up their posts. Moltke thought that the Prussian corps should advance concentrically into Saxony and Bohemia and attack the Austrians, who could hardly be ready to fight for another three weeks. But the king preferred to await the progress of the hostile measures which the Vienna Cabinet was already

taking in Schleswig-Holstein and Frankfurt. Indeed, great impetuosity was shown at Vienna. The Austrian Government summoned the Estates of Holstein to discuss the fate of the country, although by the terms of the treaty the duty was incumbent on them of exercising no control over Holstein without the assent of Prussia.

Prussian Troops in Holstein When Prussia retorted by marching troops into Holstein, the Vienna Cabinet called upon the German Confederation to order the mobilisation of the Federal Army against the violation of the Federal Treaty by Prussia. The decisive sitting of the Federal Diet was held on June 14th.

Prussia had explained to the minor states that she would regard the resolution to mobilise as a declaration of war. Nevertheless a motion of Bavaria was voted on, which, even if not expressly aimed against Prussia, still had for its object the formation of a federal army. When the motion was carried by nine to six votes, the Prussian plenipotentiary, Savigny, announced the withdrawal of Prussia from the Confederation. King William immediately afterwards gave the order for the invasion of Saxony, Hanover, and Electoral Hesse.

At the outbreak of the war some 290,000 Prussians were ready to march into Austria and Saxony; only 48,000 were intended to fight the minor states. The latter, indeed, could put about 120,000 soldiers in the field; but Moltke went on the principle that the decisive blow must be struck on the chief scene of war with superior forces. The first blow was aimed at Hanover, Electoral Hesse, and Nassau, whose sovereigns had refused to promise neutrality. The blind King George V. of Hanover declared to the Prussian ambassador that compliance with the demand of Prussia was equivalent to his being mediatised; but that he would never allow himself to be mediatised—

Hanoverians Retire Before the Austrians he would rather die an honourable death. Manteuffel thereupon advanced with his division into Hanover from Holstein, while Goeben and Beyer advanced from the west. General Vogel von Falckenstein held the supreme command of these troops. The Hanoverians, 18,000 strong, retreated before this superior force towards the south, and were successful in escaping the first plan, which calculated that they would still be at Göttingen; so that

Falckenstein actually believed they had slipped from him. He abandoned the pursuit for a time; the troops of King George might have thus reached the forest of Thuringia by way of Gotha and Eisenach, and escaped to Bavaria in safety.

It was only on Moltke's urgent warnings that Falckenstein finally sent Goeben's division to Eisenach; the road by way of Gotha was barred to them by General von Flies. King George thus saw himself surrounded. Flies, who was nearest to him, attacked him on June 27th, with 9,000 men at Langensalza. The outnumbered Hanoverians bravely held the field; but immediately afterwards the net was drawn closer round them, and King George was forced to surrender on June 29th.

The Prussian main army was faced by 248,000 Austrians, who were joined by 23,000 Saxons. The Austrian commander was Ludwig von Benedek, who had reaped a rich harvest of honours in the campaigns of 1848, 1849, and 1859; in the battle of Solferino he held the field on the right wing, and did not retire until the rest of the army had left the scene of action. He

Limitations of the Austrian Commander had been commander-in-chief of the Austrian army in Italy, which he expected to command in the next war.

He was imperturbable, experienced, and high-minded, but he recognised the limitations of his abilities. He knew that he was only adapted to be a general under less important conditions, such as on the scene of war in Upper Italy; he was lacking in the intellect and thorough military education requisite for the leader of a large army.

When finally against his will he accepted the supreme command against Prussia, he had to receive lectures from one of his officers on the military geography of Germany. Since popular opinion, not merely in Austria but also in South Germany, expected his nomination to the command of the northern army, the Emperor Francis Joseph begged him to overcome his scruples. He refused, and only gave way after the emperor had represented to him that he could not be allowed to desert the dynasty at a crisis. The army was stationed in Moravia, resting on Olmütz, and Bohemia was occupied only by a small number of troops. In this latter country barely one army corps was stationed, under Count Eduard von Clam-Gallas; the Saxons thereupon retreated. Moltke's original plan to open the war

by an attack, and by June 6th to invade Bohemia from all sides, had not been put into practice. The divisions of the Prussian army were at this time posted in a long line of 250 miles from Halle to Neisse. According to Moltke's plan, they were to unite their forces in the enemy's country. But when the attack had to be postponed, and it was reported at the Prussian headquarters that the Austrians were in Moravia, it was thought that Benedek was aiming a blow at Silesia. The divisions of the Prussian army, therefore, which were stationed to the east, pushed towards the left and took up a very strong position on the Neisse.

This delay in taking the offensive was turned to account as soon as war was determined upon. On June 15th the advance guard of the army of the Elbe, 49,000 men, under Bitterfeld, marched into Saxony. The first army of 97,000 men assembled in Lusatia under Prince Frederic Charles; the second army, finally 121,000 strong, was stationed in Silesia under the Crown Prince Frederic William. The corps of Von der Mülbe, 25,000 men, mostly militia, followed as a reserve. All the divisions were ordered to enter Bohemia on June 21st, and the district of Jitschin was fixed as the rendezvous, where they were to meet on June 28th. In

consequence of the shifting of the Silesian corps towards the south-east on the Neisse, the distance which the army of the Crown Prince had to traverse to Jitschin was longer than the lines of march of Prince Frederic Charles and of the army of the Elbe. The separate advance of the Prussian divisions into Bohemia was thus attended with considerable danger. Moltke, whose hands had been hitherto tied by diplomatic considerations, knew this; and, remaining behind at first with the king in Berlin, he directed the movements of the three armies with marvellous foresight.

The Austrians received the order on June 20th to march out of their quarters in Moravia. Benedek, accurately informed

by his intelligence department of the detached position of the Prussians, wished to lead his army opportunely between the advancing divisions and to defeat one after the other before they combined. The first army reached Reichenberg on June 23rd and pressed on towards the Iser; the army

The Plans of Austria's Commander of the Elbe marched parallel to it. The second army was still on Silesian soil, advancing towards the passes of the Riesengebirge—the Giant Mountains. As Benedek established his headquarters at Josefstadt in Bohemia on June 26th, and Prince Frederic Charles had already traversed Northern Bohemia, the Austrian leader selected him for his first opponent.

He ordered the two corps which he had stationed in Bohemia—the Austrian under Clam-Gallas, and the Saxon, 60,000 men in all—to face Prince Frederic Charles on the Iser in order to detain him. He himself put the main body of his army in movement towards the Iser. The troops of the Crown Prince crossed the Bohemian frontier in the passes of the Riesengebirge on June 26th; Benedek, therefore, while wishing to attack Prince Frederic Charles with six army corps in all, sent back two corps under Gablentz and Ramming to guard the mountain passes against the second army. Since the

movements of the Prussians were admirably combined, and one army was eager to relieve the other, these two Austrian corps were vigorously attacked on June 27th. Thus the Prussian I. corps under General Adolf von Bonin was pitted against the Austrian corps of Gablentz at Trautenuau, while General Steinmetz met Ramming's force at Nachod. These sanguinary encounters resulted in a defeat of the Austrians at the latter place, and a victory at the former.

Nevertheless, it was already clear that the Prussian tactics were far superior to those of Austria. The Prussian needle-gun fired three times as fast as the Austrian muzzle-loader; and, apart from this, the "shock tactics" of the Austrians, who tried to storm heights and belts of forest with the bayonet, were to a high degree



LUDWIG VON BENEDEK

In the campaigns of 1848, 1849, and 1859 this Austrian commander greatly distinguished himself, but in the war against Prussia, when in chief command of Austria's army, he suffered humiliating defeat.

disastrous. The Prussians brought the enemy's attack to a standstill by rapid firing; they then threw themselves in smaller divisions on the flanks of their adversary, and completed his overthrow. Hence the terrible losses of the Austrians even after a successful charge. At Trautenau, although victors, they lost 183 officers and 4,231 men killed and wounded, the Prussians only 56 officers and 1,282 men; at Nachod 5,700 Austrians fell and only 1,122 Prussians. The superiority of the Prussians was manifest in the preparations for the war, in tactics, and in the better education of the officers and men.

On the evening of June 27th the gravity of these facts was not yet realised in the Austrian headquarters. Benedek therefore adhered to his plan of continuing his advance against Frederic Charles. This was, however, dangerous, because the nearer enemy, the Crown Prince, would certainly put himself more in evidence on the next day. The Austrian's alternative was to abandon the attack on the first army and to hurl himself with all available troops against the second army. If this had been done, the Crown Prince would have had to contend against an attack by superior numbers. This was known at the

Prussian headquarters, and Frederic William and his chief of the general staff, Leonhard von Blumenthal, made up their minds that they would have hard fighting on their further advance through the mountain passes. Bonin, after his reverse of June 27th, had returned to Prussian territory, whereas the Guards advanced on the road to Eipel, and Steinmetz from Nachod towards Skalitz.

The Crown Prince waited with his staff in the middle between these two columns, ready to hasten to the post of danger. The

The Crown Prince in Battle

coolness and caution of the generalship, considering the difficult position, could not be surpassed. Benedek, however, obstinately held to his original plan. He actually inspected, on the morning of June 28th, the three corps concentrated against Steinmetz, without striking a blow at him with these superior numbers. On the contrary, he ordered the greater part of these troops to march against Frederic Charles, and commissioned the Archduke Leopold in particular to take up a strong position behind the Elbe. By so doing he abandoned a favourable chance and made a miscalculation, for that very day the troops of the Crown Prince came up with the



HANOVERIAN VICTORY OVER THE PRUSSAINS AT LANGENSALZA

Attacked by the Prussians at Langensalza, on June 27th, 1866, while on their way to join the Bavarian forces, the Hanoverians held the field and gained a notable victory, the Prussians having a thousand men killed and wounded.



THE BATTLE OF SKALITZ: PRUSSIAN CAVALRY CAPTURING THE AUSTRIAN CANNON
 This battle, fought on June 28th, 1866, between the Prussians and the Austrians, ended in a severe defeat of the latter, who left behind on the field no fewer than 5,000 men out of a total of 20,000 taking part in the fight.

combined Austrian forces both at Skalitz and Trautenau. Archduke Leopold, contrary to Benedek's orders, offered battle at Skalitz, and brought a complete defeat on himself; out of the 20,000 Austrians, 5,000 were left on the field of battle. At the same time Gablenz, who had been victorious on the previous day at Trautenau, was defeated by the Guards under Prince Augustus of Württemberg near Trautenau. The Crown Prince had thus forced his way through the passes on June 28th, and as a result of this the way to the Elbe was free. Meanwhile, the advance guard of Prince

**Benedek
 Depressed
 by Defeat**

Frederic Charles reached the Iser on June 26th. The army of the Austrians and Saxons tried unsuccessfully to dispute the passage in a sanguinary night encounter at Podol; but the prince followed up his victory somewhat slowly, and allowed his advance to be checked by the rear-guard action, unfavourable indeed to the Austrians, at Münchengrätz on June 28th. A message from Moltke, however, made him press forward more rapidly.

Benedek had meantime learnt with deep inward perturbation that his three corps, which had been moved against the Crown Prince, were defeated. This news produced such an effect on him that he gave up the offensive which he had intended to

assume against Prince Frederic Charles. He resolved, on the advice of Krismanic, the "strategist of positions," to take up a naturally strong defensive position on the hills above the Elbe, and to await there subsequent attacks. He also sent to the combined Austrian-Saxon army an order to retire on to the main army. But unfortunately the intelligence department at his headquarters was so dilatory that this order had not arrived when the troops of Prince Frederic Charles attacked the Saxons and the corps of Clam-Gallas on the afternoon of June 29th, at Jitschin.

The commanders of the allies must have thought that the main army was near at hand, and that they ought therefore to defend Jitschin, the junction of the roads. They accepted the battle, and at first successfully resisted. Then about seven o'clock the Austrian officer arrived and handed in the order to retreat. The Austrians now wished to discontinue the battle, but were involved in disastrous engagements by the keen advance of the Prussians and were completely beaten.

The Saxons of the Crown Prince Albert withdrew in good order; but the corps of Clam-Gallas broke up on the retreat, which lasted the whole night and the following day, and they reached the main army in a deplorable condition.

The strong position occupied in the meantime by the Austrian main army was thus rendered untenable, for the two army corps which were supposed to form the left wing were defeated, and Prince Frederic Charles could attack the Austrians in flank and rear. Benedek was therefore forced to give the order for retreat in the night of June

Austria in a Sad Plight

30th to July 1st. Since the Prussians did not follow him at once, they did not know how far he had led his army back. King William and Moltke had meanwhile reached the army of Prince Frederic Charles on July 1st.

Moltke believed that the Austrians had occupied a strong position behind the Elbe, and were waiting behind the fortresses of Josefstadt and Königgrätz for the attack. They were, however, already halting behind the Bistritz, a tributary of the Elbe, where they had arrived exhausted by a disorderly night march. Benedek, through these events, had lost all hope of victory, and decided on a further retreat behind the Elbe, and, if necessary, even to Olmütz or towards Vienna.

This gloomy state of affairs was expressed in a telegram which was sent immediately afterwards by the Austrian commander to the emperor, urgently advising him to conclude peace at any price. A disaster for the army was inevitable. Francis Joseph believed, however, that he could not own himself conquered without a pitched battle. He therefore answered: "Peace is impossible. We must retreat if necessary. Has any battle taken place?" This expression of the emperor's will seems to have determined Benedek to accept a pitched battle, and as the Prussians were rapidly advancing he made instant preparations for it.

Late in the evening of July 2nd the news was brought to the Prussian headquarters that the Austrians were still in front of the Elbe, ready to accept the challenge. It was determined by King William and Moltke, after deliberation, to

Prussians Ready for Attack

attack the enemy at once in full force, and orders were sent that night to the Crown Prince to summon him to start at once. Blumenthal had lately advised the two Prussian armies, who were no longer prevented from joining forces, to concentrate tactically to the west of the Elbe, in order thus to obviate the danger of being

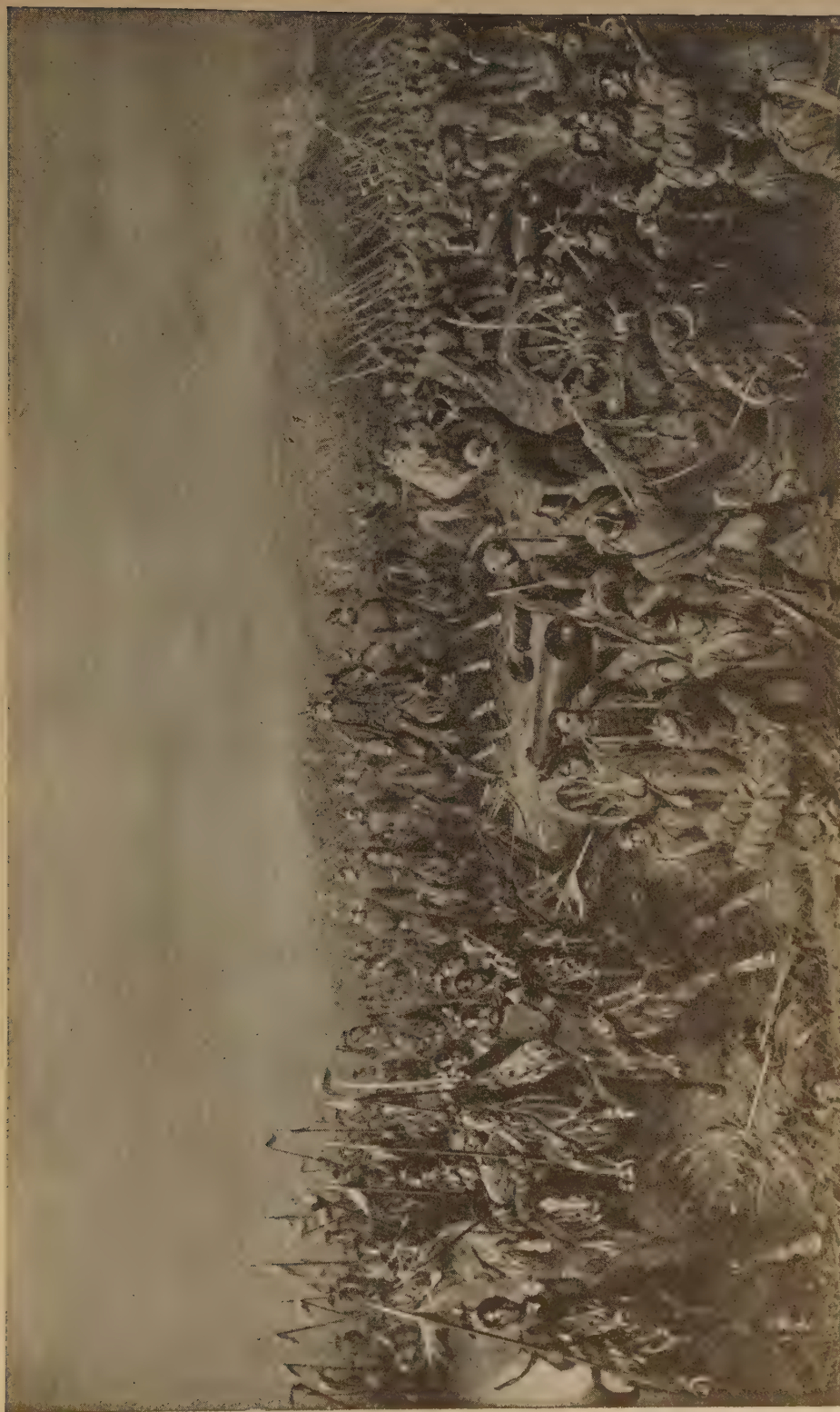
separated in a pitched battle. Moltke, however, ordered that the plan of separating the armies should still be observed, but in such a way that the armies on the day of battle might join forces by a rapid march. He wanted to be able to attack the Austrians in the front with one army, and on the flank with another. The greatness of Moltke lies in this bold strategy, which aims at the complete annihilation of the enemy by enclosing him between broad advancing masses; the application of this method enabled him in 1870 to capture entire armies.

The Austrians and Saxons on the morning of the battle of Königgrätz, July 3rd, were 215,000 men strong, drawn up in close formation. The great disadvantage of their position was that they had the Elbe in their rear; but, of course, several bridges had been thrown across it. The centre and the left wing pointed west, and awaited the attack of Prince Frederic Charles; the right wing, consisting of the fourth and second corps, was ordered to face north, since the advance of the second army might be expected from that quarter.

The great Battle in Progress

The Crown Prince, following the orders given him, started immediately at early morning, but he did not reach the battlefield before noon. In the meantime the first army attacked the centre; the Elbe army, the right wing of the Austrian army. The Elbe army made good progress; on the other hand, Prince Frederic Charles vainly exhausted his efforts against the strong centre of the Austrians. The Austrian artillery was planted in tiers on the hills of Chlum, Lipa, and Langenhof, and at once precluded any attempt at an infantry attack. Since Prince Frederic Charles was compelled to wait until the Crown Prince joined his left wing, the weak spot in his line was there, for the Austrians, temporarily superior in numbers, might outflank him.

It was fortunate for the Prussians that the seventh division was stationed there under Fransecky, who covered the weakness of his position by a determined and splendid offensive. He advanced into the Swiepwald, drove out the Austrians, and from that position harassed their right wing, which was ordered to hold its ground against the expected attack of the Crown Prince. The Austrians thereupon, in the hope of overwhelming Fransecky, made a counter attack, which was at first



KING WILLIAM OF PRUSSIA AT KONIGGRATZ LEADING THE PURSUIT OF THE DEFEATED AUSTRIANS.

At the battle of Königgrätz, or Sadowa, the Austrians were completely defeated on July 3rd, 1866, and were forced to beat a retreat, King William himself leading the pursuit.

From the painting by Sell, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

repelled with loss, and the wood could not be captured by the Austrians until a part of the second corps turned against Fransecky. Hitherto eleven Prussian battalions had held their ground against fifty-nine Austrian battalions.

The battle, however, at noon was extremely favourable to the Austrians.

Anxious Moments in the Fight King William looked anxiously towards the north, where the Crown Prince had long been vainly expected. Benedek deliberated whether he ought not now to bring up his strong reserves and win a victory by a vigorous assault on the Prussian centre. But he felt crippled by the news, which reached him three hours earlier than King William and Moltke, that the Crown Prince was approaching. Benedek saw also, with uneasiness, how his right wing, intent upon the struggle in the Swiepwald, left great gaps towards the north.

It thus happened that the second army, when it came on the scene at noon, was able at the first onset to overlap the Austrian right wing. The Prussian Guards and the sixth corps were in the first line; the corps of Bonin and Steinmetz followed after. The Guards, after a short fight, captured the key of the Austrian position, the village of Chlum, and soon afterwards Lipa also. Startling as was this onslaught of the Prussians, and great as was its success, Benedek still thought it possible to retrieve the day. He brought up his reserves in order to retake Chlum. The Austrians, charging bravely, actually drove back the Guards by their superior force. They were on the point of entering Chlum when, rather late, the Prussian corps under Bonin appeared, repulsed the Austrians, and soon afterwards assured their defeat.

The army of Prince Frederic Charles, hitherto kept in check, now advanced, and the Prussian cavalry was called upon to complete the victory. Although the

The Victory with the Prussians Austrian cavalry stopped this pursuit in the battle of Streschevitz, the masses of infantry, abandoning all order, poured down on the Elbe, looking for the bridges over the river. It was fortunate for them that they were not pursued by the Prussian infantry. The Austrians, although terrible disorder prevailed in places among them while crossing the Elbe, were able to reach the left bank of the river in the night of July 4th. Their losses were terrible;

they amounted in all to more than 44,000 men, some half of whom, wounded or unwounded, were taken prisoners. The Prussians had 1,335 killed and 9,200 wounded. Most of the Austrians had fallen during their fruitless attacks in dense masses on the Prussian needle-guns. This crushing disaster was only slightly compensated by the victory which the Austrians won over the Italians at Custoza, ten days earlier.

Francis Joseph thought it necessary after the battle of Königgrätz to call in the mediation of France. The official Paris journal announced on July 5th, 1866, that Venetia had been ceded by Austria to the Emperor Napoleon.

Austria counted confidently that the French Emperor would urge Italy to neutrality, and would check the victorious career of Prussia by stationing an army on the Rhine. Advice to this effect was given to the emperor by his Minister of the Exterior, Drouyn de l'Huys. But France was not prepared for war; the emperor was at that time incapacitated by a torturing disease, and he therefore allowed himself

France Falls from Power to be persuaded by Prince Jerome, as well as by his Ministers, the Marquis de Lavalette and Eugène Rouher, to abandon the idea of hostilities against Prussia, in order to win territorial concessions from King William by negotiations. The Prussian ambassador, Count Goltz, adroitly represented to him how much more favourable an amicable arrangement with Prussia would be for him. From this moment France had played for the last time her rôle as leading power in Europe.

Prussia was energetic in reaping the fruits of her victory. Goltz kept Napoleon in suspense by courteous hints, without pledging the Prussian Government in any matter. When the French diplomatist, Benedetti, appeared at the Prussian headquarters in Moravia, with a commission from Napoleon, the circumstance aroused fear in Bismarck that Napoleon would now come forward with his claims; but it appeared that Benedetti had none but vague orders, and was only intended to hinder the entry of the Prussians into the Austrian capital. Meantime Benedek in his rapid retreat had reached Olmütz with his army. The second army was ordered to watch and follow him, while the first marched southward on Vienna. Since Austria thought its southern

frontier was secured by the cession of Venetia, the larger part of the field army stationed in Italy, 57,000 men, was ordered to the northern theatre of war. Archduke Albert assumed the supreme command. Benedek was instructed to withdraw from Olmütz to the Danube, in order that the newly collected army might be on the defensive behind the river. But the defeated general loitered so long in Olmütz that detachments of the army of the Crown Prince were able to get in front of his army. Benedek's marching columns were attacked on July 15th, near Tobitschau, south of Olmütz, and suffered a serious reverse; eighteen cannon fell into the hands of the Prussians. Benedek was thus forced to abandon his march southward, and withdrew towards Hungary, in order to reach the Danube by a détour along the Waag. In consequence of this, the Prussians were able to appear on the Danube earlier than he could.

Meantime the Prussians were fighting successfully against the minor states. The Bavarians were attacked and defeated by Goeben's division at Kissingen on July 10th, 1866. Although Moltke now ordered General Falckenstein to pursue at once the main body of the enemy, the Bavarians, and crush them, Falckenstein thought it better to capture Frankfort first. He defeated the Federal Corps in the engagements of Laufach and Aschaffenburg, and entered the Free City victoriously. But since by so doing he had disobeyed the orders from the king's headquarters, he was deprived of the supreme command, and on July 19th General Manteuffel took his place. Once more the Prussians were enabled to attack individually their disunited opponents, and to defeat, first the Federal Corps at Bischofsheim and Wertheim, and then the Bavarians at Neubrunn and Rosnbrunn.

Goltz, yielding to the pressure of Napoleon, had concluded with him, on July 14th, preliminary agreements as a basis for peace. The withdrawal of Austria from the German Confederation was fixed as the first condition; but the dominions of the Austrian monarchy were not to suffer any loss except that of Venetia. Prussia, in addition, stipulated for the right to form a North-German Confederation under her own military supremacy, and to annex Schleswig-Holstein. A South-German Confederation was to be organised, with an

independent position on every side. Napoleon intervened with these proposals between the two belligerent states. Bismarck would have been glad if he could have concluded peace with Austria without Napoleon, since there was always the fear that France would come forward during the negotiations with demands of territory

**Austria's
Serious
Mistake**

for herself. Bismarck explained this to the Vienna Cabinet, and added that Prussia in this case would renounce any claim for indemnification of the costs of the war. But Austria made the mistake of regarding France as a friend, and declined the offer. This was a serious error, since Napoleon was solely animated by the wish to win, through good offices to Prussia, the consent of the latter to his designs on Belgium and the Rhenish provinces.

Napoleon therefore, when King William declared that the terms agreed upon by his ambassador in Paris on July 14th were insufficient, and demanded the annexation of extensive districts of North Germany, lost no time in giving his assent to the demand; he would have sacrificed even Saxony on these grounds without compunction. Prussia had now secured the prize of victory, and concluded an armistice with Austria. Immediately before that, Moltke wished to make another successful coup. General Fransecky was ordered to occupy Pressburg, in order that on any outbreak of war the Prussian army might secure the passage of the Danube. An engagement was fought at Blumenau on July 22nd; but it was left undecided, since at noon both sides received the news that an armistice had been concluded.

The preliminary peace was signed in Nicholsburg. The parties were soon agreed, since Austria, after her severe defeat, was forced to consent that Prussia should have a free hand in Germany. King William would indeed gladly have acquired for Prussia some Austrian territory,

**Peace
after
the War**

especially Austrian Silesia and parts of Northern Bohemia. He only gave way at the representations of Bismarck that if he pressed his claims too much he would risk what he had already won. The last difficulty disappeared when Prussia consented to a condition laid down by Austria and recognised the inviolability of the kingdom of Saxony. The preliminary peace was concluded on this basis on July 26th. The Treaty of Prague followed on August 23rd.

The convention between Austria and Italy presented more difficulties. The Italian admiral, Persano, at the outset of the war received orders to secure a pledge for Italy by occupying the Dalmatian island of Lissa. During the bombardment of the capital of the island the Austrian admiral Tegetthoff appeared on the scene,

Bismarck's Superior Diplomacy attacked the Italian fleet on July 20th 1866, and the "Rè d'Italia" with his own flagship, and forced the Italian fleet to retire. Since Garibaldi also, on invading the Italian Tyrol, was defeated by the Austrian general Kuhn in several engagements, Italy was compelled to be satisfied with the treaty concluded on October 3rd, by which Venetia was ceded.

The superior diplomacy of Bismarck was now able, under the impression caused by the Prussian victories, to unite non-Austrian Germany, hitherto torn by factions, at any rate against the contingency of a war. Above all, he induced the king to terminate the conflict with the Prussian House of Representatives by offering the hand of friendship to it in his speech from the throne on August 5th, 1866. There were irreconcilable Conservatives who urged the king to use the foreign victory for the complete overthrow of the Liberal party; but the royal speech expressly recognised that the expenditure incurred for military purposes would have subsequently to be sanctioned by the Landtag, and therefore asked an indemnity for such expenses.

In this point the king followed, not without hesitation, the advice of Bismarck. In the conversation with the President of the House of Representatives he declared that in a similar case he would not be able to act otherwise than he had done before; but this statement, for which Bismarck declined responsibility, was, fortunately, not made public until later. Not less

Enlarging the Prussian Territory clever was his treatment of the conquered secondary states. Bismarck set up the principle that full incorporation or a complete amnesty to the individual states was the just course; the entry of those who were chosen members of the new federation ought not to be burdened with hard conditions. Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and Frankfurt-on-Main were fully incorporated, by which means the Prussian territory was enlarged by 27,638 square

miles. On the other hand, the demands for a war indemnity imposed by Prussia on the remaining states were moderate. The greatest triumph of his negotiations was that Würtemberg, Baden, and Bavaria concluded, between the 13th and 21st August, 1866, a defensive and offensive alliance, on the basis of which their military forces were, in case of war, to be under the command of Prussia. These provisions, which were kept secret for the moment, constitute the foundation of the union of Germany.

This favourable event had been chiefly effected by the action of Napoleon, who had unwisely let the right time slip past, and only now stretched out his hands to German territory. Bismarck, with the most subtle diplomatic skill, had fed the king with false hopes until the war was decided. The emperor now demanded the price of his neutrality. His ambassador, Benedetti, in an interview with Bismarck on August 5th, demanded the Rhenish Palatinate with Mainz, as well as the district on the Saar. Bismarck then haughtily opposed him.

France Approaching Disaster He threatened that, if France insisted upon these claims, he would at once, and at any cost, make peace with the South Germans and advance in alliance with them to conquer Alsace and Lorraine. Napoleon was alarmed, since his forces were no match for the gigantic war equipment of Germany. Prussia alone had 660,000 men with the colours.

But Bismarck took care that the demands of France were published in a Paris journal, so that the national feeling of the Germans was intensely aroused. On the strength of these impressions, the above-mentioned alliances with the South German states were brought about. Germany was thus put in a sufficiently strong position to defend every inch of national soil against East and West. Napoleon III. was diplomatically defeated before he was conquered on the field of battle. Drouyn de l'Huys, since the emperor would not listen to his proposals for forcing on a war, took farewell, and said: "I have seen three dynasties come and go. I know the signs of approaching disaster, and I withdraw."

HEINRICH FRIEDJUNG

THE
RE-MAKING
OF
EUROPE



THE
CONSOLIDA-
TION OF THE
POWERS VIII

THE PRUSSIAN ASCENDANCY AND THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE

ON October 3rd, 1866, King William formally took possession by letters-patent of Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and Frankfort-on-Main, which the Peace of Prague had assigned to him by the law of nations, and whose incorporation into Prussia had been sanctioned by the Landtag of the monarchy in September. The king declared in his speech to the Hanoverians on the same day that he honoured the grief which they experienced in tearing themselves from earlier and endeared connections, but that the interests of the nation dictated the firm and lasting union of Hanover with Prussia, and that Germany should be the gainer by the acquisitions of Prussia.

However correct these principles were, a large part of the Hanoverians were little inclined to recognise them and to submit to the inevitable. Devotion to the Guelfic house, above all to the king, George V.,

The Blind King George V. whose blindness made him an object of universal pity, and his spouse, the universally beloved Queen Mary; the consideration

that the gentry of the country would be ousted from the exclusive possession of the high offices of state; that the capital would be severely injured by the loss of the court; that antiquated but familiar methods of business would be broken down on all sides by the Prussian freedom of trade and freedom of movement; the traditional dislike of the Hanoverians for the Prussians, especially for the Berliners, who were decied as supercilious and empty-headed; in short, personal feeling and practical interests combined in producing the result that the Prussian rule was only endured by the nobility, the clergy, and a large part of the citizens and peasants, with a silent indignation.

The king, who had fled to the Castle of Hietzing, near Vienna, added fuel to the discontent by a manifesto to his people on October 5th, in which he declared, in opposition to the warrant of William I.,

that the incorporation of his land into Prussia was null and void, and expressed his confidence in the Almighty that He would restore Hanover to the Guelfic house "as He had done sixty years ago, when the same injustice from the same quarter was not allowed to continue."

Hanoverian Hatred of Prussia Societies were secretly formed throughout the country whose aim was this restoration, and it was proposed to hold a "Hanoverian Legion" in readiness, which, should a crisis arise, might be on the spot sword in hand. The hatred of the people towards Prussia was shown in the abuse showered on individuals, especially on Prussian soldiers.

It is interesting to hear that Bismarck entertained the idea, which had once been successfully realised by Cleisthenes at Athens, of breaking up the existing combinations, and creating out of the new forms of political life, which should facilitate the fusion of the old and new parts of the country. According to his speech in the House of Representatives on February 5th, 1867, he wished to re-divide all the country west of the Elbe into four large provinces, which should correspond to the mediæval tribes, and be called Old Franconia, Westphalia, Lower Saxony, and Thuringia. Old and New Prussia were to be merged in these provinces as a means of softening the contrast between them and the rest of the Prussian state. Bismarck did not succeed in carrying out this idea; the states, gradually created by political

Hanover Governed with a Firm Hand events, showed themselves stronger than the original tribes. No course was left but to govern the province of Hanover, which remained unaltered in itself, with a benevolent but firm hand, and to trust in the all-effacing power of time. Dictatorial powers in the new territorial divisions had been granted to the Government until September 30th, 1867, and the Prussian

constitution was to come into force in those parts on October 1st, 1867. Advantage was taken of this circumstance to send an order to the governor-general, Von Voigt-Rhetz, that all officials on whose implicit co-operation no reliance could be placed should without further delay be removed from their posts; a number of

**Punishment
of Guelf
Agitators**

Guelf agitators also were confined in the fortress of Minden. This measure was so far effective that outward tranquillity was restored; but there were indications that among the people loyalty to the Guelfs was by no means predominant.

On October 1st, thirty-nine representatives to the Second Chamber, and seventy delegates from the communes, declared that they accepted the annexation as an unalterable fact brought on by the obstinacy of the former Government itself; and when, on October 11th, a special Hanoverian corps, the tenth, was raised, 425 out of 660 Hanoverian officers—that is to say, almost two-thirds—at once went into the Prussian service, a circumstance which, it may be well understood, caused a bitter disappointment to the banished king.

Things went far more smoothly in Electoral Hesse and Nassau than in Hanover; in the former the despotic rule of Elector Frederic William I., and in the latter the inconsiderate exercise of forest rights and the refusal to grant the Liberal constitution of 1849, whose restoration the Landtag vainly demanded, had caused the subjects to dislike their sovereigns so that the end of the system of petty states was universally felt to be a release from unendurable conditions. The feeling in Frankfort was very bitter, since the town where the ancient emperors were elected, one of the most important commercial capitals of South Germany, was reduced from a Free City to a provincial Prussian town; even the enormous development of

**The Bitter
Feeling in
Frankfort**

the city, which, as soon as it was freed from its isolation, outstripped all the other South German towns except Munich, could not banish the mortification felt at the loss of independence.

Bismarck and the king were indefatigably busy in meeting, so far as was feasible, the wishes of the annexed districts in order to win them over to the new order of things. Electoral Hesse owed to the personal intervention of the monarch

the fact that half of its state treasure was left in 1867 as a provincial fund to provide for workhouses, the maintenance of the poor, and for the national library; and the province of Hanover received in February, 1868, the yearly grant of a sum of \$375,000 for purposes of local administration. Ample pecuniary compensation was also made to the deposed sovereigns. The Elector of Hesse received in September, 1867, the other moiety of the state treasure, which had accumulated from the subsidies paid by England in 1776 for the troops sent to America.

The Duke of Nassau was assigned, in September, 1867, some castles and 7,500,000 dollars, and King George received in the same month a capital sum of \$12,000,000, the income of which was to be paid him in half-yearly instalments, though the sum itself remained in the hands of trustees until an agreement had been made with his relations as to its administration.

It was naturally supposed, in view of these friendly concessions, which were only sanctioned by the Prussian Landtag after a hard contest, that the three princes would

**Bismarck
and the
"Reptiles"**

tacitly, if not expressly, waive all claims to their former territories. But since King George, in February, 1868, and Elector Frederic William, in September, 1868, publicly made violent attacks upon Prussia, the sums due to the two sovereigns in March and September, 1868, were sequestered. Since George brought his Guelf legion to 750 men, and kept them in France unarmed, as "fugitives," a law of spring, 1869, provided that the interest of the sequestered \$12,000,000 should be applied to warding off the schemes devised by the king and his emissaries to disturb the peace of Prussia. From Bismarck's saying: "We will pursue these obnoxious reptiles into their holes," the sum of money in question was soon universally called the Reptile fund; it was mostly employed on newspaper articles in support of the new order of things. It was not until 1892 that the sequestration was ended in favour of Duke Ernest Augustus of Cumberland, son of George V.

In Schleswig-Holstein the feeling in favour of Duke Frederic still continued; but the certainty that the Prussian eagle would once for all protect the duchies against the detested Danish yoke, and the propaganda of a Danish nationality, which was now awakening in the Danish border districts

of Schleswig, contributed slowly but surely to the end that the largely predominant German population learnt to adapt itself to the new conditions. The brave spirit of the duke, who saw his fondest hopes blighted, and scorned to foment a useless resistance to the detriment of the duchies, helped much to tranquillise men's minds and prepared them for the day when his daughter Augusta Victoria should wear the imperial Crown.

Prussia, at the moment when it withdrew from the German Confederation and began the war against Austria, had invited all the North German states to conclude a new league. In August, 1866, nineteen governments which had fought on Prussia's side in the war professed their readiness to take that step. Meiningen and the elder line of Reuss, which had stood on the side of Austria, did the same after some hesitation, and the old anti-Prussian Duke Bernhard of Meiningen abdicated in favour of his son George. Ministerial conferences were opened in Berlin on December 15th, under the presidency of Bismarck, to which representatives were sent by all the North German governments, and by Saxony and Hesse-Darmstadt for their territory right of the Main. The fundamental principles of the new federal constitution were settled in these conferences. According to it the presidency of the Confederation should belong to the King of Prussia in so far that he should represent the Confederation in foreign politics, declare peace and war in its name, superintend the execution of the Federal resolutions, nominate all officials of the Confederation, and command its army and fleet.

The Federal Council was to represent the governments, and in it, on the basis of the voting conditions in the former German Confederation, seventeen votes

should be given by Prussia, four by Saxony, two each by Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Brunswick, one by each of the remaining eighteen states, making forty-three votes in all. The Federal Council shared in the whole work of legislation, and represented the sovereigns of the Confederation.

The people were to share in the legislation by means of a Reichstag springing from the direct universal suffrage. This Reichstag possessed also initiative rights; it was not proposed to pay the deputies. The following were declared to be

Federal matters: The army and navy, in which connection the peace strength of the army was fixed at 1 per cent. of the population of 1867, and the right of increasing it every ten years was reserved; then foreign policy, posts and telegraphs, tolls and trade. The finances were to be based on the tolls, the compulsory taxes, and the profits of the posts and telegraphs. To supply any deficit in the revenue the individual states were pledged to "register contributions" in proportion to the numbers of their population. The Federal Budget was to be sanctioned for periods of three years; the expenses of the army were estimated at the rate of \$168 a head in perpetuity.

After different objections had been successfully raised against certain of these provisions, they were approved on February 2nd, 1867, and in that form submitted to the Constituent Reichstag elected on February 12th.

It was a matter of the greatest importance for the party conditions in this Reichstag that in the autumn of 1866, when an effort was being made to get rid of the Prussian dispute, two new parties appeared on the scene. The National Liberal party, which, breaking away from the Progressive party—now sinking more



GEORGE V. OF HANOVER

On the annexation of Hanover by Prussia in 1866, George V. fled to the Castle of Hietzing, near Vienna, and issued a manifesto to his people declaring the incorporation of his land into Prussia to be null and void. The king died at Paris in 1878.

From a photograph

and more into a policy of barren negations—aimed at a confidential and vigorous association with the great statesman who had shown by his actions that he was not the bigoted country squire—Junker—which, according to the outcry of the Progressives, he always had been and still was. Similarly the moderate Conservatives founded the **“German Empire Party”** since 1871 called also the **“German Empire party”**—which proposed to unite the observance of sound conservative principles, respect for authority, and support of the monarchy with wise progress and the maintenance of civil liberty.

In the Constituent Reichstag the Conservatives numbered 59 deputies; the Free Conservatives, 36; the Old Liberals, who stood near them, 27; the National Liberals, 79; Progressives, only 19. In addition there were 18 Particularists, 12 Poles, 2 Danes, 1 Social Democrat, Aug. Bebel, and a number of “wild” politicians. The decision lay with the two parties whose principles brought them into touch, and who, in the phrase of the day, were termed the Right and Left Centre, the Free Conservatives, and the National Liberals.

The Reichstag chose for president Eduard Simson, who had presided at the National Assembly in Frankfort, 1848–1849, and thus was outwardly connected with the traditions of the Hereditary Imperial party. The feeling prevailed in the debates that, whatever might be the private views of the representatives, it was impossible to disregard the wishes of the state governments, and that, under all the circumstances, something must be effected by mutual concessions.

Bismarck gave vigorous expression to his feeling in his speech of March 11th, 1867, one of the most powerful which he ever made, when he appealed to those who would not sanction any diminution of the Prussian Budget rights in the case of army estimates. “The mighty movements which last year induced the nations from the Belt to the Adriatic, from the Rhine to the Carpathians, to play that iron game of dice where royal and imperial crowns are the stake, the thousands and thousands of victims of the sword and of disease, who by their death sealed the national decision, cannot be reconciled with a resolution

ad acta. Gentlemen, if you believe that, you are not masters of the situation! . . . How would you answer a veteran of Königgrätz if he asked after the results of these mighty efforts? You would say to him, perhaps, ‘Yes, indeed, nothing has been done about German union; that will come in time. But we have saved the Budget right of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, the right of endangering every year the existence of the Prussian army; for this we have fought with the emperor under the walls of Pressburg. Console yourself with that, brave soldier, and let the widow, too, who has buried her husband, find consolation there.’ Gentlemen, this position is an impossibility! Let us work quickly, let us put Germany in the saddle, and she will soon learn to ride.”

In the course of the conferences some forty amendments to the Bill were discussed by the Reichstag. Thus the Confederation acquired the right of levying not only indirect but direct taxes; every alteration in the army and the fleet was made dependent on the express sanction of the president. Criminal jurisdiction,

The Functions of the Confederation legal procedure, and in private law contract rights at least, were transferred to the Confederation. The Federal Chancellor was to accept by his signature the moral, not legal, responsibility for the enactments of the President.

The voting for the Reichstag was to be secret; the eligibility of officials as candidates was to be recognised. Accurate reports of the public sittings of the Reichstag were to be secure against prosecution. The deputies were to be paid. The Federal Budget was to be passed for one year only, instead of three. In military matters the proviso that one-hundredth of the population of 1867 should serve with the colours in peace time, and that the rate should be \$168 per head was only to be in force until December 31st, 1871. The Confederation was given the right to raise loans in urgent cases; in the case of denial of justice in any state the Confederation was bound—if a remedy could not be obtained by legal methods—to interfere and afford lawful help. As regarded the entry of one or more of the South German states into the Confederation, it was settled that this should be effected on the motion of the President, by means of a legislative act. Finally, alterations of the constitution

**Bismarck's
Powerful
Appeal**

were treated in the same way, but a two-thirds majority in the Federal Council was requisite. The federal governments accepted nearly all of these resolutions; Bismarck, in their name, lodged protests against two of them in the Reichstag on April 15th. First, against the grant of daily pay to the representatives in the Reichstag. In the eyes of the governments, the limitation of eligibility imposed by the non-granting of allowances was an indispensable counterpoise to universal suffrage. The Reichstag accordingly abandoned the daily allowances. Secondly, the governments regarded it as thoroughly inadmissible that the existence of the army after December 31st, 1871, should be dependent on the annual votes of fluctuating majorities, while the expenditure on the civil administration was legally fixed. Rudolf Gneist, a deputy, called attention to the fact that the Lower House might well refuse the expenses of a professional army, such as existed in England, but that a national army, like the German, must be regarded as a permanent institution. The governments would have preferred that, according to the original scheme, the minimum

**Closing of
the Constituent
Reichstag**

strength of the army should have been settled once for all, and a permanent provision voted for maintaining it. They finally, on April 17th, declared their agreement to the proposal of the Free Conservatives and of the National Liberals, which provided that the present peace strength of the army, fixed until December 31st, 1871, at one-hundredth of the population, and the lump sum of \$168 per head of the army, should be kept in force beyond that date, but only so long as they should not be altered by federal laws; but the disbursement of sums for the entire national army was to be annually fixed by state law. On April 17th, 1867, the king closed the Constituent Reichstag with a speech from the throne which expressed his satisfaction that the federal power had obtained its necessary authority, and that the members of the Confederation had retained freedom of movement in every department where it might be advantageous for them.

After the Landtags of the individual states had declared their assent, the constitution became a reality on July 1st, 1867. Only about four-fifths of the German people were now united in the "North German Confederation"; but this union

was closer, and hence more powerful, than any previous one in Germany; and for the first time in their history the German people possessed the assured right of co-operating in the framing of their fortunes by the mouths of freely elected representatives. The South Germans, indeed, still held aloof; but the universal feeling was expressed by a Hanoverian: "The line of the Main is no longer a spectre, but only a halting-place for us, where we can take water and coal on board, and can recover our breath in order soon to proceed further on our route."

**The French
Emperor's
Compensations**

During the deliberations of the Reichstag a heavy storm-cloud had gathered, but had happily been dispersed. The French Emperor, Napoleon III., had attempted on August 5th, 1866, to obtain "compensations" for the aggrandisement of Prussia and the union of Northern Germany by demanding Rhenish Hesse with Mainz and the Bavarian Rhenish Palatinate. Having met with a flat refusal, he had claimed, as his reward for leaving Germany to Prussia, both Belgium and Luxemburg.

Bismarck prolonged the negotiations in this matter, since he did not wish to irritate France beyond endurance, and so drive her into the arms of the enemies of Prussia. He did not return any definite answer to the offer which he simultaneously received of an offensive and defensive alliance with the French Empire; but, so far as Luxemburg was concerned, left no doubt in the mind of Count Benedetti, the French ambassador, that King William would decline to give France any active assistance in acquiring it, and at most would passively tolerate the proceeding.

But to give timely intimation to friend and foe that war would find Germany united, Bismarck published on March 19th, 1867, the offensive and defensive alliances which Prussia had concluded in August, 1866, with Bavaria, Württemberg, and

**Germany
Ready for
Emergencies**

Baden, and which were joined also by Hesse-Darmstadt on April 11th, 1867. Three points were established by these treaties. (1) North and South Germany supported each other in case of war with their entire military force; (2) this force stood under the single and supreme command of the King of Prussia; (3) all the states guaranteed to each other the integrity of their respective territories.

Napoleon, indeed, persuaded King William III. of the Netherlands to conclude a treaty, in virtue of which the latter ceded to the emperor his right to Luxemburg, in return for a compensation of \$1,000,000; but the king, who very reluctantly surrendered Luxemburg, insisted on Prussia's formal assent to the treaty, and, as already

**Napoleon III.
Gives Way
to Germany**

mentioned, this assent was not forthcoming; the whole nation was unanimously resolved to prevent at all hazards the smallest encroachment on German territory, even on territory which was only connected with the body of the nation by the bond of the Zollverein, as had been the case with Luxemburg after the dissolution of the German Confederation.

Napoleon, whose military resources were not ready for a collision with Germany, finally recoiled before this determined opposition, and all the more so because Austria, where, since October 30th, 1866, the Saxon Baron von Beust presided at the Foreign Office, was not induced, even by the offer of Silesia, to form an armed alliance against Prussia. Austria had felt, too recently and too acutely, the military superiority of Prussia to venture on a new war, especially one against the entire German nation.

On the proposal of the Tsar Alexander II. a conference of all the Great Powers was summoned at London, and this decided that Luxemburg should be left to the house of Nassau-Orange, but be declared neutral. Prussia accordingly had to withdraw her garrison from the former federal fortress, Luxemburg, and to allow the destruction of its fortifications. But Luxemburg remained in the Zollverein as before. The inglorious termination of a matter far from glorious in itself was very detrimental to Napoleon's reputation; the victories of Prussia and the formation of the North German Confederation, just as the creation of the

**France's
Severe
Defeats**

Kingdom of Italy some few years before, were reckoned by all supporters of the doctrine of France's natural and "legitimate" hegemony in Europe as severe defeats to France. "Now," exclaimed Thiers, half in menace, half in warning, before the Chamber in March, 1867, "no further blunders may be committed." The emperor felt himself deeply injured that Prussia had refused the enlarge-

ment of France, which he so ardently desired. "Bismarck has attempted to deceive me," he afterwards said to Heinrich von Sybel, "but an emperor of France may not let himself be deceived." Even the Catholic party was indignant with him, because he had allowed the revolution a free hand and had left the Pope to be despoiled. The Republican opposition completely outdid itself in most venomous attacks on the emperor, of which Victor Hugo and A. Rogeard made themselves the mouthpieces.

And now, to crown all, there came the crash of the Mexican expedition. The emperor gave way before the threat of the United States that they would treat the continued presence of a French army on American soil as a *casus belli*. The desperate entreaties of the empress, Charlotte, who came to Europe in July, 1866, to plead her husband's cause, were useless; when she realised her position, her reason gave way. Between the end of January and the middle of March, 1867, the French troops withdrew from Mexico, and Maximilian, who was too proud to desert his followers in the hour of danger,

**The French
Withdraw
From Mexico**

and still hoped to strengthen the fading influence of his party by liberal concessions, was taken prisoner at Querétaro, together with Generals Miguel Miramon and Tomas Mejia, brought before a court-martial, and shot as a rebel, on June 19th, 1867.

In order to conciliate French public opinion, Napoleon determined upon liberal measures which ran counter to the despotic traditions of the Second Empire. He granted to the senate and the legislative body in January, 1867, the right to interpellate the Government, and gave permission that not merely the "Minister of State"—that is, the hitherto all powerful Premier—but every Minister might present the case for his policy before the Chamber, but only under "instructions from the emperor."

This concession was regarded, however, as a fundamentally important step, by which the emperor wished to introduce, in the place of his own exclusive irresponsibility, ministerial responsibility; that is to say, he wished to pass from a despotic to a constitutional, or even parliamentary, method of government. That was not, indeed, Napoleon's intention; but one step leads to another, and the emperor's failing health made it more and more incumbent on him to

relieve himself of the business of government. The politicians, who thought they must contest a change of system on political or personal grounds, now combined into a reactionary club under the name of the "Cercle de la rue de l'Arcade." The intellectual leader of these "Arcadians" was the "Vice-Emperor," the Minister of State, Rouher, while the liberalising party, le Tiers parti, which grew up in 1866 between the "Arcadians" and the Republicans, was led by the former Republican, but now "freethinking Imperialist," Emil Ollivier, a talented but ambitious and weak character.

The Paris International Exhibition of the summer of 1867 shed a transitory brilliance over France and the emperor; but the murderous attempt of a Pole, Anton Beresowski, on the life of the Tsar Alexander II. on June 6th, struck a discordant note in the midst of the festivities, and comments were made on the absence of the Emperor Francis Joseph, who was in mourning for his brother Maximilian, the victim of Napoleon's bad faith, and kept away from the French capital. Napoleon and his

Friendly Meeting of Emperors

consort therefore journeyed, in August, 1867, to Salzburg to express their sympathy to Francis Joseph; they stayed there from August 18th to the 23rd, and although Napoleon had only come accompanied by General Fleury, yet through him and Beust a better understanding was brought about between the two empires—a step which was universally regarded in Germany as aimed at Prussia. But although the two parties had merely agreed that Prussia should be prevented from crossing the Main, and Russia from crossing the Pruth, yet now two camps were formed in Europe: Prussia and Russia stood in the one, Austria and France in the other. Francis Joseph paid his return visit to Paris on October 23rd. On his way he had exchanged a "flying and formal" greeting with the King of Prussia, at the latter's wish, in Oos; but he said to General Ducrot in Strassburg: "I hope that we shall some day march side by side."

The Treaty of Prague, according to the French conception of it, implied that Prussia by its terms was restricted to North Germany, and might not venture to form any union with the South German states, unless the assent of every Power participating in the treaty was obtained.

France reckoned herself one of these Powers, because she had intervened in July, 1866; but she had not signed the treaty—indeed, she could not have been allowed to do so, since she had taken no share in the war—and therefore possessed properly no right to superintend the execution of the treaty. Bismarck adhered

The Abortive Southern Confederation

strictly to the principle that Austria alone was entitled to take any action in this matter, but that even Austria might not raise any objections if all the states of the South, combined into a union, wished to form a national bond with the North. The only doubtful point was whether any single state was competent to join the North German Confederation.

But it very soon became clear that the "Southern Confederation," planned at Prague in 1866, would not come to pass. Bavaria, as by far the largest state, would naturally have obtained the predominant position; but King Charles of Würtemberg was still less willing to acknowledge the superiority of King Ludwig II. than that of the King of Prussia. The Grand Duke Frederic of Baden, son-in-law of the King of Prussia, a liberal and patriotic prince, was resolved to enter the North German Confederation at the next opportunity, and his views were shared by the majority of his subjects. His Ministers, Karl Mathy and Rudolph von Freydorf, were staunch German patriots like himself. Mathy had written to Bismarck on November 18th, 1867, asking for Baden's entrance into the Federation, but was put off with hopes for the future, and died before attaining his object, on February 4th, 1868.

In spite of all democratic and ultramontane opposition, the South and North were drawing closer to each other. Agreeably to the spirit of the treaties, all the states south of the Main introduced in 1868 universal conscription and armed their

Conscription in the Southern States

infantry with the Prussian needle-gun; in consequence of this they obtained Prussian instructors for their troops, and Hesse-Darmstadt concluded, in April, 1867, a military treaty with Prussia, by the terms of which its troops were completely incorporated into the army of the North German Confederation. The royal Saxon army, however, by virtue of the convention of February 7th, 1867, constituted from July 1st onwards the

Twelfth North German Army Corps, under its own administration. In Würtemberg the new War Minister, Rudolf von Wagner, proceeded to reform the army on the Prussian model; and the example was followed in Bavaria, despite the particularism of that kingdom by the War Minister, Sigmund von Prankh. The

**Organising
a United
German Army**

preparation for a united German army proceeded without interruption. The treaty of federation with Prussia was accepted by the Chambers in the autumn of 1867, in Baden without any struggle, but in Würtemberg after violent parliamentary disputes, although the democratic party of Würtemberg foretold that the new policy of "militarism" would impose an intolerable burden on the people without securing them against France. The treaty, according to the Bavarian constitution, did not require the approval of the estates. Owing to this union of all German races in a common system of defence with such safeguards, the Zollverein, which had been renounced by Prussia, was once more established on a new basis. First of all, the so-called *liberum veto* of each particular state—the right to repudiate any resolution of the majority as not legally binding on the non-assenting state—was abolished; in its place was introduced the principle that resolutions passed by the majority were binding on the minority. The work of legislating for the Zollverein was to be carried out by the Federal Council and Reichstag according to this principle.

Besides matters connected with customs, the taxation of the salt obtained within the Zollverein, and of the tobacco produced or imported into the Zollverein, fell within the competence of the Reichstag, sitting as the Customs Parliament. The duration of the customs treaty was once more fixed for twelve years, with the proviso that, if notice was not given, it would continue as a matter of course for another twelve years.

These treaties also met with opposition in Würtemberg and Bavaria from the protectionists and the particularists, who not only feared heavy economic

loss from the free-trade principles prevailing in Prussia, but also disliked the customs union with the North as a preliminary step to political amalgamation. Yet the interests of trades and industries, which obviously could not exist without the Zollverein, were so important that in the Bavarian Representative Chamber, on October 22nd, 1867, 117 votes against 17, and on the 31st, in the Würtemberg Chamber, 73 against 16, were given for the customs union.

The First Chamber in Bavaria, that of the Imperial Councillors, made a futile attempt to preserve the Bavarian "*liberum veto*"; but as Bismarck declared that he would sooner renounce the customs treaty itself than allow this limitation on it, the Chamber gave way. Hungary, after the suppression of the Hungarian rebellion

of the year 1849, was deprived of independence, and was, as far as possible, reduced to the constitutional status of a crown demesne, which in the last resort was governed from Vienna. The proud Magyar people had not resigned itself in silence to this lot, but continuously demanded the restoration of its independence. It absolutely refused to send representatives to the Reichsrat in Vienna, the central Parliament of the monarchy created by the constitution of February 26th, 1861. The leader of the

Opposition was Francis Déak, 1803–1876, originally a lawyer and judicial assessor in his own county of Szala. He had been Minister of Justice in 1848, and became later a parliamentary politician by profession; he was a man of shrewdness, determination, and integrity, of temperate views, resolute in advocating the rights of his people and yet unwilling to interfere with the undoubted rights of the Crown. He was opposed to the feudal abuse of serf labour no less than to the communist views rife among the Hungarian peasantry, whose supporters would have most gladly divided the property of the nobles among themselves. Some reputation was also enjoyed by Count Julius Andrassy, whose inclinations led him into the region of foreign policy. The defeat of Austria in the year 1859



FRANCIS DEAK

A Hungarian politician prominent in his country's struggles for liberty, he led the movement against the sending of representatives to the Reichsrat in Vienna.

**Leaders
in Hungarian
Movements**

broke the ice both in the western and eastern half of the Empire. Schmerling, the creator of the February constitution, consented in April, 1861, to summon once more the Hungarian Landtag, which had been dissolved in 1849. But since Déak demanded a return to the state of things which had existed before 1848, no understanding was reached, and in the year 1866 General Klapka, with Bismarck's support, organised a "Hungarian legion" to fight on the side of Prussia against the House of Hapsburg-Lorraine. The defeat of 1866 convinced the Emperor Francis Joseph that a reconciliation with Hungary was absolutely essential if Austria was not to be completely crippled by internal feuds and prevented from maintaining its already tottering position as a Great Power. "In the East," said Andrassy, "no power is less important than Austria, and yet it ought, in the interests of civilisation, to have great influence there." The Germans in Austria came to the help of the Magyars when they declared at a meeting in Aussee on September 10th, 1866: "Dualism, but not Federalism! no joint monarchy, still less a mere Federation, but two halves of the empire, compact in themselves and closely united together against the outside world."

The new Foreign Minister, Friedrich Ferdinand, Baron Beust, 1809-1866, an excessively energetic statesman, whose pride did not blind him to the needs of the time, worked towards the same end. He wished to restore Austria to its old position by settling the dissensions and by modern legislation, and to leave its forces free for a strong foreign policy, which might limit the encroachments of Prussia and Russia. The circumstance that Beust was a foreigner and a Protestant enabled him to act with greater impartiality towards the affairs of Austria than a native statesman engaged in party struggles could usually manifest, but it roused much

prejudice and distrust against him. When he had already declared to the reassembled Hungarian Reichstag on November 19th, 1866, his willingness to conform with the wishes of the nation, having been nominated on February 7th, 1867, Prime Minister of Austria in place of Count



COUNT JULIUS ANDRÁSSY

For his share in the revolutionary movement of 1848 he was exiled from Hungary; returning to his own country in 1857, he became Prime Minister ten years later.

Belcredi, he succeeded in obtaining the imperial decrees of February, 1867. According to these, Hungary recovered its independence, receiving a responsible Ministry of its own under Andrassy. Croatia, the military frontier, and Transylvania were united with it; the "Court Chancery," which existed for Hungary and Transylvania in Vienna, as well as the office of Hungarian Viceroy, were abolished from the moment the new Ministry began its official activity. The western half of the empire, for which, unofficially, the name Cis-Leithania, or the country border-river Leitha, was soon adopted, naturally also received its special government.

It was proposed that foreign policy, the army—the German language to be used for words of command—the excise, and the national debt should be regarded as joint concerns of the "Austrian-Hungarian monarchy," as the official title ran. According to this agreement three imperial Ministers were created for foreign affairs, the army, and the finances. The imperial Minister for Foreign Affairs was to preside in the imperial Ministry and bear the title of Imperial Chancellor, this office being conferred on Baron Beust, as the promoter of the compromise with Hungary. The imperial Ministers were responsible to the so-called Delega-



BARON BEUST

To this Austrian statesman belongs the credit of reconciling Hungary to Austria. Born at Dresden in 1809, he died in 1886.

tions for their measures; these Delegations were bodies of thirty-six deputies each, which were elected by the Parliaments of the two halves of the kingdom, on a fixed proportion to the First and Second Chambers, and met alternately at Vienna and Pesth. They discussed the

governmental proposals separately and independently; valid resolutions could therefore only come into force by the agreement of the Delegations. The share of Hungary in the joint expenditure was fixed in 1867 at thirty per cent., that of Austria at seventy per cent. The Compromise, and

Coronation of Francis Joseph

also the Customs and Commerce Treaty of the two halves of the empire were to be valid for ten years. On June 8th, 1867, the solemn coronation of Francis Joseph and his consort Elizabeth took place. The Magyars felt themselves victors and masters in their own country. The Roumanians and the Saxons in Transylvania were destined soon to feel the heavy

hand of the ruling people, which wished by conciliation or by force to make Magyars of the whole population of Hungary. The Croats, on the other hand, who formed a compact nation of two millions, and were inveterate enemies of the Hungarians, received from the Hungarians on June 21st, 1868, the concession that a special Croat Minister should sit in the Ministry at Pesth, and that forty-five per cent. of the revenues of the country should remain reserved for the country itself. Accordingly, on December 29th, 1868, the twenty-nine Croat deputies appeared in the Hungarian Reichstag, from which they had been absent for fully twenty years.

The disputes between parties and nationalities in Austria were strained to the utmost. The Germans defended the centralised constitution of February 25th, 1861, and with it the predominance of their race, for which they claimed superiority to other nationalities in intellectual gifts and achievements; politically, the majority of them were Liberals. The Slavs, on the other hand, but, above all, the Czechs, were for a form of Federalism, which would guarantee more liberty of action to the several crown lands; and the Feudals and Clericals supported the same view. But Beust induced the Poles

by concessions at the cost of the Galician Ruthenians, who compose 43 per cent. of the 7,000,000 of Galician population, and of the other crown lands, to take their seats in the Reichsrat; and he also succeeded in procuring a German majority in the Landtags of Bohemia and Moravia. Thus, on May 22nd, 1867, the regular "inner" Reichsrat, composed of deputies of the several Landtags, could be opened; but the Czechs refused to sit in it.

The Ministry of Beust, in conformity with the universal change in opinion, piloted through the two Houses of the Reichsrat a series of laws during the course of the year 1867 which received the force of statutes by the imperial sanction given on

December 21st, 1867. By this means, Austria, once the promised land of despotism, was changed into a modern constitutional state. Thus ministerial responsibility was introduced, and a state court of twenty-five members was created for the trial of impeached Ministers; equality of all citizens in the eyes of the law, equal eligibility to all offices, freedom of migration, liberty of the Press and of association, liberty of conscience and religion, the inviolability of private houses, and the secrecy of letters, freedom of religion, freedom of education, the separation of the administration of justice from the government, in short, all the blessings of a

modern state, were bestowed at one blow on a people which a few months before had been governed like a herd of cattle. The House of Representatives received the right of electing a president, the right of voting taxes and recruits, the right of legislation in all important matters; it was to be summoned annually, and its debates were to be public. The powers of the Landtags were proportionately limited.

These achievements were accompanied by a law, based on the eleventh article of the law as to the representation of the empire, dealing with the supervision of the primary schools, Volksschule, by



FRANCIS JOSEPH OF AUSTRIA

Born in 1830, he became Emperor of Austria in 1848, on the death of his uncle, Ferdinand I., and on June 8th, 1867, on the formation of an Austro-Hungarian State, he was crowned at Pest with the crown of St. Stephen.

Changes in the Government of Austria

which local, district, and national school-boards were constituted, and to all three of them not merely representatives of the Church, but also of the state and of education, were nominated. The Concordat of the year 1855 had dealt with education and given the Church full power over the schools, but, by one of the few invariable laws of history, the reaction was only the more violent.

The emperor, in a letter to the Archbishop of Vienna, blamed the bishops because, instead of being conciliatory, they had roused intense animosity, and thus rendered the task of the Government more arduous. A new Ministry, with the especial support of Beust, who in this connection assured the papal nuncio that according to his conviction the Austrian monarchy and the Catholic Church were sisters, carried in the Upper House in March, 1868, the laws which had been determined upon by the Lower House in 1867. By these laws (1) civil marriage was granted in the case where a priest, for reasons not recognised by the state, refused to put up the banns of an engaged couple; (2) the supreme management of a school, with exception of the religious instruction, was reserved to the state, and the post of teacher was open to every citizen of the state without distinction of denomination; (3) in mixed marriages the sons were to accept the religion of the father, the daughters that of the mother, and every citizen should have the right to change his religion on completing his fourteenth year. The emperor signed the

laws on May 25th, 1868. But when Pius IX., on June 22nd, denounced them in the most bitter terms as abominable, absolutely null, and once for all invalid, the feud between Church and State became most acute. The Pope, in view of the legislation directed against the omnipotence of the Church, felt himself only strengthened in his long-cherished intention of claiming doctrinal infallibility for the papal chair. When, however, on July 18th, 1870, this attribute was awarded him by the Vatican Council, Austria replied by a revocation of the Concordat on July 30th, and the restoration of the "placitum regium"—royal consent—as an essential condition for the validity of any papal enactment in Austria.

During these struggles the finances of Austria were reorganised by a somewhat violent measure. The proposal of Ignaz Edlen von Plener, Minister of Commerce, was accepted by a large majority in the Lower House in June, 1868; by this the entire public debt was to be transformed into one unified 5 per cent. stock, but as the interest was to pay a tax of 20 per cent., the rate of interest payable by the state was in fact reduced to 4 per cent. The army was reorganised in December, 1868, on the basis of universal conscription, and the war strength fixed for ten years at 800,000 men. The Landwehr was to comprise not merely the older members of the line troops, but also those persons who, though available, had been rejected as superfluous, and had thus not enjoyed any thorough training in the ranks.



"GERMANIA": THE NATIONAL MONUMENT OF THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR



THE COMPLETION OF ITALIAN UNITY: THE ITALIAN TROOPS TAKING POSSESSION OF ROME

September 20th, 1870, stands out prominently in modern European history, marking as it does the completion of Italian unity, the troops, as shown in the above picture, taking possession of Rome in the name of the Italian nation. The defence by the Papal troops being merely the Pope's protest against violence the white flag was soon hoisted.



THE DECLINE OF NAPOLEON III. APPROACH OF THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR

THE Roman question was one of the most difficult with which Napoleon III. had to deal. The emperor had withdrawn his troops from Rome in September, 1864, after the Italian Government had pledged itself to remove the seat of the monarchy from Turin to Florence, which promise implied a certain abandonment of claim to the capital, Rome, and neither to attack Rome itself nor to allow it to be attacked by any other Power. The Ultramontanes in France were beside themselves at this agreement; they saw in it the withdrawal of French protection from the still existing fragment of the temporal power of the Pope, the beginning, therefore, of its end; and if they regarded this end as a heavy blow to the Church, the Chauvinist party, headed by Adolphe Thiers, which held the French leadership in Europe to be part of the order of the universe, regarded a complete victory of

The French Chamber and the Pope

the Italian national state as an irrevocable hindrance to that leadership on the south side of the Alps, just as the establishment of the German national state seemed to be the end of that predominance on the east bank of the Rhine.

In February, 1866, the French Chamber under these two influences adopted the resolution that the secular sovereignty of the Pope was essential for his spiritual reputation; and after the reversion of Venice to Italy Ultramontane attacks were showered upon Liberal conceptions in general and Italy in particular. The Radical Minister of Public Instruction, Victor Duruy, who brought the Orders which concerned themselves with education under the common law, claimed for the state the education of girls, and founded national libraries of a Liberal character; but he had to guard against the pronounced hostility of the Clericals, and could not prevent, in July, 1867, the temporary closure of the "École Normale," the teachers' training institution, in which Liberal views were active.

The effect of these occurrences was, on the Italian side, that the democratic Minister Rattazzi, a friend to the French, hoped for a revolution in Rome itself, in the course of which Victor Emmanuel might come forward, as in 1859, to restore order. If his troops occupied Rome in this way, the Roman question might be solved very simply, without direct violation of the September Treaty. But Garibaldi, overflowing with fiery zeal, tore in pieces this delicate web of statecraft by entering the states of the Church in September, 1867, at the head of a band of volunteers, in order to overthrow the Pope. When Rattazzi, on being required by Napoleon III. to take counter measures in virtue of the treaty, preferred to tender his resignation, the emperor sent an army from Toulon to Rome under Faily.

This, together with the papal soldiers under General Hermann Kanzler, overtook the Garibaldians, who had immediately begun to retreat on Monte Rotondo, near Mentana, north-east of Rome, and dealt them a crushing blow, November 3rd. "The chassepots have done wonders," Faily wrote to the king. The French army was now compelled to remain in Rome, since otherwise the rule of the Pope would have immediately collapsed. A part of Napoleon's power was again firmly planted in Italy, the indignation of all opponents of the papacy against the guardian of the Pope was once again unloosed, and the

Napoleon III. the Guardian of the Pope

dislike of the Italians for the man who prevented the completion of their unity was accentuated. The emperor vainly tried to submit the Roman question to the decision of a European congress, which he proposed to call for this purpose. No other Great Power wished to burn its fingers in this difficult affair.

Napoleon, meantime, conscious that France, from the military point of view, was far behind Prussia, had devised all

sorts of plans to equalise this disproportion. The first scheme, which really effected some result and went to the root of the evil, simply aimed at the introduction of a universal conscription after the Prussian model; but the emperor encountered in this the opposition, both of his generals—who for the most part were

The Radicals in Fear of Militarism

sufficiently prejudiced to consider a professional army as more efficient than a national army—and of the politicians, who, partly out of regard for the popular dislike of universal military service, partly on political grounds, would hear nothing of such a measure. All Radicals shrank from “militarism” and every measure which might strengthen the monarchy.

Thus the keen-sighted and energetic War Minister, Marshal Niel, was forced in the end, against his better judgment, to be content with a law which proclaimed, in principle, universal military service, and fixed its duration at nine years, but, as a matter of fact, at once neutralised this reform, since each individual had the admitted right to buy himself off from service in the line. Only the duty of forming part of the militia, or “garde mobile,” was incumbent on everyone. But, from considerations of economy, this “garde mobile” was allowed to exist on paper only, without any attempt to call it into existence beyond the form of nominating the officers; the men were not organised or even called out for training. It thus happened that the North German Confederation, with 30,000,000 souls and an annual levy of 90,000, could put an army of 540,000 into the field, but France, with 36,000,000 inhabitants, raised only 330,000 men.

In armament, however, the French infantry enjoyed a considerable advantage, since it was equipped with the Chassepot rifle, which had a range of 1,200 paces, compared with which the needle-gun, with a range of

Deadly Missiles of Warfare

400 paces only, became at long distances as useless as a stick; in addition to this, the French weapon was superior to the German by reason of a smaller bore, a better breech, and its handiness. On the other hand, the North German artillery, whose shells only burst on striking, was superior to the French, whose missiles burst after a certain time, often difficult to calculate exactly, and sometimes exploded in the air before reaching their

mark. The mitrailleuse, on which the French founded great hopes, proved itself in 1870 to be by no means a serviceable weapon, and it was not considered necessary on the German side to adopt it.

The necessity of again finding stronger support in the nation suggested to the emperor in January, 1869, the plan of securing the purchase and management by the French Eastern Railway of the Belgian private railways to Brussels and Rotterdam. In this way Belgium would become, first economically, and subsequently politically, dependent on France. But the Belgian Liberal government of Frère-Orban refused assent to the treaty for sale; and since in this question they were backed by their otherwise deadly enemies, the Ultramontane party, this attempt also of the emperor to restore his prestige proved a failure.

Although Prussia had entirely kept away from any share in the whole matter, she was accused by several French papers of having instigated the Belgian Government to opposition. Even the treaty with Baden, by which Badenese were allowed to pass their terms of military service in Prussia, and Prussians in Baden, could not successfully be represented as an infringement of the Treaty of Prague. Nevertheless, France, Austria, and Italy, since the summer of 1868, had vigorously prosecuted the negotiations for a triple alliance directed against Prussia. But Beust was restrained by several considerations—the embarrassed condition of Austrian finances, the incompleteness of the army reform, the many difficulties of the domestic situation, the reluctance of 10,000,000 Germans in Austria to make war on their compatriots, the aversion of Hungary to every project for restoring the Austrian predominance in Germany.

He saw himself quite unable to undertake a war immediately, however much a war might have suited his inveterate hatred of Prussia. Such a war, according to his view, ought to arise from a non-German cause, some collision of Austria and Russia in the East, when Prussia would go over to the Russian side, and thus any appearance of the war being waged against German union would be avoided; otherwise, war was the best method of effecting an immediate reconciliation between North and South. A war against German unity was unacceptable to the

Italians also, since in all probability it would have been followed by a war against their own unity, and this they did not wish to see destroyed, but completed; and probably a portion of the Conservative party would only have been induced to fight against Prussia by the surrender of Rome. But the emperor, who did not venture to inflict a further wound upon the susceptibilities of his Catholic subjects, could not in any case fulfil this condition; and the majority of the Italians stood on the side of the Ministers, who declared to King Victor Emmanuel in July, 1869, that they could not be parties to obliterating the events of the year 1866.

Light is thrown on the situation by the anxiety of Beust lest Napoleon should not be playing an honourable game, but in the last instance, if Prussia, intimidated by the Triple Alliance, was inclined to concessions, should make an agreement with Prussia at the cost of Austria. Since the negotiations thus met insuperable difficulties everywhere, their continuance was, in September, 1869, indefinitely postponed, to use Napoleon's words to Francis Joseph. No terms, according to Beust's statements, had yet been signed, but a verbal agreement had been made on three points: (1) That the aim of the alliance, if ever it was concluded, should be protection and peace; (2) that the parties should support each other in all negotiations between the Great Powers; and (3) that Austria, in a war between France and Prussia should remain at least neutral.

At the moment when these negotiations had come to a standstill a great change had taken place in the internal affairs of France. At the new elections to the legislative body on May 23rd, 1869, a great shrinkage of the Royalist votes was apparent; while the opposition in 1857 had received only 810,000, and in 1863 had reached 1,800,000, it now swelled to 3,300,000, and the figures of the Government party receded from 5,300,000 in the year 1863 to 4,600,000. Ollivier's "Third Party" obtained 130 seats in the Chamber of Deputies, and, combined with the forty votes of the Republican Left, formed a

majority against the followers of Rouher. Napoleon III. need not have regarded the result of the elections as a sign of popular hostility to himself; even the Third party was imperialist. But the result was bound to endanger his position if he declared his agreement with Rouher and the "Arcadians." He therefore veered

round, dissolved the "National Ministry" on July 17th—**Dissolved** Rouher was compensated by the presidency in the Senate, which, on August 2nd, in a solemn session, accepted the scheme of reform settled by the Cabinet—and submitted on September 6th, 1869, comprehensive constitutional reforms to the approval of the Senate. By these, the legislative body acquired the rights of electing all its officials, of initiating legislation, of demanding in quires, and of appropriating the supplies

which it voted to specific branches of the public service. Although the constitutional responsibility of the emperor himself was not given up, yet the principle of ministerial responsibility was introduced, and provision made for the impeachment of Ministers before the Senate. The emperor himself, when speaking to the Italian ambassador, Constantin Nigra, characterised the scope of these reforms as follows: "I had the choice between war and personal rule on one side, and peace with liberal reforms on

the other side. I decided for the latter." The circumstance that his experienced War Minister, Niel, died on August 14th, 1869, had at first the effect of making every warlike expedition seem doubly hazardous; it was destined to be seen that his successor, Marshal Leboeuf, possessed neither the experience nor the foresight of Niel.

The emperor summoned on January 2nd, 1870, the Ministry, which, in virtue of the decree of the Senate, was to undertake the responsible conduct of business. Its head was Emile Ollivier, who became Minister of Justice and Public Worship; Count Daru, a clever and cautious man of marked personality, received the Foreign Office; the Home Office went to Chevandier de Valdrôme, the Finances to Buffet. But since the Left demanded that the



VICTOR DURUY
Historian and educationist, he became Minister of Public Instruction in France, and did much for the advancement of education by the founding of national libraries.
From a photograph

**Election
Changes
in France**



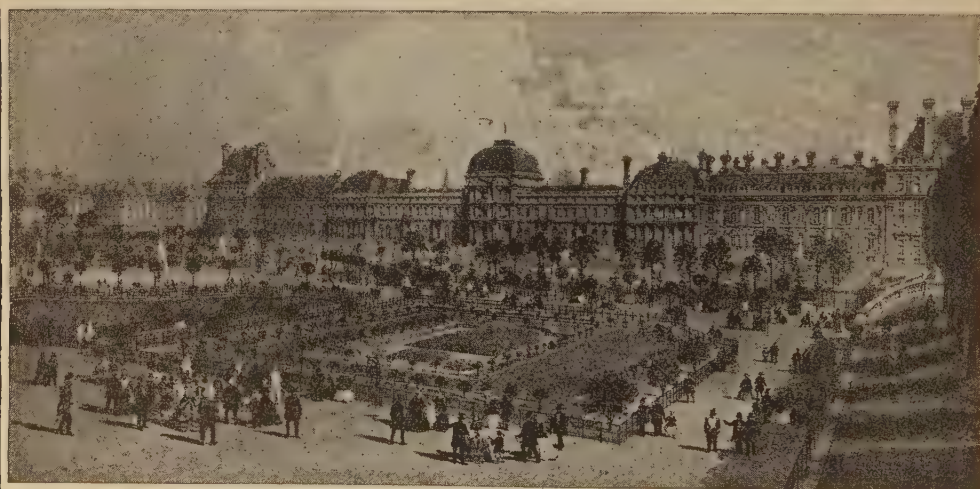
General view of the buildings of the Louvre as seen from the Tuileries Palace.



Outside the Church of the Madeleine.



Facade of the Arc de Triomphe towards the city.



General view of the Tuileries Palace as seen from the Gardens.

PARIS IN HER SPLENDOUR: IN THE DAYS OF THE SECOND EMPIRE



General view of the Place de la Concorde, showing the Rue Royale and the Madeleine in the distance.



Scene around the Gate and Boulevard of St. Denis.



Column of the Grande Armée in the Place Vendôme



In the heart of the business quarter: The Bourse and the Place de la Bourse.

SCENES IN THE CAPITAL CITY DURING THE REIGN OF NAPOLEON III.

Chamber should receive the right of co-operating in any future alteration of the constitution, as otherwise a resolution of the Senate might recall one day what it had granted the previous day, the emperor without demur submitted the constitutional changes to a plebiscite on the ground that the nation had in his time, in 1852, approved the constitution of the empire, and had therefore a claim to say if this constitution was to be altered. The question put to the people was whether it approved of the decree of the Senate on September 6th, 1869, and whether it wished by this means to facilitate the future transmission of the crown from the emperor to his son. The answer of 7,350,142 electors was in the affirmative, that of 7,538,825 in the negative; in the army, which was also allowed to vote, 285,000 answered "Yes," 48,000 "No." Although opposition was considerable, yet it was split up into an Absolutist part, for which the decree of the Senate went much too far, and a Republican, for which the decree did not go far enough, since it not only allowed the Empire to stand, but even assisted Napoleon to consolidate his power. Against this divided opposition the majority, which in any case was five times as large, showed to prodigious advantage, and the emperor was justified in seeing in the plebiscite of May 8th, 1870, a strong proof of the confidence of quite five-sixths of the French in his person, in his dynasty and his rule. Soon afterwards the Ministry underwent

an important change by the substitution of the Duc de Gramont for Daru. The latter had two motives for resignation. In the first place he had not been able to carry his point that the emperor alone was not entitled to order any future plebiscites, but that the legislative body must also be first heard in the matter. Secondly, Daru was much concerned about the Vatican Council, which Pius IX. had opened in Rome on December 8th, 1869, in order that, at the very moment when the temporal power of the papacy was diminished and even threatened with complete destruction, the spiritual power might be made unlimited through the proclamation of the Pope's infallibility in matters of faith and morals. The Bavarian Prime Minister faced, as far back as April 9th, 1869, the serious danger which threatened the independence of states if this doctrine of the papal infallibility were received, and called upon all states which had Catholic subjects to adopt a common policy towards the papal claim; but for various reasons he only found support in Russia, which forbade its Catholic bishops to attend the Council, and he was defeated by the ultramontane and particularist majority of the Bavarian Landtag on February 15th, 1870. Daru fared no better with his warnings; his own colleague, Ollivier, declared that the infallibility affected only the internal administration of the Church and did not concern the State—as if the Church on her side



EMILE OLLIVIER

At the head of the Ministry summoned by Napoleon III. at the beginning of 1870 was Emile Ollivier, against whom the accusation has been made that "with a light heart" he "rushed his country into war with Germany." From a photograph



THE DUC DE GRAMONT

Soon after the formation of the Ministry in 1870, Count Daru resigned his seat at the Foreign Office, and was succeeded by the Duc de Gramont, whose policy as Foreign Minister precipitated the war with Germany. From a photograph

would recognise any sphere of human action as entirely belonging to the State!—and put him off with the dubious assurances of the papal Secretary of State, Count Giacomo Antonelli: "In theory we soar as high as Gregory VII., and Innocent III.; in practice we are yielding and patient." No effect was produced by the warnings of the noble Montalembert, once so extolled by the Ultramontanes. He blamed the oppression of the State by the Church no less than that of the Church by the State. "We ought," he said, "to stem in time the stream of flattery, deceit, and servility which threatens to flood the Church." He died before his warning cry was justified by events, and Daru's successor, Gramont, was a thorough-going Ultramontane who, as such, hated heretical Prussia. The peace of Europe seemed, on June 30th, 1870, to be absolutely assured; Ollivier could declare in the Chamber that no disturbance threatened it from any quarter, and Lebœuf, the War Minister, proposed to enlist in the army for 1871 only 90,000 instead of 100,000 recruits. The deputies of the Left committed themselves to the statement that the 40,000,000 Germans who had united under the leadership of Prussia were no menace to France, and Ollivier himself can almost be described as a friend of German unity. Archduke Albert of Austria, however, had visited Paris in April, 1870, on the pretext of an educational journey to the south of France, and, in view of the possible admission of Baden to the North German Confederation, had spoken of the necessity of common measures for the observance of the Treaty of Prague. He unfolded, in this connection, the plan that if war became necessary, a French army should push on past Stuttgart to Nüremberg, in order to unite there with the Italians, who would advance by way of Munich, and with the Austrians, who would come from Bohemia; they would then fight the Prussians in the region of Leipzig. The archduke was therefore playing with fire; but he declared that the transformation of the Austrian army would not be

completed for one or two years, and emphasised the necessity that, since Austria required six weeks to mobilise, France should strike the first blow alone, at any rate in the spring, in order that the Prussians might be settled with before autumn came with cold, long nights and before Russia could interfere. A council

**The French
Emperor's
War Council**

of war which Napoleon held on May 17th declared that the demand that France should first make the effort single-handed could not be entertained. General Lebrun, who was then sent to Vienna, did not find Francis Joseph inclined to waive the demand which Prince Albert had made. The Austrian emperor held it to be essential, not merely from the military but also from the political standpoint, since if he declared war simultaneously with France, the Prussians would make full use of the "new German idea" and sweep the South with it. He would have to wait for the course of the war, and then, when the French had advanced into South Germany and were welcomed as liberators from the Prussian yoke, he would take the opportunity and join in the war. The course of events in South Germany gave France room to hope for a change in popular opinion. In Bavaria, Hohenlohe had been turned out in February, and had been replaced by Count Otto Bray-Steinburg, a staunch Particularist. In Würtemberg the most inveterate Democrats gave out the watchword: "French rather than Prussian," and a mass petition, which received 150,000 signatures, demanded the introduction of a militia army on the Swiss model.

King Charles replied in March, 1870, by the dismissal of Gessler, Minister of the Interior, who was accused of weakness, and by summoning Suckow to the War Ministry. The latter declared his readiness to make a reduction in the war Budget—a step to which his predecessor, Wagner, had not consented—but in other respects to maintain the army organisation on the Prussian system, which had only been introduced in 1868. A keen-sighted French observer, the military plenipotentiary, Colonel Stoffel,



ARCHDUKE ALBERT

As field-marshal he commanded in Italy, and afterwards reorganised the Austrian army. Foreseeing the Franco-German war, he advised France to strike the first blow.

**War Plans
of Archduke
Albert**

order to unite there with the Italians, who would advance by way of Munich, and with the Austrians, who would come from Bohemia; they would then fight the Prussians in the region of Leipzig. The archduke was therefore playing with fire; but he declared that the transformation of the Austrian army would not be

himself warned the Emperor Napoleon against overestimating the Particularist forces. In any case, it was very dubious whether the French could and would fulfil the conditions on which Austria made its co-operation depend—in the event, that is, of its being forced into war by the breach of the Treaty of Prague, which it postulated as the preliminary condition for any military action. The impression thus won ground even there, that, in spite of the tension in the European situation, in spite of the passions and personal influences which were making towards a war, the maintenance of peace, for the year 1870 at least, still seemed probable at the beginning of July.

The government of Queen Isabella II. of Spain had long fallen into complete disrepute owing to the unworthy character of the queen, who had openly broken her marriage vows. Since Isabella abandoned herself entirely to the reactionary party, the Liberals rose, under the leadership of Francisco Serrano and Juan Prim, on September 20th, 1868. After the defeat of the royal army at the bridge of Alcolea on the Guadalquivir, in which the commander-in-chief, General Pavia, was severely wounded on September 28th, the queen, who was just then staying at the seaside watering-place, San Sebastian, was obliged to fly, with her family and her "intendant," Carlos Marfori, to France.

The idea which the bigoted queen had still been entertaining of sending Spanish troops to Rome in place of the French was thus destroyed. The victorious Liberals did not contemplate relieving the Emperor of France from the burden of protecting the Pope. They held fast to the monarchy, nevertheless; and as all attempts to obtain as king

either Duke Thomas of Genoa, the nephew of the King of Italy, who was still a minor, or the clever Ferdinand of Coburg-Gotha, the titular King of Portugal, a widower since 1853, were abortive, they offered the throne to the latter's son-in-law, the hereditary Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, born in 1835,

who was a Catholic, happily married, the father of sons, an upright and energetic man in the prime of life. During 1869, the proposal was laid privately before the hereditary prince himself and his father, the reigning prince, Charles Anthony; but it received a refusal, since the undertaking appeared far too rash. The state of affairs was not altered until a new attempt was made, in February, 1870. Salazar, the previous emissary, was now sent with letters of Prim's to the prince, the hereditary prince, King William, and Bismarck. He went first to Berlin. King William thought the offer should not be accepted; but he

recognised that, according to the family laws applying to the whole House of Hohenzollern, he had, as head of the house, no right of prohibition in this case. Bismarck behaved differently. He did not, indeed, promise himself any direct military assistance from Spain if a Hohenzollern wore the Spanish Crown, but closer friendly relations between the two countries, and, as a result, a strengthening of the position of Germany by "one if not two army corps," and more especially by improved commercial intercourse. He therefore advised the hereditary prince "to abandon all scruples and to accept the candidature in the interest of Germany."

But the prince could not even yet make up his mind. It was only natural to consider the effect of such a



ISABELLA II., QUEEN OF SPAIN

Under the rule of this queen the government of Spain fell into disrepute owing to her unworthy character, and at last, in 1868, she was expelled to France, abdicating in favour of her son, Alfonso XII. She died in 1904.

From a photograph

**Vacant
Throne
of Spain**

THE DECLINE OF NAPOLEON III.

candidature on France. Robert von Keudell, one of Bismarck's trusted followers, expressly states that Bismarck did not foresee any danger of an outbreak of war on this ground, since Napoleon would sooner see the Hohenzollern in Madrid than either Isabella's brother-in-law, the Duke of Montpensier of the House of Orleans, or a republic.

Bismarck's Agents in Spain Napoleon also, who had been informed of the matter by Charles Anthony in the autumn of 1869, had said neither "yes" nor "no," and therefore seemed to raise no objection.

A renewed inquiry in Paris itself was impossible, since Prim had urgently begged for secrecy in the matter, in order that it might not be at once frustrated by the efforts of the Opposition. And, again, the House of Sigmaringen was so closely connected with the Bonapartes by Charles Anthony's mother, a Murat, and his wife, a Beauharnais, that the possibility was not excluded that Napoleon III. would actually consent. Bismarck now secretly sent to Spain two trusty agents, Bucher and Versen, who brought back satisfactory news; but all this was done in a personal and private way, and the Prussian Government was not implicated. Finally, in order to escape from the candidature of the Duke of Montpensier, which was naturally unpalatable to the Spanish authorities, Salazar was once more sent to Sigmaringen at the beginning of June, 1870, and this time received the consent of Charles Anthony and of Leopold. A great moment seemed to have arrived for the House of Hohen-

zollern-Sigmaringen, and Leopold felt it a heavy responsibility to withdraw from a people "which, after a long period of weakness, was making manly efforts to raise its national civilisation to a higher plane"; that is to say, to free itself from the dominion of the Ultramontanes. The candidature of Leopold was thereupon

officially proclaimed in Madrid on July 4th, and the Cortes was summoned for July 20th to elect a king.

Throughout the whole affair the point at issue was a matter which in the first instance was a completely private concern of the Spanish nation. The Spaniards could clearly elect any person they wished to be king, and if they looked for such a person among the scions of sovereign or formerly sovereign houses, all that could be demanded was that the elected king should renounce all hereditary right to another throne, in order that a union of the Spanish with another monarchy, and the consequent danger to the balance of power in Europe, might be avoided for all time to come. In the case in point no such renunciation was necessary, since the Swabian line of the Hohenzollerns possessed no hereditary rights, and the hereditary prince, Leopold, accordingly could not be called a Prussian prince.

The Prussian Government, therefore, as such took absolutely no share in the question since it could claim no right to influence the decision; the king, the crown prince; and Bismarck had given their opinion merely as private individuals. Nevertheless the official news of the proposed candidature of Leopold fell like a thunderbolt

on Paris, and Gramont was at once convinced that he had once more to do with a diabolical stratagem of Bismarck's against the interests and honour of France. Although the French representative in Madrid telegraphed that Prim declared every charge against Bismarck to be groundless, and asseverated



LEADERS OF THE SPANISH LIBERALS

Francisco Serrano and Juan Prim, whose portraits are given above, led the rising of the Spanish Liberals against the reactionary party and the queen, this movement, in 1868, resulting in the dethronement and flight of Isabella and her family. Serrano twice acted as regent before the government was given into the hands of Alfonso XII.

that the candidature was the exclusive work of the Spanish nation, Gramont allowed a question to be asked him on the point, in the legislative body, on July 6th. In answer, he explained defiantly that France, with all respect for the wishes of the Spanish nation, would not allow a foreign Power to place one of its princes

on the throne of Charles V., and thus disturb the equilibrium of Europe. Gramont's language inspired a general fear of approaching war, which his further procedure confirmed. He ordered Count Benedetti, who was taking the cure in Wildbad, to put the request before King William in Ems that, since he had

Relations of Germany and Spain

allowed Leopold's candidature and thus mortified France, he would now impress upon the prince the duty of withdrawing his assent. But the king obviously could not be persuaded to do that; what, according to the family laws, he could not have sanctioned, he was also unable to forbid, especially after Gramont's behaviour on July 6th. He sent, however, an intimation to Sigmaringen that he would personally have no objection to any renunciation which the prince might choose to make. Faced by the danger of plunging Germany and Spain into war if he persevered in his candidature, Leopold actually withdrew from his candidature on July 12th.

King William sent the telegram of the "Kölnische Zeitung," which contained this news, by the hand of his adjutant Prince Anton Radziwill, to the French ambassador on the promenade at Ems on the morning of July 13th. The king considered the incident closed, and that was the view of the whole world, as it was the wish of Napoleon and Ollivier. Gramont thought differently; he insisted that the king must be brought into the affair, and therefore pledge himself never to grant his approval should the candidature be renewed. Benedetti received telegraphic orders from his superior to tell the king this on that very morning of July 13th.

He did so, and met with a refusal, but repeated it and "at last very pressingly," as the king telegraphed to Bismarck at Berlin; so that the king finally, in order to get rid of him, sent him a message by

Audacious Behaviour of the French

his aide-de-camp to the effect that he had no further communications to make to him. The king left it to Bismarck's discretion whether he would or would not communicate at once this new demand of Benedetti's and its rejection to the North German ambassadors among foreign Powers and to the Press. But he distinctly did not command this communication to be made. Bismarck, who had returned from Varzin in deep distress at the king's long-

suffering patience towards the French, conferred with Roon and Moltke in Berlin and was resolved to remain Minister no longer unless some satisfaction was obtained for the audacious behaviour of the French; and he deserves all credit for having never flinched for a moment. To force a war, which he regarded as a terrible calamity, if Keudell may be believed, and as likely to be the first in a long series of racial conflicts, was a policy which Bismarck would never have adopted merely for the sake of hastening that union between North and South which was certain to come sooner or later.

But now, when the war was forced upon him, when it could not be avoided without the "cankering sore" of a deep humiliation to a people just struggling into national life, he knew no scruples, and no hesitation. At eleven o'clock at night, on July 13th, the celebrated telegram from Ems was sent to the editor of the semi-official "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" and to the embassies. The message reproduced verbatim the telegram, composed by Abeken, which the king had sent

Germany's Rebuff to France

to Bismarck from Ems, with the omission of any irrelevant matter, and ran as follows: "After the news of the resignation of Prince Hohenzollern had been officially communicated to the imperial French Government by the royal Spanish Government, the French ambassador in Ems further requested His Majesty the king to authorise him to telegraph to Paris that His Majesty pledged himself for the future never to give his assent if the Hohenzollerns should renew their candidature. His Majesty thereupon declined to grant another audience to the French ambassador, and informed the latter through his aide-de-camp that His Majesty had no further communication to make to the ambassador."

This telegram, which was known throughout Germany on July 14th, evoked on all sides the deepest satisfaction that a clear and well-merited rebuff had been given to French presumption; and this satisfaction was increased when it was learnt that Gramont had made a further demand of the ambassador, Baron Karl von Werther, in Paris, namely, that the King of Prussia should write a letter to the Emperor Napoleon, in which he should declare that he had no intention of insulting France when he agreed to the

candidature of Leopold. The telegram from Ems in no way compelled the war; that was rather done by the French arrogance towards Germany; it was as Strauss wrote to Renan: "We are fighting again with Louis XIV."

The acerbity of King William's refusal to pledge himself permanently was fully felt in Paris; but the fact could not be disguised that, in view of the withdrawal of a candidature described by France as unendurable, no one in Europe would approve of the conduct of the Imperial Government if it declared itself dissatisfied. The majority, therefore, of the Ministers rejected Gramont's demand that the reserves should be called out; it was left to Gramont to put up with this reprimand for his officious procedure, or to resign.

This was in the morning of July 14th. The emperor himself also was for peace, since he knew the military strength of the Germans, and considered the pretext for the war inappropriate. Even the Empress Eugenie seems to have been unjustly accused of having urged on the war from hatred of heretical Germany, and from anxiety as to her son's prospects. Yet the feeling in the Cabinet Council veered round in the course of July 14th, and late at night the resolution to mobilise was taken; the British ambassador, Lord Lyons, aptly suggested the reason in the following words: "The agitation in the army and in the nation was so strong that no government which advocated peace could remain in office."

The emperor, his heart full of evil forebodings, yielded to this tide of public opinion; Ollivier and the entire Ministry could not resist it. On the plea of a freshly arrived telegram, which in spite of the wishes of the Opposition was not produced—it cannot have been the telegram from Ems, which was already known—a motion was brought forward on July 15th in the legislative body for the calling out of the Garde Mobile and for the grant of 330 million dollars for the army and the fleet; after a stormy discussion it was carried by 245 votes against 10 votes of the Extreme Left. The French nation had forced its government into war; its representatives almost unanimously approved.

The official declaration of war against Prussia by Napoleon was announced in Berlin by the chargé d'affaires, Georges Le Sourd, on July 19th. The situation had

developed with such rapidity, through Gramont's impetuosity and Benedetti's mission to Ems, that this declaration of war is the only official document which came to the Prussian Government from Paris. To judge by the official records, the war seems to have commenced like a pistol-shot, whereas, in reality, it was due to causes stretching back over past centuries. The relations of the German and the French nations, which had been steadily changing since 1552, to the disadvantage of the former, were destined to be definitely readjusted by the war, and the absolute independence of Germany from the "preponderance" of France was to be once for all established.

The whole of Germany felt at once that this was so. The declaration of war was like the stroke of a magician's wand in its effect upon the internal feuds and racial animosities by which the German nation had been hitherto divided. They vanished, and, with them, the mistaken hope of France that now, as on so many former occasions, Germany might be defeated with the help of Germans. The spokesmen of the anti-Prussian party in the South remained as perverse and obstinate as ever; but they no longer had behind them the masses, who, at the moment when the national honour and security seemed menaced, obeyed the call of patriotism with a gratifying determination, and felt that, not merely by virtue of the treaties to which they had sworn, but also by virtue of unwritten right, the cause of Germany was to be found in the camp of Prussia.

When the king travelled, on July 15th, from Ems via Coblenz to Berlin, his journey became a triumphal progress through Germany. Being informed at the Berlin railway station of the resolutions of the French Chambers, he decided to mobilise the whole Northern army, and not merely some army corps, as he had originally intended. He fixed July 16th as the first day for all preparations to be completed. That same day King Ludwig II. of Bavaria, since the *casus fœderis* had occurred and Bavaria, by the treaty, had to furnish help, ordered the Bavarian army to be put on a war footing. On July 17th, the same order was given by King Charles I. of Würtemberg, who had hastened back from St. Moritz to Stuttgart. The North German Reichstag assembled on July 19th.

How Germany Received the Challenge

Mobilising the Armies of Germany

France Eager for War

It was greeted with a speech from the throne, which in its dignified strength and simplicity is a model of patriotic eloquence such as could only flow from the classic pen of Bismarck. "If Germany silently endured in past centuries the violation of her rights and her honour, she only endured it because in her distraction she did not

**Bismarck's
Historic
Declaration**

know her strength. . . . To-day, when her armour shows no flaw to the enemy, she possesses the will and the power to resist the renewed violence of the French. . . . God will be with us as with our fathers." The Reichstag unanimously, except for the two Social Democrats, granted \$90,000,000 for the conduct of the war; the South German Landtags did the same. The enthusiastic self-devotion with which the German nation, excepting naturally the Guelph legion and the great financial houses, which even at this epoch-making moment thought only of themselves, rose up in every district to fight for honour, freedom, and unity, was, in one respect, more remarkable than that which the great days of 1813 had brought to light; for the first time in German history Germany arose as a united whole.

While the armies were collecting, Bismarck published in "The Times" the offer which France had made him through Benedetti in August, 1866, proposing an offensive and defensive alliance between Prussia and France; by it Luxemburg and Belgium were to be assigned to France, which in return would allow Prussia a free hand in Germany. The British ex-Minister, Lord Malmesbury, called this scheme a "detestable document," because it furnished, in spite of Benedetti's embarrassed attempts at denial, a proof that the French Government had been prepared to annihilate its neighbours, who were only protected by the law of nations, without any just claim. It was solely due to Prussia's sense of justice and astuteness

**Neutrality
of European
Powers**

that Napoleon's purpose was not successfully accomplished. Such revelations contributed their share to the result that no arm was raised in Europe for France. Great Britain at once declared her neutrality, and British merchants derived large profits from the war by supplying coal and munitions of war to the French. Russia was favourably disposed to Prussia; it feared that an insurrection of the Poles might break out on any advance

of the French to Berlin, and hoped to obtain during the war an opportunity to cancel the Treaty of Paris of 1856. In Italy King Victor Emmanuel was indeed personally inclined to support the French, on whose side he had fought in 1855 and 1859; but his Ministers were opposed to a war which was waged against the growing unity of Germany. Any hindrance to this growth must signify a defeat of the principle of nationality, and thus become dangerous to the unity of Italy. The lowest price at which Italy could be won was in any case the surrender of Rome; but Napoleon III. stood in awe of the clerical party, and could not make up his mind to a step which would incense them.

The policy of Austria was at least transparent. She intended to complete her preparations for war under the cloak of neutrality, without exposing herself to a premature attack from the side of Russia. The rapidity with which the French army was crushed, however, by the Germans soon stifled any wish to take part in the war which had been felt at Vienna.

On the eve of the declaration of war, on July 18th, an event involving grave issues

**The Papal
Dogma of
Infallibility** occurred at Rome. The Vatican Council, assembled since December 8th, 1869, was oppressed from the outset by the

sense of an inevitable destiny. The Opposition reckoned some 150 bishops and abbots. But it was out-voted in the ratio of three to one by the supporters of infallibility, and was itself divided, since one part alone was opposed to the dogma itself, the other part only did not wish to see it proclaimed just then. Besides this the papal plenipotentiaries were said by their opponents to have proceeded in such a way as to preclude freedom in voting. After a trial vote of July 13th had shown the result that 451 ayes and 88 noes were recorded, and a deputation of the Opposition to the Pope had produced no effect, most of the Opposition left Rome.

Thus, on July 18th, 1870, amid the crashes of a terrible storm which shrouded the council hall in darkness, the dogma was accepted, by 533 votes against two, that the Pope of Rome, when he speaks ex cathedra to settle some point of faith and morals, is infallible, and that such decisions are in themselves unalterable even by the common consent of the Church.



THE FRENCH SOLDIERS' UNREALISED DREAM OF VICTORY
Detail in the J. Paul Getty Center, Los Angeles, California

THE
RE-MAKING
OF
EUROPE



THE
CONSOLIDA-
TION OF THE
POWERS X

THE DOWNFALL OF THE SECOND FRENCH EMPIRE AND THE FOUNDING OF THE THIRD REPUBLIC

IT was to be expected, from the rapidity with which France had brought on the outbreak of the war, that she would have the start of the Germans in its preparations, and would bring the war as soon as possible into Germany. Lebœuf, the Minister of War, certainly used the phrase, "We are absolutely ready to the last gaiter-button," and possibly the emperor hoped to break the spirit of Prussia by rapid blows, and then to incorporate Belgium. But it was soon shown that France was not ready.

"There was a deficiency," so the French historian, Arthur Chuquet says, "in money, in food, in camp-kettles, cooking utensils, tents, harness, medicine, stretchers, everything, in short"; the existing railways were inadequate to convey to the frontiers the 300,000 men whom France had at her disposal for the war, so that half of them were obliged to march on foot. The regiments were not constructed according

France Unprepared for War

to definite and compact geographical districts: Alsatians had to travel to Bayonne in order to join the ranks of their regiments, and southerners to Brittany. The result, under the stress of circumstances, was an irremediable confusion and an unusual delay in the advance. On the other hand, the mobilisation proceeded quickly and easily among the Germans, where everything had been prepared as far as could be beforehand, and every day was assigned its proper task. Moltke made the suggestive remark that the fourteen days of the mobilisation, during which there was nothing to carry out that had not been long foreseen, were some of the most tranquil days of his life.

The French, according to the original and proper intention, formed one single army, the army of the Rhine, whose commander-in-chief was to be the emperor, with Lebœuf as chief of the General Staff; but when it came to the point, this army

was divided into two forces, one of 200,000 men under Marshal Bazaine in Metz, and one of 100,000 men under Marshal MacMahon in Strassburg. The German troops were divided into three armies. The first was posted, under General Steinmetz, north-east of Trèves, round Wittlich, and was made up of the 7th and

The Three Armies of Germany

the 8th corps, from the Rhine districts and Westphalia; it numbered some 60,000 men. Next to it came the second army, under Prince Frederic Charles, which consisted of the 3rd, 4th, and 10th corps; that is to say, of Brandenburgers, Saxons from the province, and Hanoverians, and of the Guards; it took up its position round Neunkirchen and Homburg, and was 134,000 strong. Finally, the third army, 130,000 men, was placed under the command of the Crown Prince Frederic William; to it belonged the 5th and 11th corps, from Posen, Hesse, and Thuringia, as well as the Bavarians, Würtembergers, and Badeners; they were stationed at Rastatt and Landau.

The Crown Prince, before going to the front, visited the South German courts and quickly won the hearts of his soldiers by his chivalrous and kindly nature. Strong reserves stood behind the three armies—namely, the 9th and 12th corps, the Schleswig-Holsteiners and the Saxons from the kingdom, at Mainz, and the 1st, 2nd, and 6th corps, the East Prussians, Pomeranians, and Silesians, who on account of the railway conditions could

Guarding Germany's Sea-coast

not be sent to the front until the twentieth day, and were also intended to be kept in readiness for all emergencies against Austria. The sea-coast was to be guarded against the expected attacks of the French fleet by the 17th division, Magdeburg and the Hanse towns, and by the Landwehr. Moltke, as chief of the Prussian General



NAPOLEON III., EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH
From a photograph

DOWNFALL OF THE SECOND FRENCH EMPIRE

Staff, disclaimed all idea of a minutely elaborated plan, since the execution of such a plan cannot be guaranteed, for every battle creates a new situation, which must be treated and regarded by itself.

Moltke therefore laid down three points only as of paramount importance. First, when the enemy is met, he must be attacked with full strength; secondly, the goal of all efforts is the enemy's capital, the possession of which, owing to strict centralisation of the French Government, is of paramount importance in a war against France; thirdly, the enemy's forces are, if possible, to be driven, not towards the rich south of France, but towards the north, which is poorer in resources and bounded by the sea. Since no blow was intended to be struck before

the advance of the entire army was completed and the full weight of a combined attack was assured, the French had for a few days apparently a free hand, and with three army corps drove back out of Saarbrücken on August 2nd the three battalions of those opposed to them. During the operations the emperor took his son, a boy of fourteen, under fire; according to the official telegram "some soldiers shed tears of joy when they saw the prince so calm." But the satisfaction was soon turned into chagrin when the third army, in order to cover the left flank of the second army, which was advancing towards the Saar, marched closer to it, and on August 4th attacked the French division of General Abel Douay, which occupied the town of Weissenburg,



EMPRESS EUGENIE OF FRANCE
From a photograph



NAPOLEON III.; AND THE EMPEROR AND EMPRESS WITH THEIR SON
From photographs



"A BERLIN!" THE PARISIAN CROWDS DECLARING FOR WAR WITH GERMANY

The prospect of a war with Germany roused the inhabitants of Paris to a state of the highest enthusiasm, and for weeks they deluded themselves with hopes of victory, shouting themselves hoarse with the cry, "a Berlin!" The defeats that followed brought with them terrible disillusionment, and the whole blame was laid on the Government.

and the Gaisberg lying south of it, and utterly defeated it. Among the prisoners was a number of Turcos or Arab soldiers from Algiers, whom Napoleon, though they could not be reckoned as civilised soldiers, had no scruples in employing in the war against the Germans; but they could not resist the impetuous valour of the Bavarians and Poseners. On August 6th the third army on its advance into Alsace encountered the army of Marshal MacMahon, which occupied a strong position near the small town of Wörth, on the right bank of the Sauerbach, a tributary of the Rhine. The Bavarians attacked on the right, the Prussians on the left, and in the last period of the protracted and bloody battle the Würtembergers had also the chance of intervening with success. The end was that the French, whose numerical inferiority was counter-balanced by their formidable positions on heights and vineyards, were completely defeated, and with a loss of 16,000 men and 33 cannons they poured into the passes of the Vosges in headlong flight. "After they had fought like lions," says Arthur Chuquet, "they fled like hares." The Germans paid for the brilliant victory, which gave to them Lower Alsace with the exception of Strassburg, by a loss of 10,000 men, among whom were nearly 500 officers.

On the same day the disgrace of Saarbrücken was wiped out by the German capture of the apparently impregnable heights of Spichenen, near Saarbrücken, although only twenty-seven German



MARSHAL MACMAHON

A distinguished soldier who had served France in earlier wars, he commanded the first army corps in the Franco-German War, and, defeated at Wörth, was captured at Sedan. He was elected President of the Republic in 1873.



GENERAL STEINMETZ

A Prussian general of experience and distinction, he commanded one of the three German armies in the Franco-German War, and after failing in his task at Gravelotte, was appointed Governor-General of Posen and Silesia.

battalions were on the spot against thirty-nine of the French, whose commander, since he did not wish to be cut off from Metz, saw himself compelled to make a hasty retreat, which abandoned Eastern Lorraine to the Germans. The news from the scene of war produced in Paris, where for weeks the inhabitants had deluded themselves with infatuated hopes of victory, and had shouted themselves hoarse with the cry "à Berlin!" a terrible disillusionment, and then a fierce bitterness against the Government, on whose shoulders all the blame for the defeats was laid, since that was the most convenient thing to do. The Ollivier Ministry was overthrown by a vote of want of confidence in the Chambers, which declared it incapable to organise the defence of the country; but the Republicans did not succeed in their intention of placing an executive committee of the Chambers at the head of the country, and so superseding the Empire offhand. On the contrary, the empress transferred the premiership to General Palikao, who took the Ministry of War from Lebœuf and gave him the command of a corps. The emperor wished at first to retire with his whole army to the camp of Châlons-sur-Marne, where MacMahon was collecting the fragments of his army and gathering fresh troops round him. But since the abandonment of the whole of Eastern France to its fate would have been a political mistake, Napoleon remained for the moment stationary in Metz, against which the first and second

armies now were put into movement, while the third advanced through the Vosges toward Châlons. Since this latter had the longer way to march, the king issued orders that the two other armies should advance more slowly, in order that the combined German forces might compose an unbroken and continuous mass with a front of equal depth, and that the enemy might not find any opportunity to throw himself in overwhelming numbers on any one part. On August 14th the advance guard of the first army, under Goltz, had almost reached the gates of Metz, when they found the French main army preparing to retreat. In order to check them on the right bank of the Moselle and to bring on a pitched battle at Metz, Goltz, in spite of his inferior numbers, attacked the enemy. The French, eager at last to chastise the bold assailant, immediately wheeled round; but, just as at Spicheren, the nearest German regiments, so soon as they heard the thunder of the cannons, hurried to the assistance of Goltz, freed him from great danger, and drove the French back under the fort of St. Julien, which, with its heavy guns, took part at nightfall in the fierce engagement. Thus the retreat of the French was delayed by one day, and in the meantime the main body of the Germans had reached the Moselle. Napoleon, yielding to public opinion, now resigned the supreme command to Marshal Bazaine, in whom the army and navy reposed unfounded confidence, left Metz with precipitate haste on August 14th, and entered Châlons with MacMahon on the 17th. The main army itself did not leave Metz until August 15th, and then only advanced

five miles in a whole day, since the baggage train blocked all the roads. Meantime, the Third Army Corps, that of the Brandenburgers, had reached the road which leads from Metz past Vionville and Mars-la-Tour to Verdun and the valley of the Meuse, and their general, Alvensleben, determined at all hazards to block the further march of the enemy in that direction, although he was well aware that he would have four French corps opposed to him, and for a considerable time could count on no support being brought up. A desperate struggle began on August 16th. At two o'clock in the afternoon Alvensleben had not a single infantry battalion or any artillery in reserve; so that when Marshal Canrobert, with sound judgment, pressed on in order to break up the exhausted German line, the Twelfth Cavalry Brigade was compelled to attack the enemy, notwithstanding all the difficulties of a cavalry attack on infantry armed with chassepots. This "Charge of the 800" recalls that of Balaclava; only half of them came back. But here it saved the day. "Canrobert did not move again that whole day; he might have broken through, but from the furious onslaught of Bredow's six squadrons he feared to fall into a trap and kept quiet." But since gradually the Tenth Corps from the left and the Eighth Corps from the right came to Alvensleben's support, the danger passed; the Germans, who on this day faced a great army of 120,000 French at first with 29,000 and later with 65,000 men, were in possession of the field of battle. Of the roads by which Bazaine could reach Verdun from Metz, the southern was blocked against him; he could only effect



MARSHAL BAZAINE

Resigning the supreme command of the French army and yielding to public opinion, Napoleon appointed Marshal Bazaine to that office, but the anticipated success did not follow. Bazaine capitulating to the enemy at Metz.



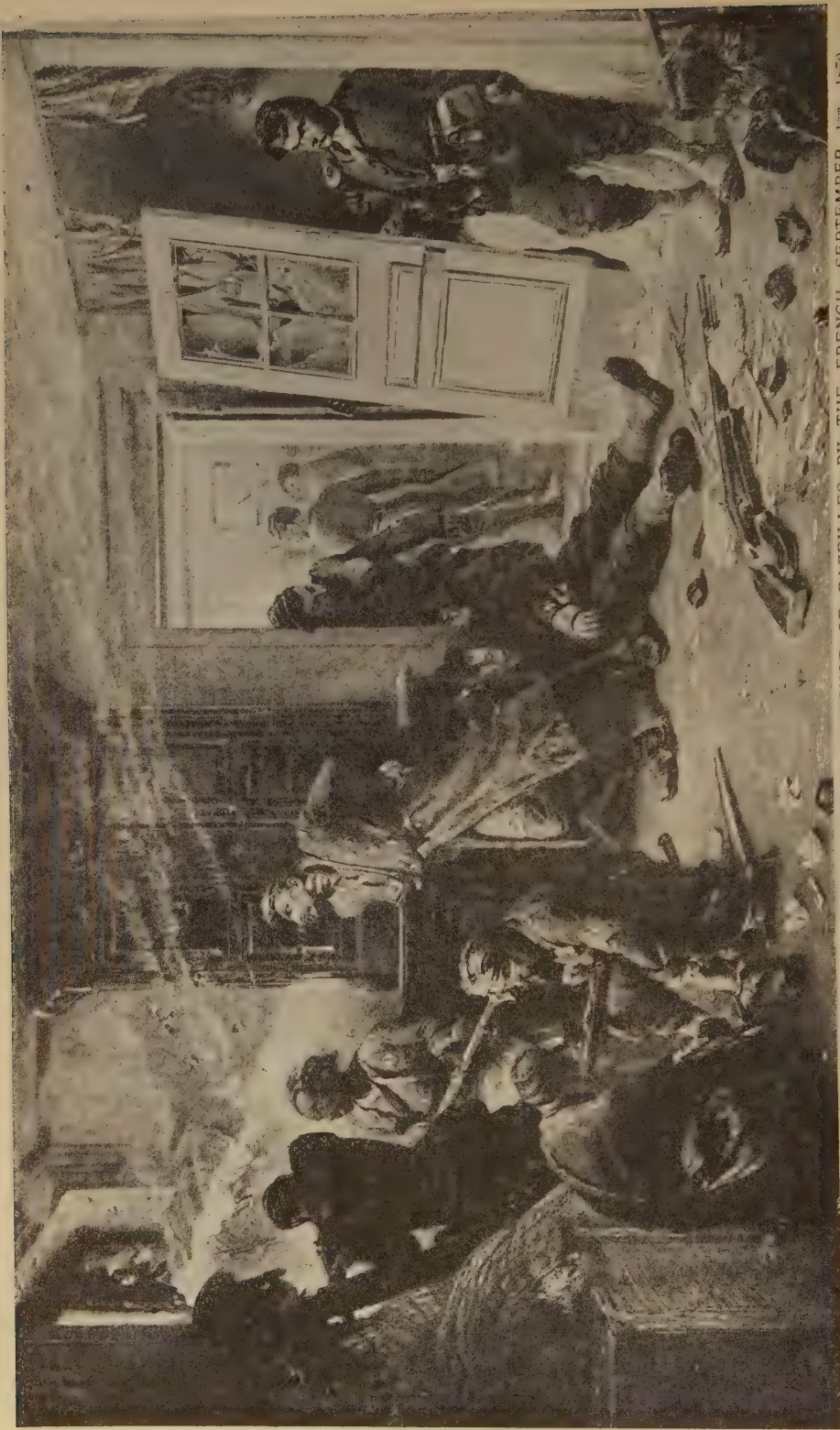
CROWN PRINCE OF SAXONY

In the Franco-German War the 9th and 12th Corps, as well as the Guards, were placed, as "the Meuse Army," under Crown Prince Albert of Saxony, who had the reputation of being a splendid leader.



THE PRUSSIANS DEFEATING THE FRENCH AT THE DECISIVE BATTLE OF WORTH, ON AUGUST 6th, 1870

From the painting by Beauquesne, by permission of Messrs. Braun, Clement & Co.



"THE LAST CARTRIDGE": AN EPISODE IN THE GLORIOUS DEFENCE OF BAZEILLES BY THE FRENCH, SEPTEMBER 1ST, 1870
The incident represented in this famous picture occurred at the crossing of the Douzy and Sedan roads. Pressed by the Bavarian attack, the French retired, but a handful of men in an isolated house to the north of Bazeilles maintained a prolonged resistance against overwhelming odds until their ammunition became exhausted.
From the painting by De Neuville

his retreat now on the northern road, by Saint-Privat. And that possibility was then taken from him, since on August 18th the two German armies, both of which meantime had crossed the Moselle above Metz, advanced to the attack on the entire front from Sainte-Marie-aux-Chênes and Saint-Privat to Gravelotte. In the course of the operations the Saxons, under the Crown Prince Albert, and the Guards, under Prince Augustus of Würtemberg, stormed the fortress-like position of Saint-Privat with terrific carnage; on the right wing at Gravelotte no success was attained.

But the main point had been achieved. The great French army had



COUNT VON MOLTKE

To his military genius Germany owed much of her success over France in the war of 1870. A great strategist and organiser, he prepared the army with wonderful skill, and thus laid the foundation of the many brilliant victories which followed.

From a photograph

been hurled back on Metz, and was immediately surrounded there by the Germans in a wide circle. The indecision of the French commander-in-chief was much to blame for this momentous issue to this prolonged struggle, in which some 180,000 men on either side ultimately took part. From fear of being finally cut off from Metz itself and surrounded in the open field, Bazaine kept a third of his forces in reserve; if he had staked these, he might, perhaps, have won the game. The casualties on either side were enormous. The Germans lost on the 14th, 16th, and 18th of August 5,000, 16,000, and 20,000 men, making a total of 41,000 killed,



NAPOLEON III. PRESIDING OVER A COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AT THE TUILERIES

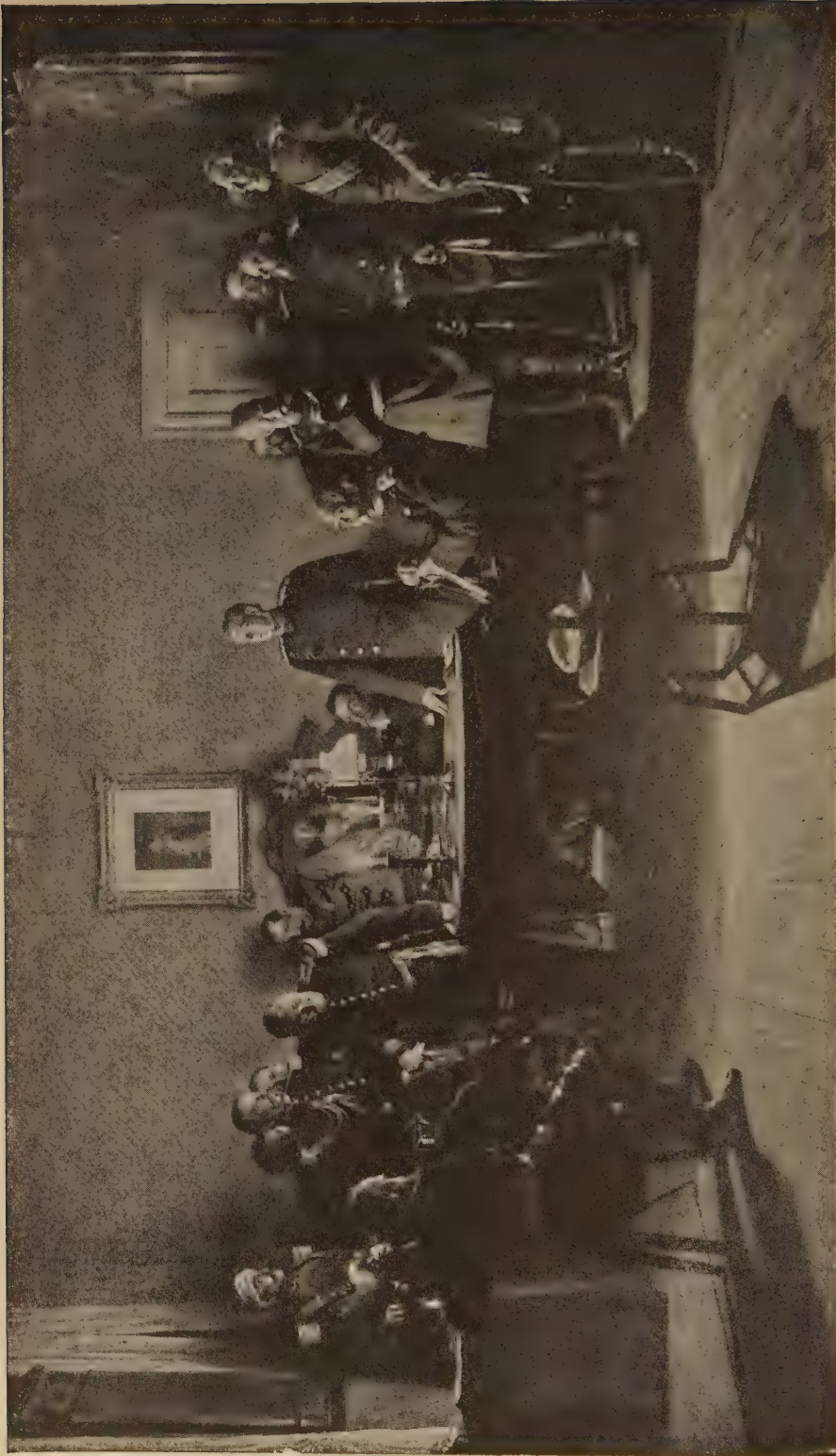


A BRILLIANT ACHIEVEMENT OF GERMAN CAVALRY: THE "CHARGE OF THE EIGHT HUNDRED" ON AUGUST 16TH, 1870
This brilliant feat, accomplished by Germany's Twelfth Cavalry Brigade in an engagement with the French close to the walls of Metz, recalls the famous "Charge of the Light Brigade" at Balaclava, but in this instance the brave effort, though attended with the loss of half the brigade, was successful, as it renulsed the enemy and saved the day.
From the painting by Aimé Morot in the Museum of Luxembourg



THE BATTLE OF SEDAN: GENERAL MOLTKE DIRECTING THE OPERATIONS OF THE PRUSSIAN FORCES

From the painting by Anton von Werner, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.



CAPITULATION OF SÉDAN: GENERALS MOLTKE AND WIMPFEN ARRANGING THE TERMS OF SURRENDER AT THE CASTLE OF BELLEVUE
 Recognising the hopelessness of continuing the struggle at Sedan, Napoleon III. wrote to the King of Prussia that "not having succeeded in dying in the midst of my troops, nothing remains for me but to deliver my sword into your Majesty's hands." General Wimpffen was deputed to go over to the enemy's headquarters at the Castle of Bellevue, near Donchery, where he had a long interview with General Moltke, whose conditions were accepted, and thus there ensued on the following day, September 2nd, the surrender of Sedan.

From the painting by Anton von Werner, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.



THE FRENCH EMPEROR'S SURRENDER: NAPOLEON III. MEETING WITH BISMARCK AFTER SEDAN

Defeat after defeat fell in rapid succession upon the French in their war with Germany, and, after the humiliation and loss of Sedan, Napoleon III. gave himself up to his enemies.

From the painting by Anton von Werner, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.



PRUSSIA'S ROYAL CAPTIVE: THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON III. AND COUNT BISMARCK ON THE MORNING AFTER SEDAN

From the painting by Camphausen, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.



THE FALL OF NAPOLEON III.: THE EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH A PRISONER IN THE HANDS OF THE PRUSSAINS
The surrender of Napoleon III. was quickly followed by his deposition as Emperor of the French and the establishment of a Republic. The unfortunate emperor was for some time kept prisoner by the Prussians, but he subsequently joined the Empress Eugenie and their son at Chislehurst, Kent, where he resided until his death, on January 9th, 1873.

wounded, and prisoners; the French, 3,600, 16,000, and 13,000, some 33,000 men in all. The comparative smallness of the French losses is explained by the fact that they were mostly on the defensive, although they ought properly to have attacked, and fought behind entrenchments. The French army in Metz was lost if a hand were not stretched out to it by its comrades-in-arms outside the town; it was rumoured that Bazaine would make a renewed attempt to meet the expected relieving force at Montmédy or Sedan. All the journals in Paris declared with one voice that Bazaine must be rescued at any cost. Under the pressure of this situation MacMahon, who had been reinforced at Châlons by a division recalled from the Spanish frontier and by four regiments of marines, and had been nominated commander-in-chief of all the forces outside Metz, decided not to retreat to Paris—the course which seemed to him most correct in itself—but to leave the camp of Châlons to its fate and march on Montmédy by way of Vouziers and Buzancy, and there effect a junction, if possible, with Bazaine.

King William had meantime commanded Prince Frederic Charles to invest Metz. General Steinmetz, since he was not on good terms with Prince Frederic Charles, now his superior, and especially since he had failed in his task at Gravelotte, was appointed Governor-general of Posen and Silesia. The Ninth and Twelfth Corps, as well as the Guards, were placed, as "the Meuse Army," under Crown Prince Albert of Saxony, a splendid leader, and instructions were given to him to push on towards Châlons with the third army; his task was to frustrate all attempts of the French to take up a

position there and advance on Metz. But when the Meuse army had passed Verdun, and the third army had reached Ste. Mennehoult, Headquarters, which followed these movements, learnt of



LÉON GAMBETTA

An advanced Liberal, he took office in the Government of National Defence after the proclamation of the Republic, becoming Minister of the Interior. He later became Dictator of France, and wished to continue the war against Germany, even after the surrenders of Metz and Paris.

From a photograph

MacMahon's march from Châlons and Rheims; Moltke immediately issued orders, on August 25th, that the two armies would wheel to the right, in order, if possible, to take MacMahon in the rear. This dangerous manœuvre, which extended, of course, to the baggage trains of the armies, was completely successful, without causing any confusion to the columns. MacMahon failed to see the favourable chance, which presented itself for several days, of hurling his 120,000 men against the 99,000 under the Crown Prince of Saxony and annihilating them before the third army came up. When MacMahon found no trace of

Bazaine on August 27th at Montmédy, he wished to commence the retreat on Paris; but on the direct orders of Palikao, the Minister of War, and postponing military to political considerations, he continued his march in the direction of Metz, and hastened to his ruin. On August 30th the corps of General de Failly was attacked by the Bavarians and the Fourth Prussian Corps under Gustav von Alvensleben at Beaumont, and thrown back on Mouzon. The whole French army retired from that place to the fortress of Sedan, in the hope of being able to rest there and then to retire along the Belgian frontier northwards. But that was not allowed to happen. The Meuse army pressed on from the east, the third army from the west; the Eleventh Corps seized the bridge which crossed the Meuse at Donchery, and thus cut off the road to the north-west. The

The French Retire to Sedan

DOWNFALL OF THE SECOND FRENCH EMPIRE

neighbourhood of Sedan was certainly easy to defend, since the Meuse, with other streams and gorges, presented considerable difficulties to an attack; but on September 1st the Germans, who outnumbered the French by almost two to one, advanced victoriously onwards, in spite of the most gallant resistance. The Bavarians captured

Victorious March of the Germans

tured Bazeilles on the southwest, where the inhabitants took part in the fight, and thus brought upon themselves the destruction of their village. The Eleventh Corps took the cavalry of Illy in the north. A great cavalry attack, under the Marquis de Gallifet, at Floing could not change the fortune of the day; the French army, thrown back from every side on to Sedan, had only the choice between surrendering or being destroyed with the fortress itself, which could be bombarded from all sides.

Marshal MacMahon was spared the necessity of making his decision in this painful position; a splinter of a shell had severely wounded him in the thigh that very morning at half-past six. The general next to him in seniority, Baron Wimpffen, who

had just arrived from Algiers, was forced, in consideration of the 690 pieces of artillery trained on the town, to conclude an unconditional surrender on September 2nd. In this way, besides 21,000 French who had been taken during the battle, 83,000 became prisoners of war; and with them 558 guns were captured. The French had lost 17,000 in killed and wounded, the Germans, 9,000; an army of 120,000 men was annihilated at a single blow. Two German corps were required to guard the prisoners and deport them gradually to Germany.

The Emperor Napoleon himself fell into the hands of the Germans, together with his army. It is attested, as indeed he wrote to King William, that he wished to die in the midst of his troops before consenting to such a step; but the bullets, which mowed thousands down, passed him by, in order that the man on whom, in the eyes of history, the responsibility for the war and the defeat rests, although the whole French nation was really to blame, might go before the monarch whom he had challenged to the fight, and that the latter might prove his magnanimity to



GAMBETTA PROCLAIMING THE REPUBLIC AT THE PALACE OF THE CORPS LÉGISLATIF

be not inferior to his strength. The meeting of the two monarchs took place at two o'clock in the Château of Bellevue near Frénois, during which Napoleon asserted that he had only begun the war under compulsion from the popular opinion of his country. The castle of Wilhelmshöhe near Cassel was assigned him as his abode, and the emperor was detained there in honourable confinement until the end of the war.

That evening the king, who in a telegram to his wife had given God the honour, proposed a toast to Roon, the Minister of War, who had whetted the sword, to Moltke, who had wielded it, and to Bismarck, who by his direction of Prussian policy for years had raised Prussia to her present pre-eminence. He modestly said nothing about himself, who had placed all these men in the responsible posts and rendered their efforts possible; but the voice of history will testify of him only the more loudly that he confirmed the truth of the saying of Louis XIV., "gouverner, c'est choisir"—the choice of the men and the means both require the decision of the monarch.

The victory of Sedan led to a series of momentous results. Not merely did it evoke in Germany general rejoicings, such as the capture of the monarch of a hostile state and of a great army necessarily call forth, but it powerfully stimulated the national pride and definitely shaped the will of the nation. Thousands of orators at festivities in honour of the victory and countless newspaper articles voiced the determination that such successes were partially wasted if they did not lead to the recovery of that western province which had been lost in less prosperous times, of Alsace and German Lorraine with Strassburg and Metz, and also to the establishment of that complete German unity which was first planned in 1866. Bismarck gave a competent expression

to the former feeling when he declared in two notes to the ambassadors of the North German Confederation, on September 13th and 16th, that Germany must hold a better guarantee for her security than that of the goodwill of France.

So long as Strassburg and Metz remained in the possession of the French, France would be stronger to attack than Germany to defend; but once in the possession of Germany, both towns gained a defensive character, and the interests of peace were the interests of Europe. In the second place, the victory of



HENRI ROCHEFORT

A Radical journalist, who had found it necessary to escape from France, he was elected a member of the National Assembly in 1870; but the honour carried with it no sobering influence, and once more he escaped for his life.

Sedan affected the attitude of the neutral Powers. We know from the evidence of King William's letter of September 7th, 1870, to Queen Augusta that all kinds of cross-issues had cropped up before Sedan; that neutrals had contemplated pacific intervention with the natural object of taking from Germany the fruit of its victories. The ultimate source of these plans was Vienna, where much consternation at the German victories was bound to be felt. But they had found an echo in St. Petersburg also. The Tsar Alexander, it is true, loyally maintained friendly relations with Prussia, and his aunt, Helene, *née* Princess of Würtemberg, wife of the Grand Duke Michael Pavlovitch, brother of the Tsar Nicholas I., was

a trustworthy support to the German party at court; but the Imperial Chancellor, Alexander Gortchakoff, expressed disapproval of every demand for a cession of French territory, since that would prove a new apple of discord between Germany and France, and thus a standing menace to the peace of Europe.

King William made the just remark that according to this view Germany must give back the whole left bank of the Rhine, since in that case only was tranquillity to be looked for from France. The battle of Sedan put an end to all wish on

DOWNFALL OF THE SECOND FRENCH EMPIRE

the part of neutrals to interfere in a war which they had not hindered. The extraordinary efficiency of the German army and the German military organisation had been manifested after a fashion which made the idea of intervention distinctly unattractive, if Germany did not court it. And Germany was very far from courting it. The Germans had faced the war by themselves; they had fought it by themselves; in effect they had won it by themselves. German piety and German poetry attributed the victory to the fact that the God of Battles was on the side of Germany; and Germany had no sort of intention of permitting the Powers which had looked on to arrange matters for the convenience of anyone but the Germans. The third result of the day of Sedan was that the French Empire fell with a crash. The Empress Eugénie received the official news of the surrender on the evening of September 2nd. She hesitated the whole of the 3rd as to what was to be done in this position. But on the 4th the Chamber had to be allowed to speak, and Jules Favre, the leader of the Left, immediately moved that Napoleon Bonaparte and his house should be declared deposed, and that the Corps Législatif should nominate a committee, which might exercise all the powers of the government, and whose task it should be to drive the enemy from the country. The Palikao Ministry also proposed a similar committee of five members to be nominated by the legislative body, but its lieutenant-general was to be Palikoa. The latter furnished a guarantee that the committee, on

which, in any case, the majority of the Chamber would elect trustworthy Bonapartists, would keep the place warm for the Empire, which might be reinstated at a fitting hour. The fear of this incited the mob to act not with the Chamber, but against it. Crowds thronged into the galleries, and finally into the chamber itself, so that Eugène Schneider, the president, declared it an impossibility to continue the debate under such conditions, and the sitting was closed. The attempt to hold an evening sitting, and exclude all disturbance, could not now be carried out; at three o'clock the Senate also had to be closed. The Republic was then proclaimed at the Hôtel de Ville; and in its name the deputies of Paris, with the exception of Thiers,

who refused, met as a provisional government. The Radical journalist, Rochefort, whom it was thus hoped to win over, and General Trochu, a Governor of Paris, were nominated members of it. Trochu became head of this government, and Jules Favre was his deputy. A Ministry was formed by this government on September 5th, in which Favre assumed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the energetic lawyer, Léon Gambetta, that of the Interior, and General Leflô the War Office. The legislative body was at once dissolved; the Senate abolished; all officials were released from their oath to the emperor, and thirty new prefects, of strict republican views, were appointed. The German merchants who had hitherto remained in France were, so far as no special permission was granted to them, ordered to leave Paris and its vicinity within the space of twenty-four hours.



GENERAL TROCHU

After the proclamation of the Republic, General Trochu became head of the government; but he did not long hold office, resigning the governorship of Paris in 1871 and retiring into private life about two years afterwards.



JULES FAVRE

Elected Minister of Foreign Affairs in the National Assembly of 1870, he settled the terms for the capitulation of Paris in January, 1871, and resigned office a few months later.



WILLIAM I.: KING OF PRUSSIA AND FIRST GERMAN EMPEROR
From the painting by Lenbach, photo by Bruckmann

THE
RE-MAKING
OF
EUROPE



THE
CONSOLIDA-
TION OF THE
POWERS XI

THE BIRTH OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE AND FRANCE IN HER HOUR OF DEFEAT

ON the burning question of the moment, whether France after these severe defeats should not seek peace, Favre declared in a circular of September 6th that if the King of Prussia wished to continue this deplorable war against France, even after the overthrow of the guilty dynasty, the Government would accept the challenge and would not cede an inch of national territory nor a stone of the fortresses. Thiers, who had volunteered for the task, was sent on September 12th to the neutral Powers, to induce them to intervene ; but in view of the above-mentioned proclamations of Bismarck of September 13th and 16th, no Power thought it prudent to meddle, since Germany desired a cession of territory as emphatically as France refused one. Any agreement between the belligerents was thus for the time totally excluded. Thiers received in London, Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Florence, courteous words, but no support. Beust, deeply concerned, then wrote: "Je ne vois plus d'Europe"; even Gortchakoff drily advised the envoy to purchase peace without delay by some sacrifices, since later it might have to be bought more dearly.

The Germans meanwhile were marching straight on Paris. Metz remained at the same time invested by the seven corps under Frederic Charles ; the effort of Bazaine to play into MacMahon's hand on August 31st and September 1st, by a great attempt to break through at Noisseville, proved completely futile ; 36,000 Germans had held a line of five and a half miles against 134,000 French.

Even the French fleet of ironclads, which appeared in August off Heligoland and Kolberg, could do nothing from its want of troops to land. Shattered by a terrible storm on September 9th, it returned ignominiously to its native harbours.

When the Germans, after the capture of Rheims and Laon appeared in the vicinity of Paris, Favre asked for an interview with

Bismarck. Conversations between the two statesmen took place on September 19th and 20th in the châteaux of Haute Maison and Ferrières.

Favre declared that cessions of territory could in any case only be granted by a National Assembly, and asked for fourteen days' armistice, in order that such an Assembly might be elected. Bismarck was ready to accede to the request, but asked, as compensation

for the fact that France in these fourteen days of armistice could to some degree recover her breath, that the fortresses of Pfalzburg, Toul, and Strassburg should be surrendered. Since Favre would not hear of such conditions, the negotiations were thus broken off.

The Germans completed the investment of Paris on September 19th, and forced Toul to capitulate on the 23rd. Strassburg had been besieged since August 11th by the Baden troops under General Werder, and since the 23rd had been exposed to a bombardment through which the picture gallery, the library, with its wealth of priceless manuscripts, the law courts, and government buildings, and the theatre were burnt ; of the cathedral, only the roof caught fire. Four hundred and fifty private houses were ruined, and 2,000 persons killed or wounded. This misfortune was due to the fact that Strassburg was a thoroughly antiquated fortress, the bombardment of which involved the destruction not merely of the works, but also of the houses of the inhabitants. The French commander, General Uhrich, ought not, under the circumstances, to have allowed matters to go so far as a bombardment ; but in the knowledge that "Strassburg was Alsace," he offered resistance until a storm, the success of which admitted no doubt, was imminent. The capitulation was signed on September 28th at two o'clock in the morning ; it was the very day on which, 180 years before,

**Bombardment
and Surrender
of Strassburg**

Louvois had accepted the surrender of Strassburg to the army of Louis XIV. There were endless rejoicings in Germany when the good news was proclaimed that a city had been won back which had remained dear to every German heart, even in the long years when it stood under a foreign yoke. September 28th was felt

**Germany's
National
Rejoicing**

to be a day of national satisfaction, a tangible guarantee that the time of German humiliation and weakness was now past for ever. Since Strassburg had fallen, the great railroad to Paris lay at the disposal of the Germans; the captures of Schlettstadt on October 24th, Verdun, November 8th, Neubreisach, November 10th, Diedenhofen, November 24th, Montmédy and Pfalzburg, December 14th, completed the reduction of the smaller fortresses of the east, with which great stores of artillery and powder fell into the hands of the victors. The communications in the rear of the Germans gained greatly in security and quiet.

This fact was the more important because, since the Battle of Sedan, the war, which hitherto had been a duel between armies, assumed another phase. Under the title of "Franc-tireurs," armed bands from among the people took part in the struggle, and caused considerable losses by unexpected attacks on isolated German outposts and rear-guards. On the German side these bands were declared to stand outside the law of nations, and villages whose inhabitants took part in the war as Franc-tireurs were, under certain conditions, burnt down as a deterrent. Even Frenchmen admit that the licentious Franc-tireurs were frequently more dangerous to the natives than to the enemy.

The chief aim of the French, now that negotiations for peace had fallen through, was necessarily the liberation of the capital, for, although among the 1,700,000 persons who were in Paris some 540,000

**The Germans'
Iron Girdle
Round Paris**

were men capable of bearing arms, yet of these the 340,000 Parisian National Guards were worthless from the military point of view, and of the 120,000 Gardes Mobiles, only a part of the provincials was of any value. Thus only the 80,000 soldiers of the line were thoroughly useful, and with these alone General Trochu could not break through the 150,000, and later 200,000, picked German troops, who were drawing an iron girdle round the city,

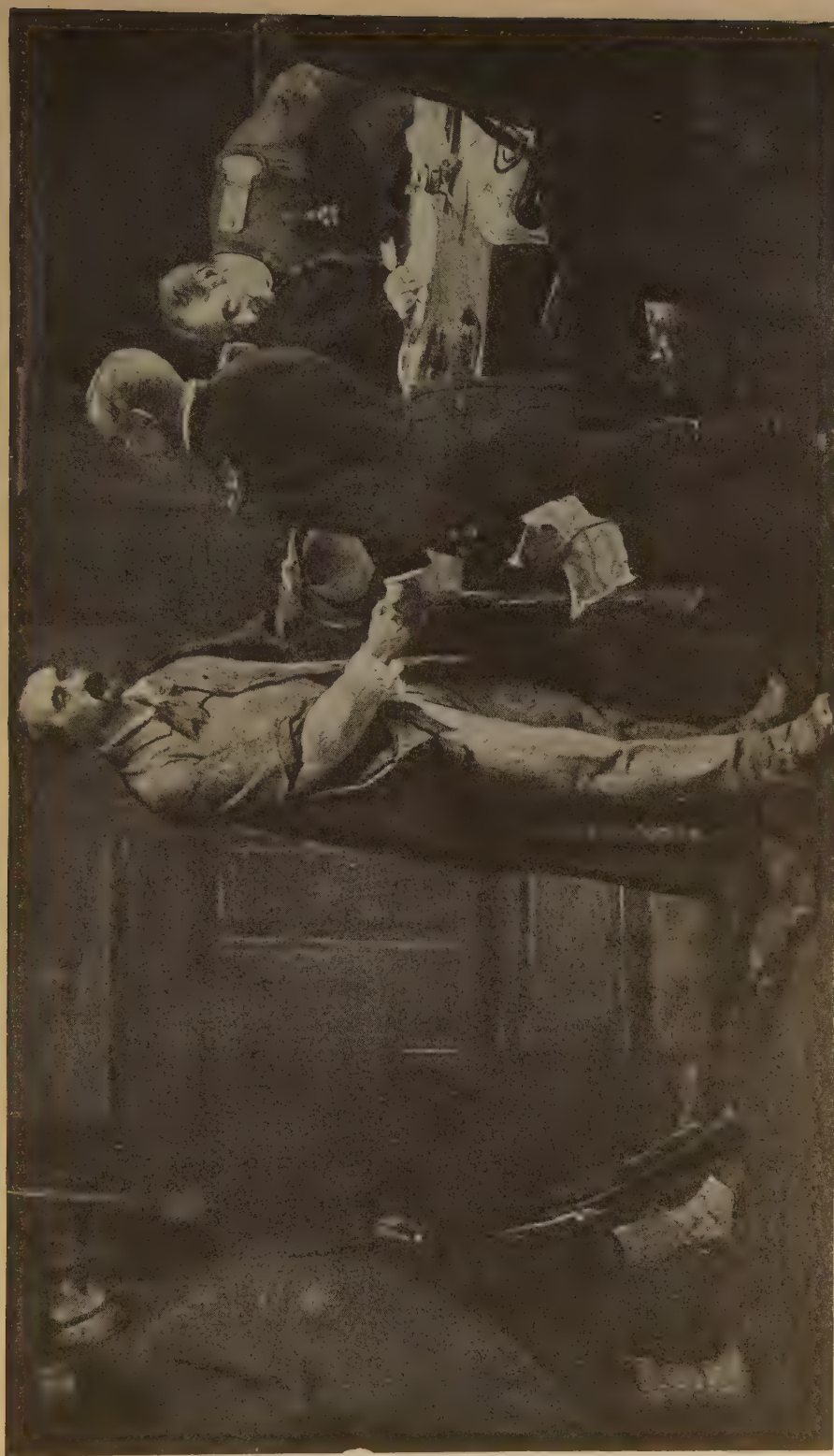
under the supreme direction of the king, who resided at Versailles, and force them to raise the siege. Under these conditions the duty of obtaining support from outside was incumbent on the members of the Government, who had left Paris in good time, in order to conduct the arming of the country, and had taken up their seat at Tours on the Loire.

But life was not instilled into this "Delegation," consisting of three old men, until Gambetta left Paris on October 6th in a balloon, and arrived in Tours on the 9th. He immediately took on himself the Ministry of War in addition to that of the Interior, and with the passionate energy of his southern temperament and his thirty-two years, he girded himself for the task of "raising legions from the soil with the stamp of his foot," and of crushing the bold hordes who dared to harass holy Paris, "the navel of the earth." Gambetta's right hand in the organisation of new forces was Charles de Freycinet, a man of forty-two, a Protestant, originally an engineer, clever and experienced, clear and cool in all his actions, but, in con-

sequence of the complete wreck of the professional soldiers, full of haughty contempt for military professional knowledge, and inspired by the persuasion that now men of more independent views must assume the lead, and that a burning patriotism must replace military drill.

The thought recurred vaguely to the minds of both that 1870 must go to school with 1793, and that just as then the soldiers trained in the traditions of Frederic the Great and Laudon were repulsed by the levy en masse, so now the laurels might be torn from the soldiers of William I. by the same means. That was really a grave error. In 1793 the powers allied against France were defeated chiefly from their want of combination, not by the armed masses of the French people, which to some extent existed only on paper; and the army which was now fighting on French soil far surpassed the troops of the first coalition in number and moral quality. Gambetta's exertions did not therefore rescue France, but only prolonged her death agony, multiplied the sacrifices, and enhanced the victory of the Germans.

Besides this, it was not possible, with all his resolute determination, to turn armed men into soldiers in a moment. Since it was necessary in a country which only



AN HEROIC EPISODE OF THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR: THE PREFECT VALENTIN BEFORE GENERAL UHRICH

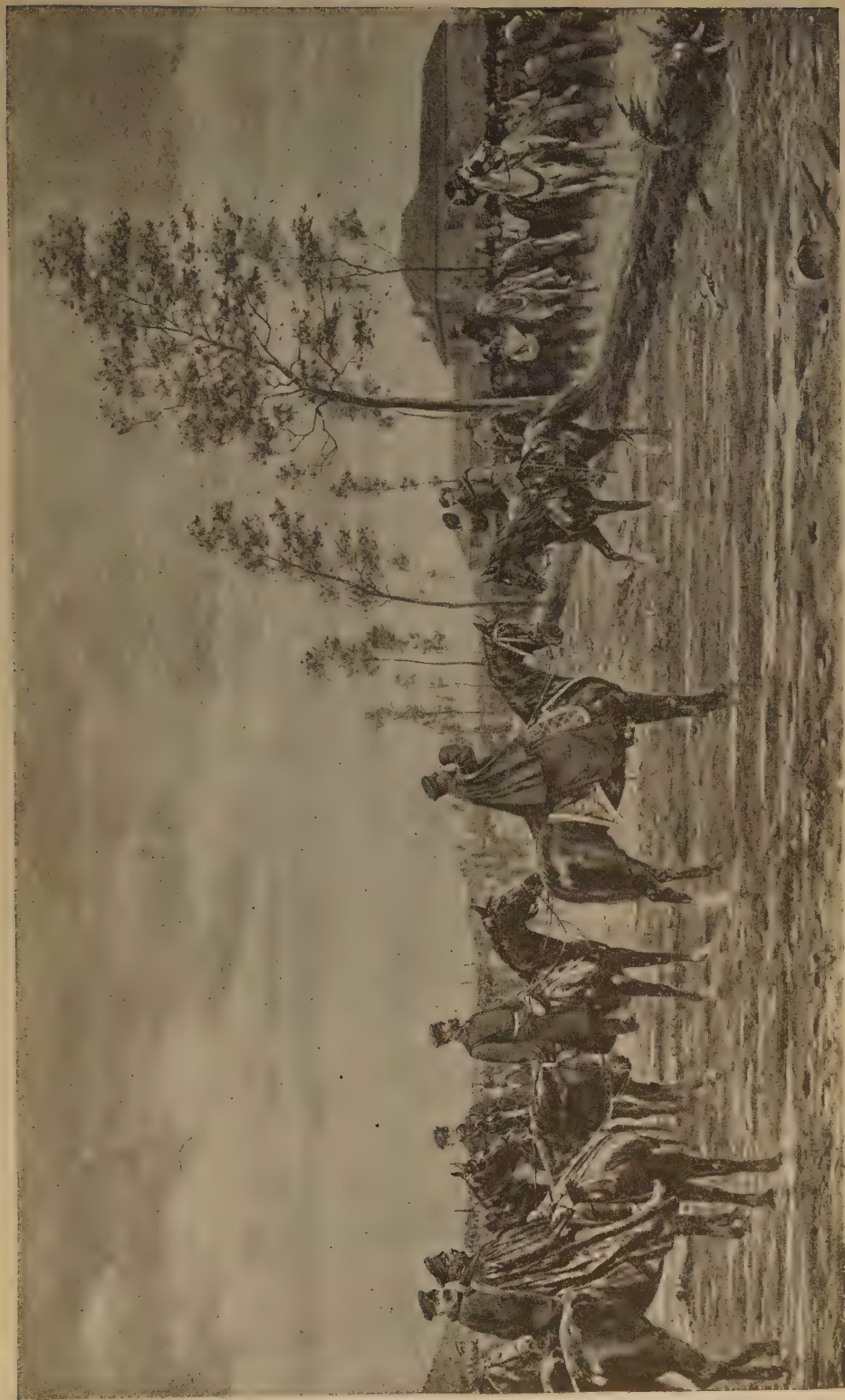
Appointed Prefect of the Department of the Lower Rhine by the Republican Government, in September, 1870, M. Valentin was desired to prove his patriotism by obtaining admission to Strassburg, then under siege. Disguised as a peasant, he made his way through the Prussian lines, and swimming across the moat under a fusillade of bullets from the French soldiers, reached the French side in safety, and as a prisoner was brought before Governor Uhrich. Turning up the sleeve of his shirt, he took therefrom the official document containing his appointment as Prefect, which was immediately recognised. Valentin, however, remained in office for about a week only. Strassburg capitulating on September 28th.

From the painting by Poiloux St. Ange, by permission of Messrs. Braun, Clement & Co.



PRUSSIA'S GREAT WAR WITH FRANCE: THE DEPARTURE OF KING WILLIAM I. FOR THE FRONT IN 1870

From the painting by Adolf Menzel, photo by Schauer



GENERAL BAZAINE'S SURRENDER OF THE TOWN OF METZ TO THE PRUSSIANS, ON OCTOBER 27TH, 1870
From the painting by Conrad Freyberg, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

possessed six batteries and 2,000,000 cartridges to procure arms and ammunition from every source, especially from England, a varied selection of weapons was the result; there were in the new army alone fifteen different kinds of guns in use. Nevertheless, Gambetta deserves admiration for having raised 600,000

**Grave
Danger
of Paris**

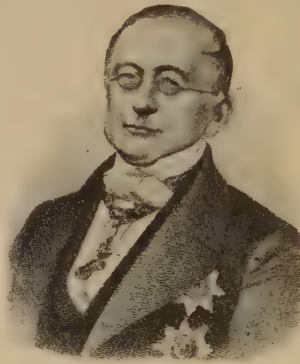
men within four months; and even if all attempts were shattered against the superior strategy and the incomparable efficiency of the German troops, still Gambetta saved the honour of France, and with it the future of the republic.

The Germans, shortly after Gambetta's arrival at Tours, had occupied Orleans on October 11th, and on October 18th, stormed Châteaudun, which was burnt, because the inhabitants had joined in the fight. But now troops in such superior numbers were being massed against them that at the headquarters in Versailles serious misgivings were felt as to the possibility of checking all the threatening advances upon Paris.

Under these circumstances all eyes were eagerly fixed on Bazaine, who still kept half the German army stationary under the walls of Metz. During this period all sorts of political negotiations had been conducted between Bazaine, the German headquarters, and the Empress Eugenie, now an exile in England. The gist of these negotiations was that Bazaine, supported by his army, which still remained loyal to its captive monarch, should conclude a peace and restore the empire; but the attempt failed from the numerous and great difficulties which stood in the way, and the position of the encircled army, which was unable to burst the ring of besiegers, became daily worse. From October 8th to 31st continuous rain fell in such torrents that the besiegers and the besieged, who were both encamped on the open field in miserable huts, suffered incredible hardships. Hardly any one had dry clothes; the wind whistled through the crevices; and German divisions which had only a fifth of their numbers in hospital were considered to be in an exceptionally good

condition. Among the French, the miseries of the weather were aggravated by the daily increasing want of provisions; in the end the soldiers received only one-third of their original allowance of bread, and the supply of salt was exhausted.

Bazaine therefore, after he had vainly tried to obtain the neutralisation of his army, and then its surrender, without the concurrent capitulation of Metz, was compelled to surrender himself with 173,000 men and 1,570 pieces of artillery to Prince Frederic Charles on October 27th. This was a success which surpassed the day of Sedan in grandeur, if not in glory. Germany now had in her hands the territory which she thought essential to secure her tranquillity, and the whole army of Frederic Charles was available



PRINCE GORTCHAKOFF

The Russian Imperial Chancellor, he was one of the most powerful Ministers in Europe, and in 1871 was responsible for the secession of Russia from the Treaty of Paris, arranged in the year 1856.

for other theatres of war. About this time the world was surprised by a circular from the Russian Imperial Chancellor, Prince Gortchakoff, which, bearing date October 31st, contained the declaration that the Treaty of Paris of March 30th, 1856, had been repeatedly infringed; for example, in 1859 and 1862, by the union of the two Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia into the single principality of Roumania—and that it was not Russia's bounden duty to observe merely those clauses in the treaty

which were detrimental to her. She did not, therefore, consider herself bound by that provision which declared the Black Sea neutral, but would, on the contrary, make full use of her right to construct a naval harbour there. The circular showed that the authorities at St. Petersburg wished to turn to account the position of

Europe, and during the weakness of France to cancel that treaty which France and England in their time had forced

upon the dominions of the Tsar, since it was detrimental to the honour and power of Russia. Britain and Austria issued on November 10th and 16th a protest against this selfish policy of Russia; but the conference at London, which met at Bismarck's suggestion on January 17th, 1871, approved the action of Russia in the

**Russia's
Selfish
Policy**

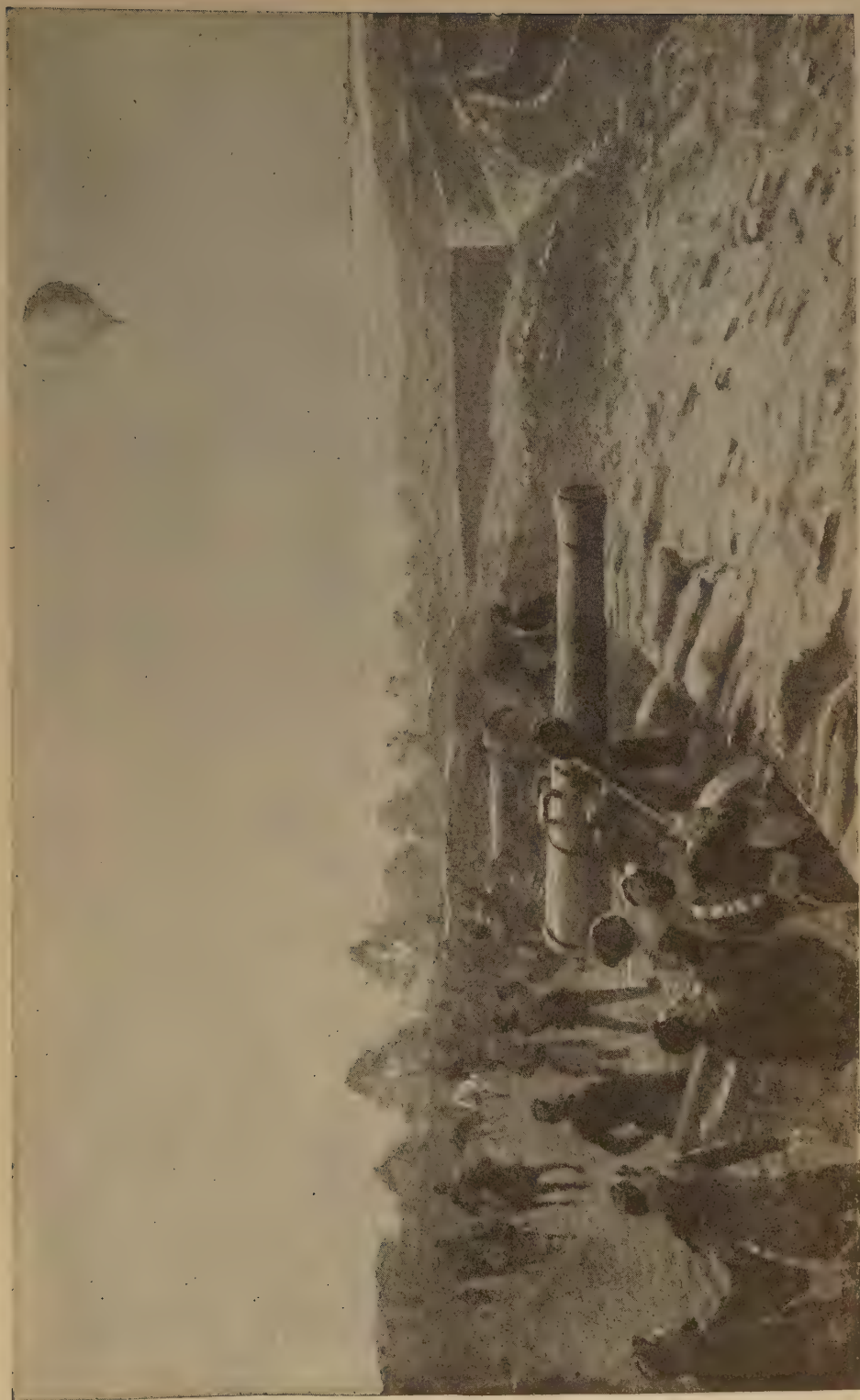


DEFENDERS OF THEIR COUNTRY IN THE WAR OF 1870: TRAPPIST MONKS AT EXERCISE BEFORE JOINING THE ARMY OF FRANCE

From a photograph by the Photochrome Co. of the painting by P. G. Robinet de Poissy



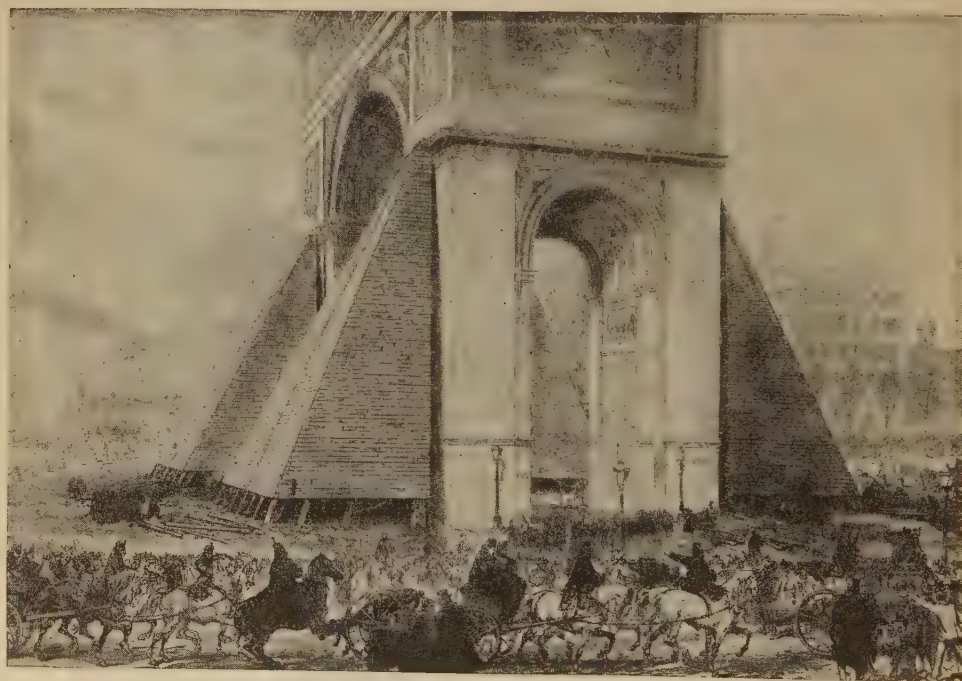
MEISSONIER'S SYMBOLIC PICTURE OF THE HEROIC DEFENCE OF PARIS WHEN BESIEGED BY THE GERMANS



THE HISTORIC SIEGE OF PARIS, SHOWING THE FORTIFICATIONS ERECTED BY THE FRENCH TO PROTECT THEIR CAPITAL
From the painting by A. Binet



THE BARRIER IN THE PLACE DU TRÔNE, NOW THE PLACE DE LA NATION



A SORTIE FROM PARIS, SHOWING THE PROTECTED ARC DE TRIOMPHE

Against the heavy fire of the attacking Prussians the Parisians erected defence works in the streets of the city, and from time to time sorties were made in the hope of driving the invaders from the strong positions which they held.



THE HAVOC OF THE SIEGE: RUINED BUILDINGS AT ST. CLOUD



PLACE DE L'HOSPICE AT ST. CLOUD AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF THE PRUSSIANS

Some idea of the destruction of property resulting from the siege of Paris is given in the above pictures, showing scenes of ruin at St. Cloud after the invading army had taken its departure from the French capital.

Black Sea, and only stipulated that the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus should be closed to the warships of all the Great Powers with the obvious exception of Turkey. The German Empire stood in this question on the side of Russia, whose emperor had indisputably facilitated the victory over France by his attitude, even if his Chancellor, Gortchakoff, tried to depreciate as far as possible the results of this victory. After the fall of Metz, Prince Frederic Charles received orders to detach a force under General Mantéuffel, in order to capture the still untaken fortresses in the rear of the Germans; he himself, with his four remaining corps, was to advance rapidly on the Loire by way of Fontainebleau and Sens. The state of things in that direction was critical. The French army of the Loire, with a strength of 60,000 men, had thrown itself on the 15,000 Bavarians of Von der Tann, defeated them at Coulmiers on November 9th, and compelled them to evacuate Orleans. The king immediately sent to the support of the Bavarians the 17th and 22nd divisions, with four cavalry divisions, which were no longer required before Paris, and entrusted the command of this "army section," including the Bavarians, to the Grand Duke Frederic Francis II. of Mecklenburg. Everything pointed to a great and decisive action. The Paris army was preparing for a sortie on a large scale, to which Gambetta wished to respond by a bold attack from Orleans; the Germans, encamped in front of the metropolis, were to be caught, if possible, between two fires and compelled to raise the siege. But the onslaught of 58,000 French, on November 28th at Beaune-la-Rolande, under the impetuous General Jean Constant Crouzat, whom Freycinet made the mistake of restraining, proved

ineffectual against the bravery of five German regiments and some batteries, commanded by Major Körber, a hero of Mars-la-Tour. The great sortie which General Ducrot attempted in the south-east of Paris on November 30th, against



GENERAL WERDER

After the capture of Alsace, this German commander forced his way into Franche Comté and Burgundy, where he occupied Dijon, the capital, on October 31st.

the positions of the Würtembergers and Saxons near the villages of Champigny and Brie, did not attain its object in spite of the great superiority of the French. The fire of the Würtembergers, bursting from behind the park walls of Villiers and Cœuilly, mowed down the attacking columns of the French in heaps. On December 2nd the village of Champigny, which had been lost on November 30th, was to a great extent won back by the help of the Pomeranians, and on December 3rd the army of the sortie returned back to Paris. It had lost 12,000 men,

Germans 6,000, and the besiegers had to abandon all hope of breaking their way through by their unassisted strength. General Ducrot, who had vowed to conquer or to die, and exposed himself recklessly to the bullets,



GENERAL MANTEUFFEL

In the German war against France he commanded the army of the north and subsequently was in command of that of the south, gaining some notable victories for the Prussian arms.

was compelled to re-enter Paris alive and defeated. Prince Frederic Charles defeated the army of the Loire, now commanded by the gallant General Chanzy, in the four days' battle of the 1st to the 4th of December at Loigny and Orleans, and on December 4th the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg again entered this town. German outposts bivouacked beneath the statue of the Maid of Orleans. The French army was in a most lamentable plight; the soldiers, clothed only in linen trousers and blouses, shivered with

cold and refused to fight any more. The army was finally broken into two parts, of which one, under Bourbaki, turned eastward on December 4th; the other part, under Chanzy, retired in a north-westerly direction on the right bank of the Loire, leaving Tours to its fate; while Gambetta



FRENCH SORTIE AT CHAMPIGNY, NOVEMBER 30, 1870: THE FIRST CANNON SHOTS
 From the painting by E. Beaumetz, by permission of Messrs. Braun, Clement & Co.



THE GERMANS SUCCESSFULLY REPELLING THE FRENCH ATTACK AT CHAMPIGNY

Following up their unsuccessful attack at Beaune-la-Rolande, the French, two days later, on November 30th, made a great sortie, under General Ducrot, against the positions of the Württembergers and Saxons near the villages of Champigny and Brie; but, though the French were greatly superior in numbers, the attack was repelled, the fire of the Württembergers, bursting from behind the park walls of Villiers and Cœnilly, mowing down the French columns in heaps.

with the "Delegation" fled to Bordeaux on December 8th. Chanzy, pursued by the prince and the grand duke, was again defeated at Beaugency, December 7th-10th, and driven back on Le Mans. But the Germans followed him thither, along roads deep in snow and covered with ice, where the cavalry had to dismount and

**Garibaldi
Fighting
for France**

lead their horses, and on January 11th and 12th, 1871, won another great victory before Le Mans, in consequence of which Chanzy was compelled to retire still further west towards Brittany, to Laval. The army of the Loire was thus to all intents annihilated. Meantime there was fighting in two other districts. General Werder, after the capture of Alsace, had forced his way into Franche Comté and Burgundy, where he occupied Dijon, the capital, on October 31st. The chief command against him was held by the hero of the Italian revolution, Garibaldi, who was so much moved by the change of France into a republic that he placed his sword at the services of that very nation which in 1860 had taken his native town of Nice from the National State of Italy. But he was only a shadow of his former self, and could no longer sit a horse; he would have done best to have remained on his rocky island of Caprera. The Garibaldian volunteers from Italy and other countries who mustered round the leader were a rabble, clothed in a picturesque uniform, who eventually proved more troublesome to the French than to the Germans. The Badeners, under General Adolf von Glümer, without allowing themselves to be stopped by these troops, took Nuits by storm on December 18th.

The other theatre of war was the north-east of France, especially Picardy and Normandy. The resistance here, as elsewhere, was organised by emissaries from the "Delegation," and the northern army was created, so that the German headquarters sent General Manteuffel there in November. Manteuffel defeated the French, under Farre, on November 27th, at Amiens, where the "Moblots"—Gardes Mobiles—by a disgraceful flight carried the troops of the line away with them. Amiens and Rouen were occupied, and

General von Goeben knew how to treat the Normans so well that they ran after him trustingly on the roads, and the peasants brought provisions to the markets—quite otherwise than in the east, where all the shutters were closed and the doors locked when the Germans approached.

The prudent and energetic General Faidherbe succeeded, it is true, in rallying and strengthening the French troops; but on his advance from Lille he was beaten back by Manteuffel on the river La Hallue, at Port Noyelles, on December 23rd. Since his soldiers were forced to spend the night fasting, with a temperature far below freezing point, he felt himself, on December 24th, unable to fight any further, he therefore abandoned his dangerous positions and withdrew to Arras. A second advance, on January 3rd, 1871,



RUDOLPH DELBRÜCK

A Prussian statesman, and for many years the right-hand man of Bismarck, he opened at Munich the official negotiations which had as their object a united Germany.

at Bapaume, was equally unsuccessful. General Goeben, who, after Manteuffel was sent to the south-east, received the supreme command over the two German corps, ended the war in the north by the capture of the fortress of Péronne on January 8th, and by the brilliant victory at St. Quentin on January 19th, where Faidherbe lost 13,000 men. The fortress of St. Quentin itself fell into the hands of the victors, and the French northern army was reduced to such a condition that it no longer counted for anything. The capital of

France held out all this time against the Germans who were investing it. But provisions were getting scarcer and scarcer, and occasional attempts at insurrection among the populace indicated that the reputation of the Government was waning. The resistance, nevertheless, lasted far longer than was ever considered probable on the German side, and public opinion in Germany demanded with increasing emphasis that Paris should be effectively bombarded to accelerate the capitulation. Bismarck, from the very beginning of the siege, maintained that too much energy could not be shown in attacking the enemy, since, in the first place, the investing army suffered mentally and physically from the long inaction, and, secondly, the apparently successful

**Paris
Under the
Siege**



AN EPISODE IN THE SIEGE OF PARIS: PRUSSIAN SOLDIERS IN A FRENCH HOME

From the painting by Anton von Werner, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.



THE VAIN ONSLAUGHT OF THE FRENCH ON THE GERMAN BATTERIES AT BEAUNE-LA-ROLANDE ON NOVEMBER 28TH, 1870
From the painting by Beauquesne, by permission of Messrs. Braun, Clement & Co.



REPULSE OF THE FRENCH TROOPS AT THE BATTLE OF BAPAUME ON JANUARY 3RD, 1871

From the painting by A. Dumaresque

resistance of Paris revived the hopes of the French for an eventual victory, and once more brought up the danger of foreign intervention which was thought to have been surmounted after the day of Sedan. But the Crown Prince, Blumenthal, Moltke himself, and General von Gothberg were of opinion that a bombardment would not reach the workmen's quarter of Paris, and would thus be ineffective, and that the only means of reducing the city lay in starving it out; according to Blumenthal six weeks would be sufficient. During this time of expectancy the most important event of all, the question of the unity of Germany, was destined to be decided under the walls of Paris. There was a general feeling directly after the first victories that the Germans, who had



EMPEROR WILLIAM I.
From a photograph

marched united to the war, ought not at its close to break up again into the old disunion, but that political union ought to result from the military union as a necessary consequence and as the chief fruit of the war. From the moment when Bismarck, in the name of the Germans, demanded the cession of Strassburg and Metz as tangible guarantees for peace, the fact was established that these border fortresses of the German people could not be held without the permanent political unity of the German nation.

The current of opinion setting towards unity was strong enough to carry with it the princes, who, on account of the probable sacrifices of their sovereignty thereby

entailed, could not lightly resolve upon the decisive negotiations. These negotiations were stimulated by a large meeting held in Berlin on August 30th, which proposed as its motto that the fruits of the war must be: "A united nation and protected frontiers." The Grand Duke Frederic of Baden, whose first counsellor since the death of Mathy was the keen advocate of national unity, Julius Jolly, declared on September 2nd that he would support the constitutional union of the South German states with the North German Confederation. King Ludwig II. of Bavaria and King Charles I. of Württemberg also gave an assurance on September 5th and 7th that they were anxious

to secure to Germany the fruits of victory in the fullest measure and to establish a just mean between the national coherency



LOUIS ADOLPHE THIERS

In the days of French humiliation that attended the occupation of Paris by the victorious enemy, the great man of the crisis proved to be Adolphe Thiers, who succeeded in inducing the National Assembly to agree to peace on terms which Germany had practically dictated.

of the German races and their individual independence. The official negotiations were opened at Munich towards the end of September by Rudolf Delbrück, the President of the Federal Chancery of the North German Confederation, and were afterwards continued by Bismarck in Versailles. They encountered, indeed, considerable difficulties, since the Particularists were only willing to concede the most modest measure of centralisation. The Bavarians argued the superfluity of a strict union from the very loyalty which all races had shown to the thought of nationality; in case of necessity Germany would always find all her children rallying round her. The King of Bavaria claimed as

THE BIRTH OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

compensation for his consent to the establishment of a German federal state a sort of viceroyalty for the House of Wittelsbach, so that the Bavarian ambassadors, in the event of any impediment to the imperial ambassadors, should represent them ex officio. Prince Leopold, the uncle of the king, had suggested on January 10th, 1871, the alternation of the imperial Crown between the Houses of Hohenzollern and Wittelsbach, but had received no answer at all. In addition to Bavaria, Hesse, the Minister of which, Baron von Dalwigk, was

a sworn enemy to Prussia, made as many difficulties as possible. The King of Württemberg on November 12th, when everything seemed already settled, allowed himself to be persuaded by influence from Munich once more to delay the termination. But when Baden on November 15th signed the treaty as to the admission into the North German Confederation, and Hesse followed on the same day, the ice was broken. The Crown Prince became so impatient at the delays in the settlement of the matter that he thought that the business should be hurried on, that emperor and Empire should be proclaimed by the

princes of Baden, Oldenburg, Weimar, and Coburg, and a constitution corresponding to the reasonable wishes of the people should be sanctioned by the Reichstag and the Landtags; in that case the two South German kings would have to acquiesce with the best grace they could.

The Crown Prince and Bismarck were thoroughly agreed upon the point that the King of Prussia, as President of the German Federal State, must bear the old and honourable title of emperor. The aged monarch himself had grave doubts as to relegating to the second place the comprehensive title of King

of Prussia, which his ancestor Frederic I. had created of his own set purpose, and of assuming an empty title, which his brother had declined in 1849, and which he himself had jestingly styled "brevet-major."

Bismarck maintained his own wise independence towards the father and the son. To the first he emphasised the fact that the title of emperor contained an outward recognition of the de facto predominant position of the Prussian king, on which much depended; and he asked the latter

whether he could consider it wise and honourable to exercise compulsion on two allies who had shed their blood shoulder to shoulder with the North Germans. He was convinced that the new Empire would not rest on firm foundations unless all the German races joined it of their own free will, without the feeling that any compulsion was being applied to them. He therefore granted to the Bavarians and the Württembergers by the "Reserved Rights" a privileged position in the Empire, which, although only accepted with reluctance by all determined supporters of German unity, has justified the foresight

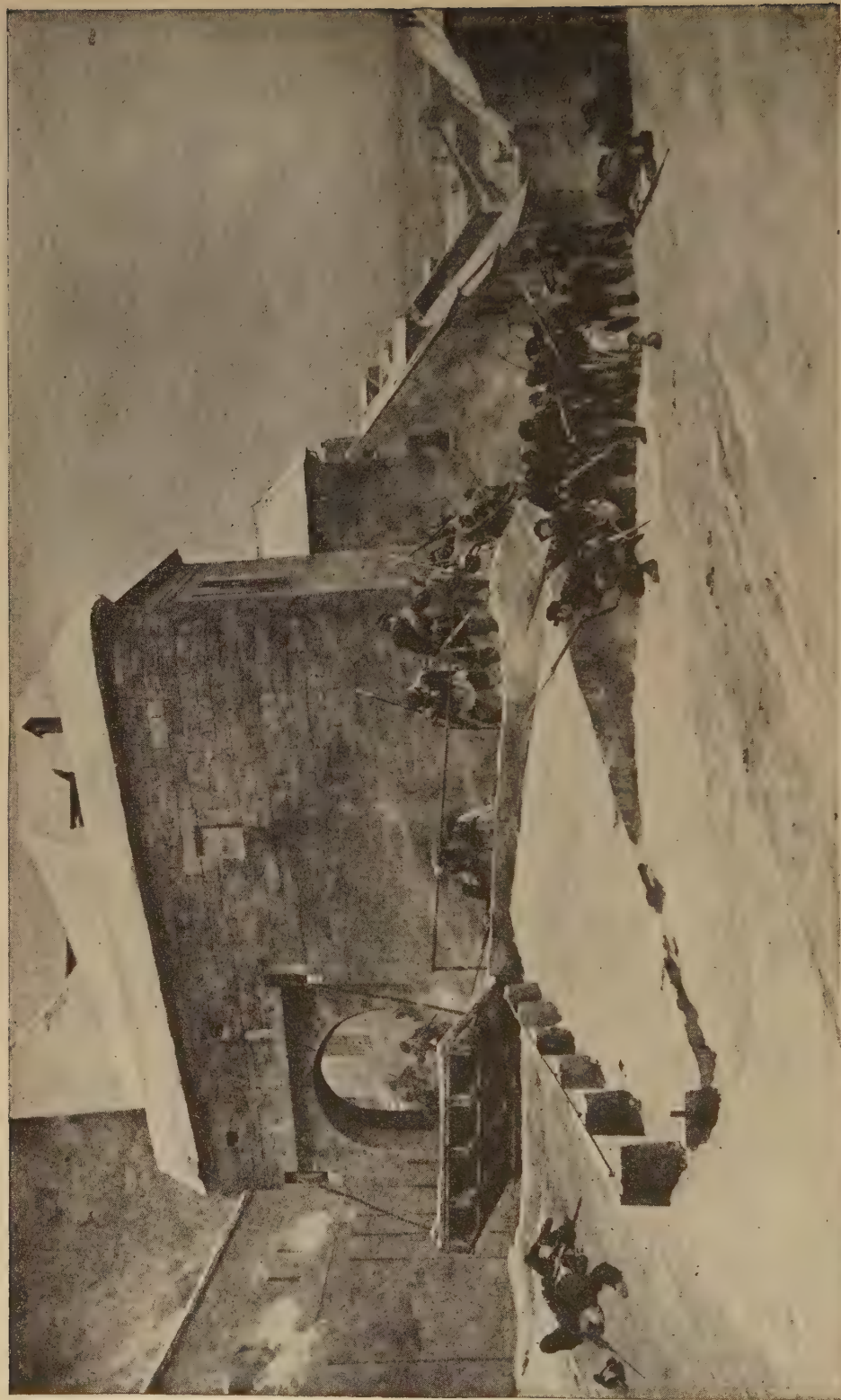
of the great statesman by affording these kingdoms the opportunity of joining the national cause without humiliation to their sense of importance.

The treaties signed on November 23rd at Versailles for Bavaria, and on November 25th, 1870, at Berlin for Württemberg, reserved for both states the independent administration of the post office and telegraphs, and the private right of taxing native beer and brandy; this second privilege was granted to Baden also. It was further settled that the Bavarian army should be a distinct component part of the



WILLIAM I. WHEN KING OF PRUSSIA

From a photograph



THE FRENCH TROOPS ATTEMPTING TO RAISE THE SIEGE OF PARIS: THE ATTACK ON THE CHÂTEAU DE MONTBELIARD
From the painting by Berne-Bellecour, by permission of Messrs. Braun, Clement & Co.

THE BIRTH OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

German Federal army with its own military administration under the command of the King of Bavaria, and that also the Würtemberg army should form a distinct corps, whose commander, however, could only be nominated by the King of Würtemberg with the previous assent of the King of Prussia. The organisation,

Progress of German Unity

training, and system of mobilisation of the Bavarian and Würtemberg troops were to be remodelled according to the principles in force for the Federal army. The Federal commander possessed the right to inspect the Bavarian and Würtemberg armies, and from the first day of mobilisation onwards all the troops of North and South Germany alike had to obey his commands.

The consideration which Bismarck showed to the kings procured him not merely their sincere confidence during the whole term of his life, a fact which was politically of much value, but also facilitated the settlement of the question of the title. Recognising that it is more palatable to the ambition of secondary states to have a German Emperor over them than a King of Prussia, King Ludwig consented on December 3rd to propose to the German princes, in a letter drafted by Bismarck himself, that a joint invitation should be given His Majesty the King of Prussia to combine the exercise of the rights of President of the Federation with the style of a "German Emperor."

King William consented, waiving his scruples in deference to the universal wish of the princes and peoples of Germany. The Reichstag and the Landtags sanctioned the constitution of the "German Empire" in December and January, and on December 18th a deputation of the Reichstag appeared in Versailles, in order to transmit to the king, through the president, the good wishes of the representatives of the people for the imperial Crown. There was

His Majesty Emperor William I.

still friction to be smoothed away; but on January 18th, 1871—the day on which, in 1701, the Prussian monarchy had been proclaimed—in the Hall of Mirrors of the splendid Chateau of Versailles, erected by Louis XIV., the adoption of the imperial title was solemnly inaugurated in the presence of numerous German princes. The Grand Duke Frederic of Baden led the first cheer for His Majesty Emperor William. In a proclamation to the Ger-

man people, composed by Bismarck, the emperor announced his resolve "to aid at all times the growth of the Empire, not by the conquests of the sword, but by the goods and gifts of peace, in the sphere of national prosperity, freedom, and culture." In the years that have elapsed since that day the world has had opportunity to judge to what extent this has been the guiding star of three German emperors.

At the moment when the Empire was revived, or, to speak more correctly, was called into existence, the French powers of resistance were everywhere becoming exhausted; even those of the capital were failing. At Christmas-time 235 heavy pieces of siege artillery were collected in Villacoublay, east of Versailles, and the bombardment of the east front of Paris was commenced on December 27th with such violence that the French evacuated Mont Avron "almost at a gallop." The bombardment of the city itself began from

Bombarding the French Capital

the south side on January 5th, and after five and a half hours Fort Issy ceased its fire. Since the shots, owing to an elevation of thirty degrees, which had been obtained by special contrivances, carried beyond the centre of the city, the inhabitants fled from the south to the north of Paris—a movement by which the difficulties of feeding them were much increased.

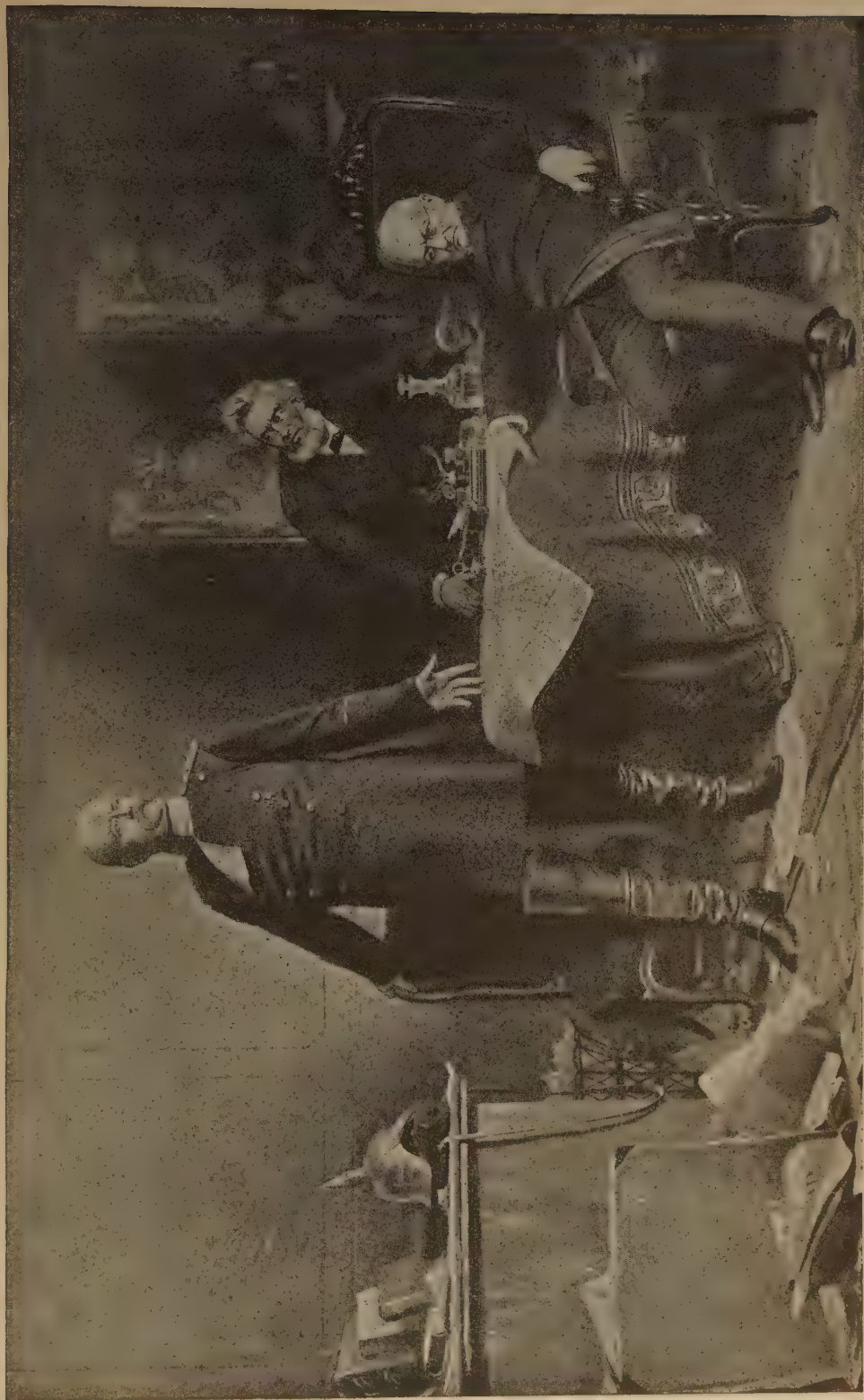
A great, and final, sortie towards the west, which was attempted on January 19th by Trochu with 90,000 men, was defeated at Buzenval and Saint Cloud, before the French had even approached the main positions of the Germans. The bombardment of the north front began on January 21st.

Here, too, the forts were completely demolished; parts of the bastions were soon breached; the garrisons had no protection against the German shells. It was known in the city that Chanzy had been completely routed at Le Mans on January 11th and 12th, and the last prospect of relief was destroyed by the ill-tidings from the east.

General Bourbaki had marched in that direction with half of the army of the Loire; with the strength of his forces raised to 130,000 men, he hoped to compel the Germans under Werder, who only numbered 42,000, to relinquish the siege of the fortress of Belfort, and to force the Germans before Paris to retire, by



WILLIAM I. PROCLAIMED GERMAN EMPEROR IN THE HALL OF MIRRORS AT VERSAILLES, ON JANUARY 18TH, 1871
From the painting by Anton von Werner by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.



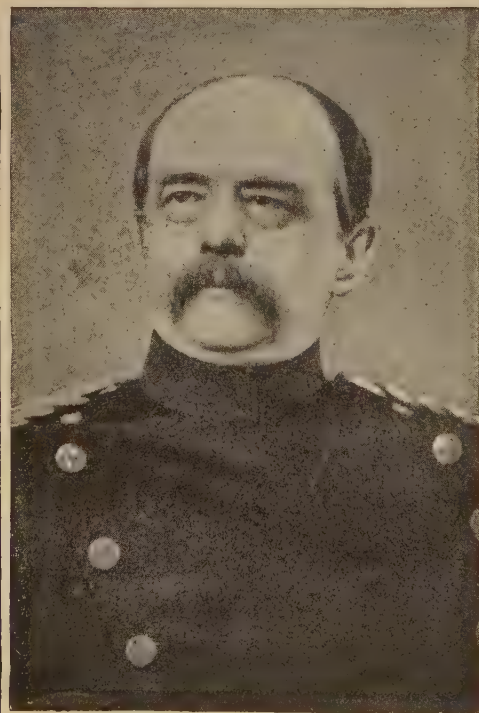
TERMINATING THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR: BISMARCK AND THIERS CONCLUDING PEACE AT VERSAILLES
From the painting by Wagner, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.



AS INSPECTOR OF DYKES IN 1850



ENVOY AT THE GERMAN DIET IN 1858



DURING THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR



PRINCE BISMARCK AT SEVENTY

GERMANY'S "IRON CHANCELLOR" AT FOUR STAGES OF HIS CAREER

THE BIRTH OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

threatening their communications in the rear. But Werder attacked the enemy, three times his superior in numbers, at Montbéliard on the Lisaine, and repulsed, in the three days' fighting, from January 15th to 17th, all the attacks of Bourbaki. Not one French battalion was able to reach Belfort, where salvos had been vainly fired in honour of victory when the cannon-shots were heard.

Bourbaki commenced his retreat, dispirited and weakened; but when he learnt that Moltke had sent General Manteuffel with the Pomeranians and Rhinelanders to block his road by Gray and Dôle, and when Garibaldi, although he retook Dijon and on January 23rd captured the flag of the 61st regiment from under a heap of dead bodies, was unable to help him, he went back to Pontarlier.

But before he surrendered his army to be disarmed by the neutral Swiss, he made an ineffectual attempt to blow out his brains. His successor, Justin Clinchant finally crossed the Franco-Swiss frontier on February 1st with 80,000 men.

Famine Sufferings in Paris The last army of France was thus annihilated and the fate of Belfort sealed. Colonel Denfert-Rochereau surrendered the bravely-defended but now untenable town to General Udo von Tresckow on February 18th.

In Paris the dearth of provisions grew greater and greater during January. On the 21st a pound of ham cost \$4, a pound of butter \$5, a goose \$28. Horses, cats, \$2.25, dogs, and rats had long been eaten. In view of the threatened famine, Favre, the Foreign Minister, eventually appeared at the German headquarters on January 23rd, the 127th day of the siege, to negotiate the terms of a capitulation.

An agreement was at last reached on January 28th, by which an armistice of twenty-one days was granted for the election of a National Assembly, which should decide on war and peace; but, in return for the concession a high penalty was exacted, all the forts round Paris were delivered up to the Germans, and the whole garrison of the town declared prisoners of war.

The town had to hand over all its cannons and rifles within fourteen days; the only exception was made in favour of the National Guard, the disarmament of which Favre declared to be impracticable owing to

the insurrectionary spirit prevailing in that corps. Paris was thus in the hands of the Germans, although the emperor refrained from a regular occupation of it, which might easily lead to bloody encounters and hence to new difficulties, in the hope of peace being soon concluded. Permission was, of course, given for provisioning the city.

Thiers the Great Man of the Crisis Gambetta would not consent to the armistice, but was compelled by Jules Simon, who was sent by the Government to Bordeaux, to retire on February 6th. The great man of the crisis was henceforward Adolphe Thiers, who at the beginning of the war had counselled a cautious policy, and then, after Sedan, had vainly endeavoured to induce the Great Powers to intervene. He had proved himself a far-sighted patriot, to whom the country might look for its rescue.

On February 8th, twenty-six departments elected him to the National Assembly, which numbered among them 768 deputies, 400 to 500 supporters of the monarchy, Orleanists and Legitimists, but included a large majority for peace. Fully a third of France was occupied by the Germans, and Faidherbe declared that if the Government wished to continue the war in Flanders, the people would intervene and surrender to the Germans. On February 17th, Thiers was elected to the highest post in the state under the title of "Chief of the Executive," and was sent on the 21st to Versailles for the purpose of negotiating a peace.

Bismarck demanded the whole of Alsace with Belfort, and a fifth of Lorraine with Metz and Diedenhofen, in addition \$1,200,000,000 and the entry of the German troops into Paris. After prolonged negotiations he assented to remit \$200,000,000 and waive all claim to Belfort, but insisted the more emphatically on the entry into Paris, which in some degree would impress the seal on the German victories and place clearly before the eyes of the French their complete defeat, as a deterrent from future wars. Thiers hurried with the conditions mentioned to Bordeaux. On March 1st, the same day on which 30,000 German soldiers, selected from all the German races, marched into Paris and occupied the quarter of the town near the Champs Elysées, together with the Château of the Tuileries, the preliminary treaty for peace, which the National Assembly had

The Dawn of Peace



GERMANY'S CONQUERING EMPEROR : THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF WILLIAM I. INTO BERLIN ON JUNE 10th 1871
From the painting by Camphausen, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

THE BIRTH OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

adopted, after a stormy debate, by 546 votes to 107, was completed in Bordeaux. The official ratification of it reached Versailles on the evening of March 2nd. The Germans evacuated Paris on the 3rd, and retired behind the right bank of the Seine, which was to be the boundary of the two armies until the final peace was concluded. According to this agreement the forts to the east and north of Paris were still occupied by the Germans.

The subsequent peace negotiations were conducted in Brussels by plenipotentiaries, but proceeded so slowly that Bismarck, at the beginning of May, 1871, finally invited Favre to Frankfort-on-the-Main, in order to arrive at a clear understanding with him through a personal conference. After a short discussion the final peace was signed there on May 10th. It contained, contrary to the preliminary treaty, a small exchange of territory at Belfort and Diedenhofen, and the proviso that the evacuation of French territory by the Germans should take place by degrees, in proportion as instalments of the war indemnity were paid.

The results of the German struggle for unity were immense. In comparison with them the sacrifices of the war were not so excessive. They amounted on the German side to 28,600 killed in battle, 12,000 deaths from disease, and 4,000 missing, a grand total, therefore, of about 45,000 men; the number of wounded was calculated at 101,000. The French lost 150,000 killed and 150,000 wounded; the number of prisoners was eventually raised to more than 600,000.

Emperor William I. held a grand review of the victorious troops in the east of Paris on March 7th, and entered Berlin on March 17th. On March 21st he opened in person the first German Reichstag; on June 16th, a triumphal entry of the German army, selected out of all the German races, was made into Berlin, between two lines of 7,400 captured cannons. The age of the Holy Roman Empire of Louis XIV. and of the Napoleons was over. The new Empire of the German nation had come into being.

G. EGELHAAF



THE INTERROGATOR: AN EPISODE IN THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

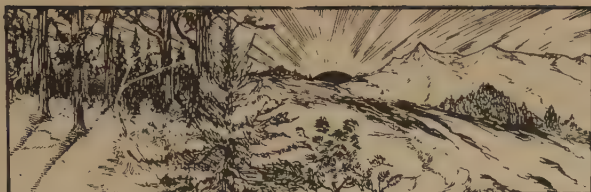


" IRRECONCILABLE "



" RECONCILED "

The horrors of war are vividly suggested by these pictures of Gustave Doré. In the first, the battle is over, leaving its carnage behind. But among the wounded are two who have fought on opposite sides, and realising each other's presence there springs up anew their hatred as they prepare to resume the struggle single-handed. But the combatants who are thus "irreconcilable" have come together in the second picture, and in their nearness to the Cross and in the presence of death have put aside their differences, that they may be of service to each other.



SCANDINAVIA IN THE 19TH CENTURY THE PROGRESS OF THE NORTHERN KINGDOMS

THE unfortunate policy of Frederic VI.

had caused Denmark great reverses. She had lost her fleet, on which she had always prided herself, and had been separated from Norway, thus losing half her Scandinavian population; her prosperity had been destroyed in the wars; the national debt had assumed enormous proportions, and the financial position had been so bad that in 1813 the Government had been compelled to declare the state insolvent. Industry, too, had been paralysed, and was unable to recover for some years after the declaration of peace; commerce was almost at a standstill and to a great extent dependent on Hamburg; and agriculture, which had been very profitable during the war by reason of the high price of corn, now suffered from falling prices. But the cloud was, after all, not without its silver lining. The national extremity, and the hard struggle that

Denmark Renews its Strength

was made at the opening of the century, had a stimulating and fertilising influence on the intellectual life of the community.

While political interests were unimportant and material prosperity was declining, art and literature flourished; it seemed as if the nation sought in these things consolation for its unhappy circumstances. Gradually the economic situation improved. The finances were set in order by the establishment of a national bank independent of the Government; industry prospered, and at Frederic's death, in 1839, the country had renewed its strength.

While Crown Prince, Frederic VI. had been a great friend of reform; but as king he was strongly conservative, and opposed to any changes in the constitution. But in proportion as their condition improved the people awoke to an interest in public affairs, and the desire for freedom and self-government became stronger and stronger. After the "July Revolution," the effects of which were felt in Denmark as well as in other lands, Frederic at last

decided to meet the popular wish, at least in part. He therefore instituted four advisory diets—for the islands, Jütland, Schleswig, and Holstein—the first step towards a free constitution. Frederic's successor, his half-cousin Christian VIII., 1839-1848, was just as little disposed to renounce absolutism. But now

Aims of the National Liberals

the cry for a free constitution grew louder, and the National Liberals worked for the abolition of absolutism. They wished also to terminate the union of Schleswig and Holstein, and to attach more closely to Denmark that province in which the large proportion of German inhabitants endangered Danish nationality.

In the eighteenth century the two united duchies had once more come into the possession of the Danish Crown. Schleswig was, however, not incorporated with the remainder of Denmark; it remained in close connection with Holstein, and German was the official language. Frederic VI. did, indeed, give Schleswig a diet of its own, but bound the two duchies together by placing them under a Ministry and a supreme court common to both.

As the result of its long connection with Holstein, Schleswig had become more and more German, and by the nineteenth century almost half the population spoke German. When the Danes at last took measures to preserve the Danish nationality of the province, this course embittered the Germans. Thus it came about that a Schleswig-Holstein party grew up in

Denmark's German Duchies

the two duchies and demanded that Schleswig-Holstein should be made independent of Denmark, and be constituted one of the states of the German Confederation. The leaders of this party, the princes of Augustenburg, who, as descendants of a younger son, Hans the younger, of King Christian III, hoped to obtain the duchies for themselves if the royal line became extinct—which seemed likely to happen

shortly—sought support in Germany, where an enthusiastic national movement in their favour was started.

The other Scandinavian countries, on the contrary, with whom the idea of Scandinavian unity at that time had great weight, were in favour of the aims of the National Liberal party in Denmark.

Schleswig's Desire for Independence The king hesitated for a long time; but at last he declared, on July 8th, 1846, that Schleswig was indissolubly bound to Denmark. In other respects, too, he met the wishes of the National Liberals; and he had just completed the framing of a constitution when death cut short his labours on January 20th, 1848.

Immediately after his death the Schleswig-Holstein party demanded the recognition of Schleswig-Holstein as a separate state. But Christian's son and successor, Frederic VII., 1848-1863, refused to separate Schleswig from Holstein, though he promised Holstein, like the other provinces, a free constitution. The Schleswig-Holstein party were, however, not willing to accept this proposal, and before long civil war broke out. Prussia supported the party of secession, and a German army entered the duchies. The Danes had to retire to Alsén, but the armistice arranged at Malmö, August 26th, through the mediation of Oscar I. of Norway and Sweden, did not lead to the conclusion of peace. In 1849 the war was renewed. Meanwhile the reactionary party had gained the upper hand in Germany; Prussia made peace on July 2nd, 1850, and by the next year the resistance of Schleswig-Holstein was overcome.

During the war Denmark had received a free constitution. The draft prepared by Christian VIII. had not met with general approval, and a Constituent Assembly summoned by Frederic VII. therefore published a constitution, dated June 5th, 1849, in which the kingdom was made a limited monarchy.

German Powers Intervene This constitution was intended for Schleswig as well as Denmark, but to this the German Powers would not consent. In 1852 it was agreed that Schleswig should not remain united to Holstein, but must not be incorporated with Denmark. On the death of Frederic VII. the whole monarchy was to fall to Prince Christian of Glücksburg and his consort Louise of Hesse-Cassel, whose mother was a sister of

Christian VIII. The general constitution of July 26th, 1854, met with opposition, however, especially from the populations of Holstein and Lauenburg, whose part was taken by Prussia and Austria.

But in Denmark, where hopes were entertained, on account of the disputes existing between the chief German states, of solving the question of the constitution without German interference, the national—Eider-Danish—party, which proposed to incorporate Schleswig in the kingdom, gained the upper hand. Two days after giving his approval to a new constitution for Denmark and Schleswig, Frederic VII. died in November, 1863.

Christian IX., 1863-1906, gave way to the wishes of the Danes and signed the "November Constitution." But now Frederic—VIII.—of Augustenburg came forward with his claims to the duchies, and was supported by Prussia and Austria. These Powers refused to recognise the new king's right of succession except on condition that the November Constitution should be annulled. As the Danes did not accede to this demand, the second

Schleswig Causes a Second War Schleswig war broke out in January, 1864. Denmark had hoped to receive help from Norway and Sweden, as well as from the Western Powers, but these hopes proved to be ill founded. The Danish army, which had occupied the "Danework," retired to Düppel as early as February 5th.

Here the Danes defended themselves bravely, but were at last forced to cross to Alsén. The Prussians occupied Jütland, expelled the Danes from Alsén, and threatened to land on Zealand. The Danes could now resist no longer. At the Treaty of Vienna, October 30th, 1864, Denmark ceded the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg to Prussia and Austria; and her hope of recovering, by virtue of Article 5 of the Treaty of Prague, concluded on August 23rd, 1866, at least the northern part of Schleswig has not been fulfilled. The loss of Schleswig resulted in a change of the constitution, and on July 28th, 1866, Denmark received the fundamental law still in force.

Soon after the declaration of peace the country became involved in internal dissensions. A dispute arose in 1870 between the Government and the "Folketinget"—one of the Chambers of the Rigsdag—as to the correct interpretation of the constitution, and the struggle only

SCANDINAVIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

ended in 1804 when the "negotiating" portion of the Left Party, which had been divided since 1878, went over to the Right. In spite of this Denmark has been on the path of progress ever since the middle of the last century. The great agricultural reforms begun in 1788 have been continued and a fixed payment substituted for forced service. The number of tenant-farmers has fallen, and the peasantry have the same political rights as the other classes of the community. Like agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and shipping are progressing satisfactorily. The obligation on artisans to join a guild has been removed, and means of communication have been improved. The merchants have become independent of Hamburg. Copenhagen, which was provided with extensive fortifications in 1886, has been a free port since 1844.

Good provision is made for national education, the general level of which is, on the whole, a high one; the people's universities, in particular which have been imitated in Norway and Sweden, have promoted the education of the peasantry and exercised considerable influence on their intellectual life. On the accession to the Swedish throne of Charles XIII., who was old and childless, Christian Augustus, Prince of Augustenburg, was chosen as successor in 1809, but died suddenly on May 28th, 1810. It was then that a young Swedish officer, who met the Prince of Pontecorvo, Marshal Bernadotte, in Paris, offered him the Crown on his own responsibility, and contrived to use his influence in Sweden so that the marshal was designated heir to the Crown on August 21st at a Riksdag at Orebro. Bernadotte, who called himself Crown Prince Charles John, went with his son Oscar to Sweden in October, and at once became actual ruler.

Sweden's Novel Choice of a King

The Swedes had chosen him on the supposition that he was on friendly terms with Napoleon, and hoped that he would regain Finland for them with the help of

the emperor. Charles John, however, had never been Napoleon's friend and did not wish to be his vassal; he therefore abandoned the idea of reconquering Finland, which, in his opinion, Sweden could never defend. He would have liked to obtain possession of Norway, which, by reason of its situation, seemed to belong rather to Sweden than to Denmark. Accordingly he approached Alexander I. of Russia, and on April 5th, 1812, concluded a treaty with the Tsar and joined the league against Napoleon. In return for this Russia and Britain promised their assistance in the conquest of Norway. In May, 1813, he crossed over into Ger-

many with an army, received in July chief command over the "united army of North Germany," was victorious at Grossbeeren and Dennewitz, and took part in the Battle of Leipzig. After this great battle he advanced against Denmark with part of the northern army, and by the Peace of Kiel, January 14th, 1814, compelled King Frederic VI. to relinquish the kingdom of Norway. Charles John then attached himself again to the allies, who had marched to France, and did not return to the north until the summer of 1814. In the mean-

time the Norwegians, who did not wish to submit to Sweden, had drawn up a free constitution and chosen the Danish prince, Christian Frederic, as their king. Charles John, who was shrewd enough to acknowledge the Norwegian constitution, succeeded in removing Christian Frederic and in bringing about the union between Sweden and Norway in a peaceful way.

By his ability as a soldier and a politician Charles John raised his new country from the lethargy into which it had been plunged by the foolish policy of Gustavus IV. to its former rank as a kingdom; he ruled with energy and discretion and furthered the welfare of the land. He was therefore admired and beloved by the people, and, foreigner though he was,

Union of Sweden and Norway



CHARLES XIV. OF SWEDEN

The son of a lawyer, Bernadotte, one of Napoleon's marshals, was elected heir to the throne of Sweden in 1810, and became king without opposition on the death of Charles XIII. in 1818.

he ascended the throne of Sweden as Charles XIV. at the death of Charles XIII., on February 5th, 1818, without opposition.

In time the enthusiasm for the new king declined; he had, it is true, an attractive and lovable nature, but he was also violent in temper, intolerant of criticism, and became more and more conservative, especially after the "Revolution of July." The greatest dissatisfaction was aroused by his resistance to every proposal for altering the constitution, which on several points, particularly with respect to the organisation of the Riksdag, did not meet the requirements of the times. He, the son of the Revolution, was charged with holding narrow views.

After 1830, a Liberal opposition was formed, which steadily increased in power, and numbered distinguished personalities among its leaders. As the Government was strongly opposed to all innovations, the indignation at last grew so great that there were serious thoughts of compelling the king to resign in 1840. However, the storm was averted, and the last years of Charles XIV. were passed in quiet. He died on March 8th, 1844, aged eighty-one years.

Under his son, Oscar I., 1844-1859, who was just as popular in Sweden as in Norway, the opposition became weaker. The king attached himself to the Liberals, surrounded himself with Ministers of broad views, and sanctioned an extension of the freedom of the Press, and triennial assemblies of the Riksdag. However, his popular proposition regarding the reconstruction of the Riksdag was rejected in 1850, and after the Revolution of February, when a reaction was sweeping over Europe, Oscar also grew more conservative and let the question of the Riksdag drop. During his reign the management of the state was successfully carried on. Oscar altered the foreign policy of Sweden by withdrawing from the Russian alliance. It was suspected that the Russians were desirous of taking possession of certain portions of the Finnish frontier lands. During the Crimean War, Sweden and Norway concluded a treaty with France and Britain, November, 1855, by which the aid of the Western Powers was assured to the united kingdoms in the event of Russia seizing any of the northern harbours. Oscar, who considered himself a thorough Scandinavian, stood on the best of terms with

Denmark; he acted as a mediator in the first Schleswig war, August, 1848, and later offered King Frederic VII. a defensive alliance in order to protect the Eider boundary. This offer was, however, not accepted by the Danes. Oscar's son, Charles XV., 1859-1872, was also a personal friend of Frederic VII. But the negotiations which had been opened with Denmark on account of the political situation of Europe after Frederic's death, November 15th, 1863, were discontinued, so that the king was compelled to give up the cause of Denmark in 1864.

The question of the Riksdag was finally solved in the reign of Charles XV., as at the Riksdag of 1865 all the four Estates assented to a reorganisation. The Riksdag now meets every year, and consists of two Chambers; the king has the right of dismissing the Riksdag and issuing the writs for a new election. This reorganisation, by which the nobles were deprived of their last prerogatives, also effected a change of parties. The "Intellectuals" were supported by the cultured classes, while the "Landt-manna party" aimed

Sweden's Splendid Progress

chiefly at economy in the administration, particularly in the army, and a more equal division of the burden of taxation. In the reign of Oscar II., Charles' brother and successor, a violent dispute was caused by the customs policy; several of the Landt-manna party joined the representatives of the wholesale industry and carried a law for protection. In recent years the Chambers, in which Conservatives and Liberals are now the contending parties, have introduced a new army law, by which the term of service for the "Beväring"—those who are liable to serve in the army—has been considerably lengthened. On the other hand, no agreement has yet been reached about the extension of the very limited franchise.

Sweden, no less than Norway, has made great material progress in the nineteenth century. The legislature departed from the economic principles of an earlier age and abolished the restrictions which fettered commerce and manufacture. At the same time necessary improvements have been made in the means of communication. Trade and manufacture have opened up new paths for themselves. Agriculture, which was so neglected in the eighteenth century, has developed to such an extent that Sweden, which in the eighteenth

Anticipating Russia's Advances

During the Crimean War, Sweden and Norway concluded a treaty with France and Britain, November, 1855, by which the aid of the Western Powers was assured to the united kingdoms in the event of Russia seizing any of the northern harbours. Oscar, who considered himself a thorough Scandinavian, stood on the best of terms with

SCANDINAVIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

century could not provide the corn necessary for home consumption, can now export grain. Cattle-breeding and mining, especially for iron ore, have also made great progress in recent years. As wealth has increased by the development of natural resources, provision has also been made for intellectual growth by improvement in the schools, so that in Sweden, as in the other two Scandinavian countries, popular education has now reached a high standard, and the Swedes have attained European fame in all branches of natural science. When the Treaty of Kiel which transferred Norway

from Denmark to Sweden in 1814, was proclaimed in Norway, it aroused universal indignation. The Norwegians did not wish, under any circumstances, to be subjected to the Swedes, whom they hated as enemies; the few who considered a union with Sweden advantageous were looked upon almost as traitors. Prince Christian Frederic, afterwards Christian VIII. of Denmark, who was viceroy at that time, and who was popular with the Norwegians, conceived the idea of taking advantage of the discontent against Sweden to make himself king. He accordingly summoned

an assembly of the Estates of the kingdom at Eidsvold, north of Christiania, which should draw up a constitution for the country. This assembly met in April, 1814, and had completed its work by May 17th.

As a result of this constitution, which was modelled on the French constitution of 1791, Norway became a limited monarchy with one Chamber of Representatives. On this point the members of the Estates were all agreed; they all clung to the independence of Norway. But on other matters they were divided into two factions; the minority wished for

the union with Sweden and desired to postpone the election of a king, while the majority were eager to appoint Prince Christian Frederic immediately as king.

On May 17th Christian Frederic was actually elected king. When the Swedish Government heard of the proceedings in Norway they at once complained to the allies, who despatched plenipotentiaries to Christiania to put into force the decision of the Peace of Kiel, but in vain. The Norwegians armed themselves, but their army was badly equipped and without capable leaders. Christian Frederic was no general and had no inclination for war;

he always hoped, like the majority of Norwegians, that the Great Powers would respect the indignation of the Norwegians against the union. Accordingly, the war only lasted a few weeks. The Crown Prince, Charles John Bernadotte, marched into Norway. The Norwegians, following the command of their king, steadily retreated, although they were consumed with the desire for battle, and in some places fought successfully. Christian Frederic did not dare to risk a decisive engagement, but agreed to an armistice

On August 14th, the Convention of Moss, to the south of

Christiania, was concluded. The Crown Prince, who felt that he was not strong enough to subjugate Norway completely, and who wished for peace in the north, promised in the name of King Charles XIII., before the Congress of Vienna assembled, that he would recognise the constitution of Norway; Christian Frederic, for his part, pledged himself to renounce the Crown, to convene a Storting—National Assembly—which should come to terms with the Swedish king, and to leave the country. These arrangements were carried out; the Storting made a few alterations



KING OSCAR I. OF NORWAY AND SWEDEN
The son of Charles XIV., he succeeded to the dual throne of Norway and Sweden, and, surrounding himself with Ministers of broad views, proved a good and popular ruler.

in the constitution, which necessitated the union with Sweden, and elected King Charles of Sweden as King of Norway, November 4th, 1814. The conditions of the union were more definitely stated by a National Act, the Rigsakt of 1815.



CHARLES XV.

Ascending the throne of Norway and Sweden in 1859 on the death of his father, he endeavoured to bring about closer relations between the two countries, and died in 1872.

In this way Norway came to be united with Sweden as an independent kingdom. Its constitution was one of the freest in Europe. Since that time the country has made great progress in every direction. The people successfully upheld their free constitution against the attacks of the Crown and maintained their equality with Sweden in the union. They were also able to turn the natural resources of their country to better advantage, and thus the general prosperity increased. The Norwegians have paid great attention to national education, and have taken a prominent position in art and science.

In the earlier years of the union there was often friction between the king and the people. Charles XIV., Bernadotte, who succeeded to the throne in 1818,

thought that the Norwegian constitution was too democratic, and wished to extend his power. However, his attempts to alter the constitution were frustrated by the decided attitude of the Storting, which always offered a unanimous opposition to his propositions. The Norwegians, on their part, thought that the king did too little to obtain for them the equal footing in the union which had been decreed by the constitution, and, in addition, they feared his attacks on the constitution.

Little by little, however, the relations of king and people improved; Charles John experienced in his last years many proofs of the loyalty of the Norwegians. His son, Oscar I., a liberal and kindly disposed prince, did his utmost to meet the wishes of the Norwegians. King



OSCAR II.

Charles XV. was succeeded by his brother, Oscar II., a poet and historian, who, in 1905, regretfully agreed to the demand of Norway for separation from Sweden.

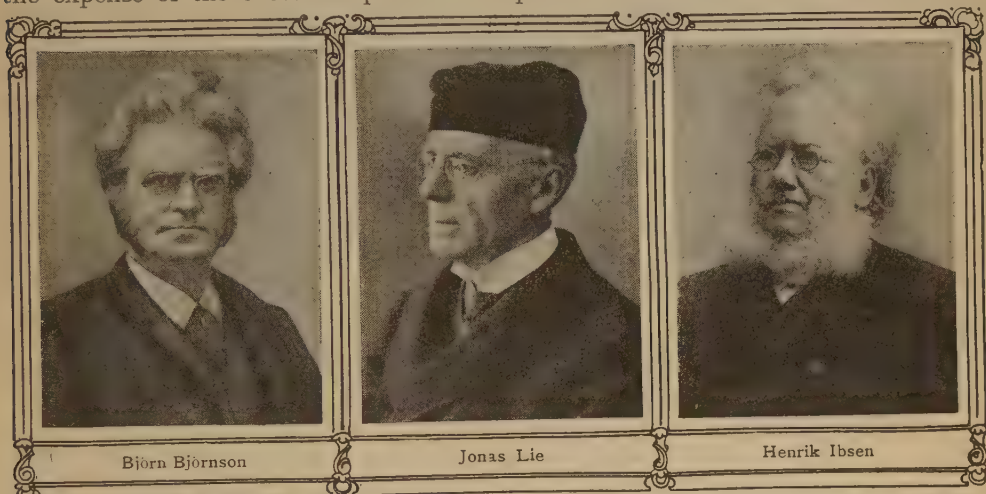
and Storting worked in harmony for the welfare of the country, which was making great progress in every direction; industry, in particular, received a fresh impetus. After his death, however, there was an end

of concord; the opposition in the Storting increased, and serious political struggles began which have continued almost without interruption up to the present day.

At first the official element had taken the lead in the Storting; but after the July Revolution, which had roused in Norway a more general interest in politics, and a strong national spirit, the peasants, who considered themselves the true representatives of the Norwegian people, and regarded the government officials with suspicion, founded a party in opposition to them. This party soon gained in strength by the coalition of the Liberals, who wished to extend the influence of the Storting at the expense of the executive power. It

impeached the Ministry; the Ministers were actually condemned, and the king was forced to appoint a Sverdrup Ministry, June 26th, 1884. However, no sooner did the Left come into power than they began to disagree; they split up into Moderates and Radicals, and Sverdrup was obliged to give way to a Conservative Ministry in July, 1889. But the Conservatives did not remain in power; in 1891 the Liberals came into office, which they retained till after the spring of the new century.

Almost all literary activity had ceased with the decline of the national life in the fourteenth century. The people, however, still cherished the old sagas and poems. A wealth of national poetry was



THE GREAT FIGURES IN SCANDINAVIAN LITERATURE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
With the awakened enthusiasm for nationalism in the early part of the nineteenth century there dawned a new literary era in Scandinavia, the poets Björn Björnson, Jonas Lie, and others delighting in describing the characteristic traits in the life and customs of the people, while Björnson and Ibsen also achieved fame as dramatists.

now formed an opposition and established itself on the left side of the House, while what had been the official became the Conservative party, and supported the Government. The Left had a capable leader in John Sverdrup, 1876-1892; under him they became more important, and finally constituted the majority in the Storting. Consequently the relations between the Government and the Left were not over-friendly during the reign of Charles XV., 1859-1872.

Ill-feeling increased under his brother and successor, Oscar II. There were several points of dispute; the Government opposed various propositions of the Left, and could not agree with them concerning the exact meaning of a few points in the constitution. At last the Storting

springing up—songs, sagas, and fairy stories. These have been collected in recent times and furnish an interesting picture of the intellectual life of the people in earlier times. The old Norwegian language, which had remained comparatively unaltered only in Iceland, became obsolete as a literary language with the decline of literature, and survived only in dialects. The Danish language was introduced, and in the sixteenth century, when a fresh impulse was given to literary activity, the Norwegians wrote in Danish.

Thus the literature of the two countries became merged. The share which the Norwegians contributed, "Foelles litteraturen," was at first insignificant, but it increased and became more important as they gradually recovered from their

inertia. But, in spite of the growing national spirit, there was as yet no effort to create a Norwegian national literature. Immediately after 1814 also, when the literary output was small, the poets showed little originality. They remained in the grooves of the eighteenth century, raved about their fatherland, and wrote

The Dawn of National Literature

songs on liberty, national novels, and dramas. It was not until the year 1830 that a national literature of any importance began, with the poets Wergeland, who died in 1845, and Welhaven, who died in 1873. Both were filled with a fervent love for their country, and only differed in one point—namely, as to what would prove of most advantage to Norway. The educated classes are still strongly influenced by Danish culture, and Welhaven desired to maintain the intellectual union with Denmark; Wergeland, on the other hand, hated the Danish culture and language, and was enthusiastic about his own nationality.

Thus in 1832 there began a violent literary feud. It had some good results. On the one hand it helped to check the exaggerated enthusiasm for everything Norwegian; on the other hand it strengthened genuine self-reliance and true patriotism. With the extravagant enthusiasm for nationalism there was awakened an interest in the life of the people, in national poetry, and nature. The poets Björn Björnson, Jonas Lie, and others delighted in describing the characteristic traits in the life and customs of the people and their thoughts and feelings.

At the same time the saga period was dramatised, and Björnson and Henrik Ibsen, who died in 1906, produced a series of historical plays. Efforts were made to preserve Norwegian as the national language. From 1870 literature gradually assumed a realistic tone; the poets did not describe chiefly the life of the peasants

Finland Under the Swedes

as formerly, but all classes of society. Poets such as Björnson, Ibsen, Lie, Alex Kielland, who died in 1906, and Arne Garborg, born in 1851, undertook to solve social problems. Science was studied with gratifying results at the University of Christiania. Finland, which the Swedes had conquered and converted to Christianity in the thirteenth century, was not intimately connected with the kingdom of Sweden until the sixteenth century; in the

fifteenth century it was generally given to some Swedish magnate as a fief. It was not until the time of the Vasa that the royal power made itself felt in the land. Gustavus Vasa reformed the government and system of taxation, destroyed the Catholic hierarchy, and introduced the Reformation, for which M. Agricola, who died in 1557, in particular interested himself keenly; but the king's efforts to release the Finns from the oppression of their own nobles were fruitless. The situation became still worse under the sons of Gustavus, Erik XIV. and John.

At last, in 1596-1597, the Finnish peasants rose against their oppressors, and, armed with clubs, plundered the estates of the nobles; but the rising, which spread over the whole country, was suppressed, and for the second time Finland was conquered. This "Club War" cost the lives of 3,000 peasants. The conditions improved after Charles IX. became king. Assistance was given to the country, and it was united more firmly to Sweden; the power of the nobility was crushed, and Finland, which had become a

Finland's Era of Prosperity

grand duchy in 1581, was governed from Stockholm, although it had its own court of justice at Abo. There in 1640 the governor-general, Per Brahe the younger, who rendered valuable services to Finland, founded a university, which soon became the intellectual centre of Finland. The Peace of Stolbowa, in 1617 fixed the frontier on the side of Russia. From that time Finland enjoyed a time of prosperity until towards the end of the seventeenth century, when the land was terribly devastated by famine and pestilence. The great Northern War came as a crowning misfortune. The country did not recover until the eighteenth century, when Swedish rule predominated. Even the war with Russia, 1741-1743, did not permanently affect the prosperity to which the country had again attained.

In the meantime desires for independence were awakening in the hearts of many Finns, who hoped, with the aid of Russia, to form an independent Finnish state under Russian protection. This wish was partly realised at the beginning of the nineteenth century owing to the indiscreet policy of Gustavus IV.; for after the unsuccessful war of 1808-1809 Sweden was obliged to cede Finland, together with the Aland Islands, to Russia by the Peace of



THE TOWN AS SEEN FROM THE HARBOUR, WHICH IS PROTECTED BY BATTERIES



THE SENATE HOUSE, WHERE LADY MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT SIT

HELSINGFORS, THE FORTIFIED SEAPORT CAPITAL OF FINLAND

Fredrikshamn, September 17th, 1809. The Emperor Alexander I. promised at the Diet of Borga, which he opened in person, that he would maintain the constitution of the country. Finland was united to Russia as an independent grand duchy, with Helsingfors for its capital. The provinces which had been ceded by the Peace of Nystad, 1721, and the Peace of Abo, 1743, were also incorporated with the grand duchy after several years. At first Alexander I. was true to his promise and respected the constitution, but later he became a reactionary, and in this respect he was followed by Nicholas I. Better times returned with Alexander II., who decreed that from 1869 the Diet—Landtag—to which Nicholas had allowed no authority, should again be regularly convened, and should have the power of legislation with certain restrictions. In this period reforms were introduced which furthered the material and social development of the country. In the nineteenth century the Finns also distinguished themselves by their literary activity. E. Lönnrot, who died in 1884, collected the old Finnish national sagas, "Kalevala," which attracted great attention when they were published in

1835. Joh. Runeberg, who died in 1877, Finland's greatest poet, extolled in "Fänrik Stals Sägner" the exploits of the Finns in the last war against Russia. Z. Topelius, who died in 1898, has earned well-deserved renown even beyond the boundaries of Finland by his "Narratives"—Erzählungen.

Later a movement was set on foot in Finland which aimed at making the national language equal in importance to the Swedish. The supporters of this movement, the "Fennomenen," were so successful in their efforts that both languages were put on an equal footing in everything which concerned the population of Finland. Although the people were divided into two parties on this language question, they have become closely united in resistance to the encroachments of Russia. These encroachments on the constitutional liberties of Finland have been steadily taking place since 1809, and the policy deliberately pursued by the Russian Government aims at the complete incorporation of Finland and the total destruction of Finnish nationality.

HANS SCHJÖTH.



A SCENE IN DENMARK'S CAPITAL: THE ROYAL THEATRE COPENHAGEN



THE CLOSE OF THE VICTORIAN ERA THE TRIUMPH OF DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

By Arthur D. Innes, M.A.

THE Reform Bill, passed in 1867, was avowedly a leap in the dark. The vote for parliamentary representatives had been bestowed on classes which had hitherto had no voice in the government of the country. Practically the whole of the urban labouring population was now entitled to vote, though the agricultural labourers, the peasantry of the three kingdoms, were still excluded. The working man had got his vote on the hypothesis that he would use it intelligently and responsibly. There was ground, on the one side, for expecting that a class numerically outweighing the rest would demand legislation in its own interests; and, on the other, for trusting to the conservative instincts of the race to prevent such demands from being excessive.

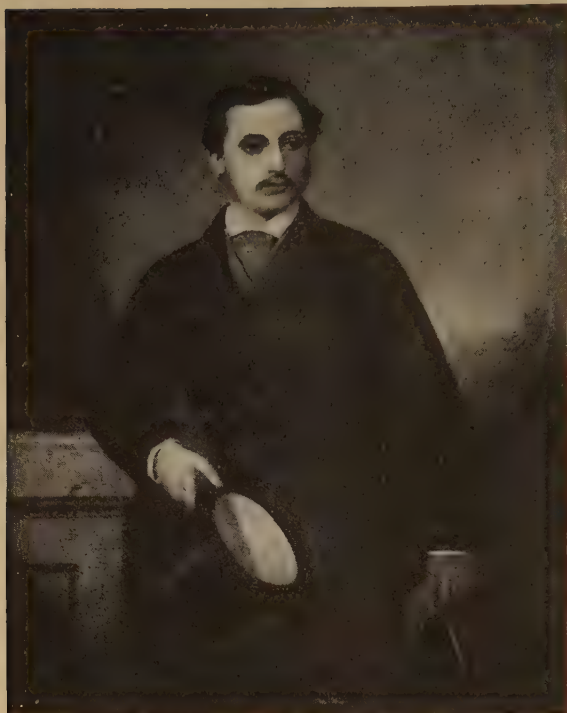
It was evident to both the political parties that to meet the requirements of this new and preponderant element in the electorate must be a primary object with every government. It was likely that any change in the character of the representatives themselves, in the social rank to which they would belong, would be only gradual; the actual business of government would be in the hands of the same type of legislators and administrators as before; but they would have to satisfy the wants of new masters, and the new masters would have to be educated to a wise exercise of their newly-acquired powers.

Broadly speaking, then, at the moment when the new electorate placed Gladstone in power instead of Disraeli the attitudes

of the two parties were as follows: The Liberals believed that their hands were strengthened for drastic legislation directed against what they regarded as the unjustifiable privileges of the orders of society which had hitherto held the preponderance, some of which appeared to the Conservatives in the light of necessary mainstays for the support of any orderly social fabric.

On the other hand, their foreign policy was based on the conviction that peace should be secured, and the horrors of war avoided, by carrying concession to the utmost limits compatible with national honour, and by a confidence in the equal readiness of foreign Powers to be guided by abstract conceptions of disinterested justice. The Conservatives, on the other hand, looked to the provision of methods for the amelioration of the condition of the working classes without disturbing vested interests; and in foreign politics, having a complete distrust of the readiness of other Powers to subordinate their own interests to principles of abstract justice, they dwelt on the maxim that the best security against war is to be found in readiness for battle.

Ireland presented to Gladstone the most immediate and pressing problem. Catholic emancipation had not healed the distresses of that country, and the Fenian movement was only a more violent demonstration than usual of the intense discontent from which she was suffering. Gladstone believed the political disaffection to be the product of genuine grievances, which were attributed to the British supremacy, and



KING EDWARD IN EARLY MANHOOD

if those grievances were removed, the disaffection would die out. These sources of trouble were to be found in the agrarian and the religious systems existing. Roman Catholicism was no longer attended by serious disabilities; but in a country where more than three-fourths of the population were Roman Catholics the religious endowments were appropriated to the established Anglican Church, while the Church to which the masses adhered was entirely dependent on voluntary support. The disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland was the first important measure presented to the new Parliament in 1869. To deprive the Church of her property, to sever the connection of Church and State, to attack the supremacy of Protestantism—such, in the eyes of opponents, were the objects of the Bill, which was passed, however, part of the proposal being an arrangement under which the equivalent of some two-thirds of the Church property was returned to the new ecclesiastical

corporation into which the disestablished Church was formed. Irish land presented a no less thorny problem. In Ireland, the peasant lived on, and by, his holding; there was no demand for his labour. The alternative to living on his holding at whatever rental the landlord or his agent might demand, was emigration. Most of the peasantry were tenants at will, who could be simply evicted at six months' notice, and eviction meant the complete loss of any expenditure the tenant had incurred in improving his holding, although this state of things was locally modified by prevalent customs. The demand of the peasantry was formulated in the "Three Fs," fair rent, fixity of tenure, free sale.

The object of the Land Bill now introduced by the Government was to provide compensation for improvements in cases of arbitrary eviction, to give sundry local customs the force of law, and to assist tenants, by money loans, to



QUEEN ALEXANDRA AT THE TIME OF HER MARRIAGE

From the painting by R. Lauchert

THE CLOSE OF THE VICTORIAN ERA

become freeholders by purchase when the landlord was willing to sell. This Bill also was passed ; but it shared with the Act of Disestablishment the fate of being regarded as a concession, not to justice, but to violence. The activity of the secret societies was not curtailed, and even while it was under consideration it was considered necessary to pass a "Peace Preservation Act," giving considerable powers of summary jurisdiction to magistrates and otherwise restricting normal liberties in "proclaimed" districts. As an attempt at conciliation, the measures were a complete failure, and the Home Rule movement came into being — a movement distinct from Fenianism, which demanded separation, and not identical with O'Connell's old demand for the repeal of the Union, but having as its avowed object the creation of an Irish Parliament for the conduct of Irish government. In 1870 was passed the Education Act, empowering local authorities to establish schools for primary education maintained chiefly out of the rates, with the proviso that the religious instruction given in such schools should be the simple Bible teaching supposed to be common to all Christian churches and sects. Hitherto, elementary schools had been supported almost entirely by the contributions of members of different religious denominations, the bulk of them, of course, Anglican, which merely received slight assistance from government grants. In such schools it was required that parents might, under a "conscience clause," withdraw their children from religious instruction. It would be hard to name any more fruitful source of controversies, to

a large extent unreasonable but none the less violent, than this Education Act, associated with the name of W. E. Forster ; but these did not arise in an acute form till some years later, when the Voluntary schools began to find their own maintenance, unsupplemented by public funds, increasingly impossible.

The Nonconformist bodies protested against paying rates for the support of such schools as were allowed to maintain a "Church Atmosphere," which Anglicans and Catholics made a cardinal point of maintaining. "Undenominational" instruction being regarded as anti-Anglican,

while payment for denominational instruction out of public moneys is no less objectionable from the other point of view, all efforts at a compromise between the two sides have hitherto failed ; and the advocates of exclusively secular instruction as the only road to educational peace seem likely to multiply. Apart, however, from the religious question, there is a general consensus of opinion that, although elementary education by the State has not yet

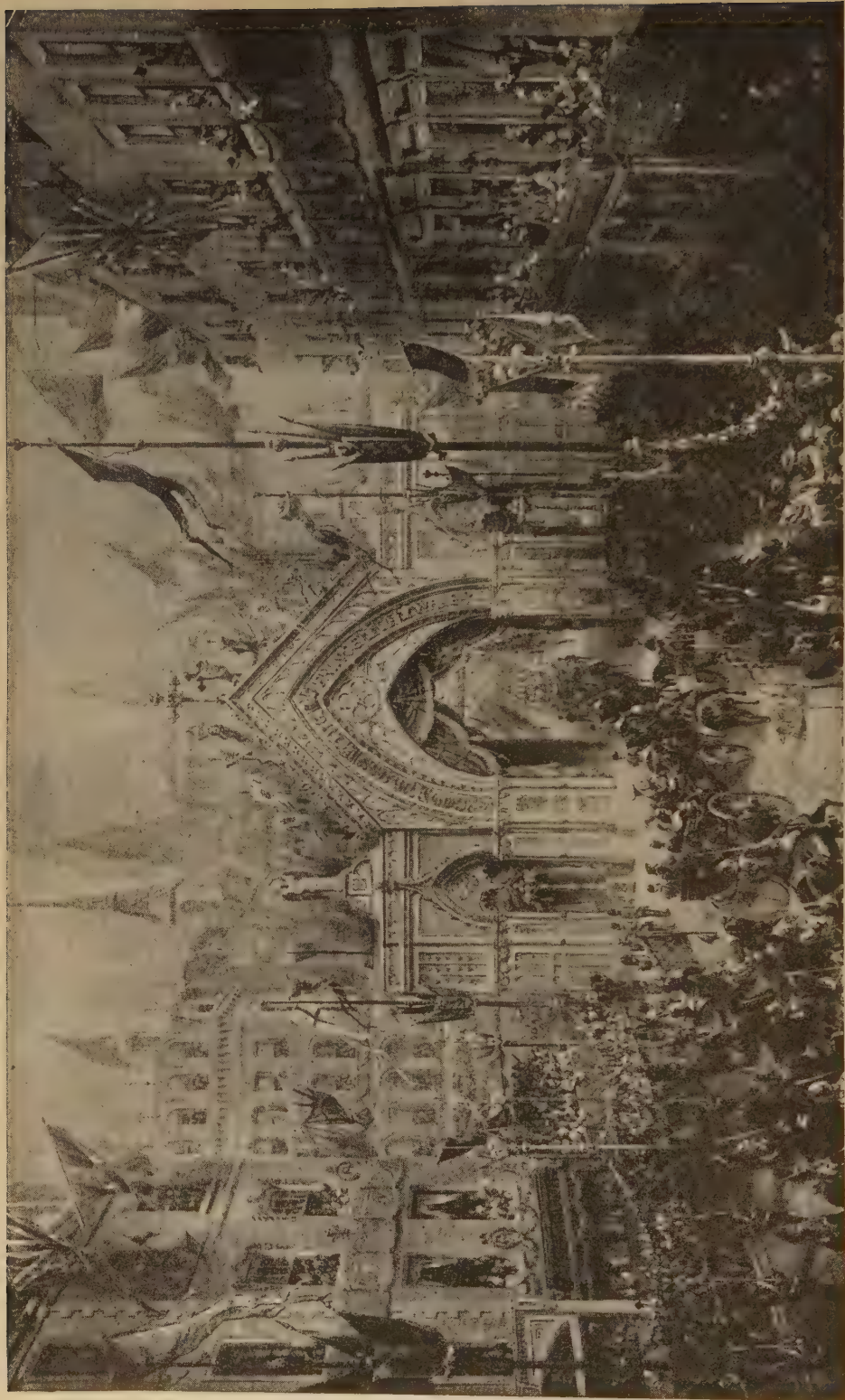


A ROYAL FAMILY GROUP

King Edward and Queen Alexandra in 1864, then the Prince and Princess of Wales, with their first-born child, Prince Albert Victor.

been turned to the best account, much good has already been done, and the machinery has been prepared for future developments. But the parents in the class for whose special benefit the system was devised have never displayed any warm appreciation of its merits, since the children are unable effectively to earn wages until their school-time is over.

Another attack on class-privilege is to be noted in the abolition of promotion by purchase in the army—a measure which was enforced by Royal prerogative in view of the probability that the House of



THE NATION'S REJOICING AT THE RECOVERY OF THE PRINCE OF WALES: THE PROCESSION TO ST. PAUL'S PASSING LUDGATE CIRCUS Stricken down with a severe attack of typhoid fever in November, 1871, King Edward, then Prince of Wales, lay for several days at the point of death, and as the end seemed near, Queen Victoria and the other members of the Royal Family were twice summoned to Sandringham, where his Royal Highness was being nursed by the Princess of Wales. Happily, however, the royal patient was restored to health, and, to mark the nation's gratitude at his recovery, a thanksgiving service was held at St. Paul's Cathedral in February, 1872.

From the painting by Chevallier in the Royal Collection

THE CLOSE OF THE VICTORIAN ERA

Lords would prevent its enactment by process of Parliament. That a Liberal Government should appeal to prerogative to override Parliament was sufficiently paradoxical to look like a constitutional innovation. In electoral law one change of importance was made by the introduction of the ballot, which has only in part had the desired and desirable effect of sheltering those electors who do not wish it to be known how their vote has been cast.

None of the legislation recorded was of a character to excite the enthusiasm of the new electors; and the Ministers'

Conference. The result was that the Powers acquiesced in the modifications of the treaty required by Russia. Great Britain, being alone strongly interested in the maintenance of the clauses, was unable to impress her view on the other signatories; and the country felt that its prestige had been lowered in the eyes of Europe.

Somewhat similar was the effect of the Alabama claim. The Alabama, as previously related, was a vessel built in the Mersey which escaped the vigilance of the authorities, put to sea, was handed over to the Confederates, and did immense



KING EDWARD VII. AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA RIDING IN WINDSOR PARK

From the picture by Barraud, painted in the early years of their married life

conduct of foreign affairs was still less pleasing. In two separate affairs, British diplomacy had disastrous results. The Russian Government took the opportunity of the outbreak of war between France and Germany to issue a declaration repudiating certain clauses in the Treaty of Paris, which had followed the Crimean War, on the ground that altered circumstances had made them no longer binding. The claim necessitated the assembling of a conference of the Powers which had signed the treaty, held in London and known as the Black Sea

damage to the Federal shipping in the American Civil War. Very heavy claims for compensation were put in by the United States Government, while the British refused to admit that any breach of neutrality had been committed. At last, in 1871, a treaty was made by which the dispute was submitted to an international court of arbitration. In the treaty, the British Government conceded practically every one of the American demands as to the conditions of the inquiry, though denying that several of the conditions were properly applicable;

and the court's decision was regarded as extravagantly favourable to the Americans.

This first great attempt to introduce the principle of arbitration in the settlement of international difficulties gave an unfortunate impression that such tribunals would be guided, not by the principles of justice, but by interest, and where Britain was concerned, by prejudice against her. The impression was intensified when a dispute as to delimitation of frontiers in the north-west of America was referred to the arbitration of the German Emperor, and was promptly decided in favour of the Americans. Thus, by

the Acts; the war raged round the doctrine of freedom of contract, which must, in the eyes of one party, be held sacred and inviolable, whereas in the eyes of the other party the "Freedom" was a fiction, the tenant or employee having practically no power to resist pressure on the part of the landlord or employer.

It was not, however, in the field of domestic legislation that the 1874 Ministry was notable. The brilliant chief of the ruling party found room for a more dazzling display of his abilities in the conduct of foreign affairs. The world was suddenly startled by the exceedingly ingenious stroke which brought the



QUEEN VICTORIA RECEIVING THE SHAH OF PERSIA AT WINDSOR, ON JUNE 20TH, 1873

the end of 1872 the Ministry had lost favour with the nation, and a dissolution at the beginning of 1874 gave Disraeli a decisive majority.

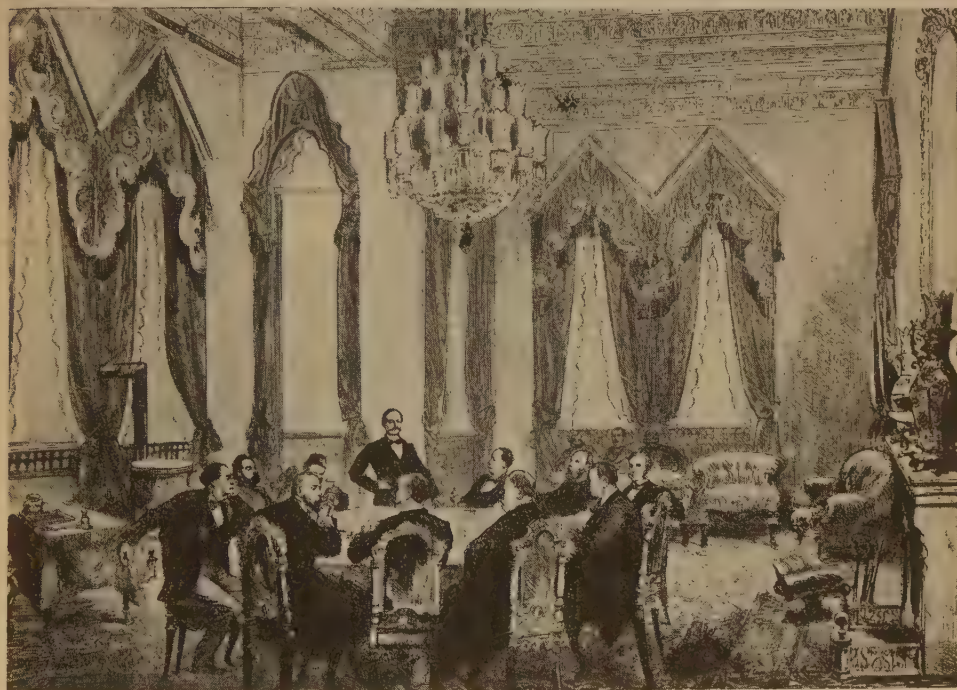
The conservative legislation proceeded on the lines of providing the working classes with opportunities for improving their condition. The fundamental difference between the attitude of Conservatism and that of advanced Liberalism became apparent in the questions of contract between landlord and tenant, or between employers and employees. The legislation systematically recognised the right of the two parties to contract themselves out of the obligations imposed by

recently constructed Suez Canal practically under British control. The canal had been constructed by Lesseps, and the natural presumption was that French influence would predominate, while the great actual preponderance lay with the Khedive of Egypt. But the Khedive was in want of cash; and on the strength of information received, Disraeli purchased his shares in the Canal Company on behalf of the British Government, which thus became very much the largest shareholder in the concern. The secrecy and the unexpectedness of the transaction gave it a peculiarly startling character, and at once aroused the excited suspicions



CABINET COUNCIL IN DOWNING STREET DISCUSSING THE EASTERN QUESTION

In 1876 a crisis of an alarming character occupied the attention of the British Government. Misrule in Turkey had brought the European provinces of the Porte into insurrection, and while one party in Britain was desirous of maintaining the rule of the Turk there was another party equally resolved to terminate the oppression at all costs.



THE CONFERENCE OF THE GREAT POWERS AT CONSTANTINOPLE IN 1876

The Eastern crisis increased in intensity when, in June, 1876, Serbia and Montenegro declared war against Turkey. An armistice having been agreed upon, through the insistence of Russia, Lord Beaconsfield organised a conference of the Great Powers at Constantinople, Lord Salisbury attending it as the representative of the British Government. The conference proved abortive, the threatened Russo-Turkish war being only temporarily averted.

COUNCIL AND CONFERENCE IN LONDON AND CONSTANTINOPLE

of the political school which views with alarm any abnormal extra-parliamentary exercise of administrative power. About the same time, the Eastern question was again assuming prominence. If Russia, on the one part, succeeded, as we have seen, in securing in her own favour modifications of the post-Crimean Treaty of Paris, Turkey had succeeded in effectually evading the fulfilment of her own pledges under that instrument. The government of the Christian provinces continued to be eminently unsatisfactory, amounting practically to a military rule over a people in a state perpetually



CHARLES STEWART PARNELL

The "uncrowned King of Ireland," Parnell exercised wonderful influence both in Parliament and throughout the country, but his appearance as co-respondent in a divorce case was the death-blow to his political career.

bordering on insurrection. Insurrection broke out in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and was repressed with circumstances of savage brutality, even when full allowance is made for inevitable exaggerations and highly coloured pictures of the cruelties practised. The European governments remonstrated, and the European populations became excited. Turkey continued to promise, and continued not to perform. The stories of the "Bulgarian atrocities" aroused a passion of indignant resentment, especially in Britain and in Russia. The governments still confined themselves to diplomatic



THE "MOONLIGHTING" OUTRAGES IN IRELAND: A VISIT FROM "CAPTAIN MOONLIGHT"
About 1880 secret societies carried out in Ireland a series of outrages, chiefly at night. The notices sent to those who were to be visited were signed "Captain Moonlight," and thus the members of these societies came to be known as "Moonlighters."



THE EVICTION OF AN IRISH HOUSEHOLDER FOR REFUSING TO PAY HIS RENT
 During the disturbed period in Ireland scenes such as that depicted above were of frequent occurrence. Rents could not be collected, and in consequence the tenants who refused to pay were forcibly evicted by officers of the police.

pressure, and Turkey still relied on their distrust of each other to secure her from anything more serious. But Russia took upon herself the obligations of Europe, and in 1877 declared war upon Turkey in the character of defender of the Christian populations.

It was precisely in this character that Russia had always intervened; British Ministers as invariably believed the philanthropic profession to be nothing but a cloak, an excuse which was to be used to advance Russian interests to the detriment of the British Empire. Suspensions of Russia prevailed over indignation against Turkey; the conviction was not unusual that Russia had deliberately fostered the disturbances, that an excuse might be provided for her own aggression. Russia flung herself against Turkey, and the magnificent defence of Plevna by Osman Pasha excited the keen admiration of a people always ready to sympathise with a

stubborn fight against heavy odds. Lord Beaconsfield—Disraeli had taken the title at the end of 1876—felt that the nation would be behind him in opposing Russia. The fleet was sent to the Dardanelles; it seemed as if a war with Russia could hardly be avoided. Blatant bellicosity got its now familiar title of Jingoism from a popular song of the day.

In the midst of the clamour the public was startled by suddenly finding the Russians and Turks embracing. The two powers had concluded the Treaty of San Stefano. But the treaty was by no means to the liking of the British, as unduly strengthening the Russian position, though not so much so as was at first feared. Lord Beaconsfield claimed that the treaty must be submitted to a conference of the Powers, who were pledged to maintain the Treaty of Paris as modified by the Black Sea Treaty. It was still far from certain that the war-clouds would disperse, and native

troops were summoned from India to Malta for contingencies—a proceeding which, in the eyes of many, was a violation of constitutional principles. How far this practical demonstration of British readiness for war influenced Russia may be a matter for question; but she assented to the British demand, and a congress of the Powers was summoned at Berlin.

Whether the objects and the methods of Beaconsfield's diplomacy were wise or unwise, the methods were successful and the objects were attained. Secret preliminary agreements were made separately with Russia and with Turkey; and the outcome of the congress was that the Balkan States were declared independent principalities, the concessions to Russia under the Treaty of San Stefano were curtailed, and the new treaty was supplemented by an Anglo-Turkish treaty, under which Great Britain guaranteed the integrity of the Turkish dominion in Asia, in consideration of which she was to occupy the Island of Cyprus. Lord Beaconsfield returned to England, the bearer, in his own famous phrase, of "Peace with Honour," in July, 1878.

In other parts of the empire, however, Lord Beaconsfield's policy brought the Ministry more doubtful credit. The proclamation of a new title for the Queen as Empress of India at the opening of 1877 was not uncommonly regarded in Britain as a piece of cheap display; though, on the other hand, the British mind does not find it easy to appreciate the value of even cheap display in influencing Oriental populations. But the new policy adopted towards Afghanistan by Lord Beaconsfield and his Viceroy, Lord Lytton, was fraught with danger. Ever since the restoration of

Court of Kabul were regarded with well-founded jealousy, and there was a strong feeling in military circles that strategical requirements demanded the substitution of a "scientific frontier" for the existing one. The proposals of the British Government appeared to the Amir, Shere Ali, to be merely a cloak for annexation. A Russian mission was received at Kabul, and a British mission was stopped. Three British columns entered Afghanistan in November, 1878. Shere Ali fled, and died; the British established his son Yakub Khan as Amir. Sir Louis Cavagnari went to Kabul as British Resident, and was very soon murdered, in September, 1879. The account of the war which followed, in which Sir Donald Stewart and Sir Frederic Roberts achieved their laurels, has been given in the history of India. A change of government in Britain in 1880 brought

The British Forces in Afghanistan



THE POLICE SEARCHING AN IRISH HOUSE FOR ARMS

Dost Mohammed in 1843, the principle of non-intervention had been maintained. But in Asia, as in Europe, Russian aggression was looked upon with increasing alarm; Russian efforts to obtain influence at the

a reversal of policy, and Abdurrahman was established as an independent ruler. In South Africa the Zulu War could at best bring little prestige; it brought disaster in the affair of Isandhlwana, though



THE ASSASSINATION OF LORD FREDERIC CAVENDISH AND MR. BURKE IN PHOENIX PARK
 The outrages which marked the disaffection of the Irish against the government in the early eighties culminated in a dastardly outrage in Phoenix Park, Dublin, on the morning of May 6th, 1882, when Lord Frederic Cavendish, Chief Secretary for Ireland, and Mr. Thomas Burke, permanent Irish Under Secretary, were assassinated by a small band of "Irish Invincibles." Twenty men were brought to trial in connection with the crime, and five of them were hanged.

the credit of British courage was indisputably confirmed by the heroic defence of Rorke's Drift. And the annexation of the Transvaal Republic was immediately afterwards to bear bitter fruit.

The social legislation had done little to satisfy the labour-class electors. The diplomatic triumph of the Berlin Congress was dimmed by the troubles in Afghanistan and South Africa. There was an uneasy sense in the country that Lord Beaconsfield was too fond of surprises and sensations, of keeping the nation in the dark, of playing with fire. The Parliament had run six years of its life when it dissolved in 1880, and the Liberals returned to power. Gladstone had retired from the leadership, but there was now no possible question that Gladstone was the leader whom the electorate demanded, and he entered upon his second administration.

The legislative efforts of the last Liberal Government had been concentrated mainly on the Irish Church Disestablishment and the Irish Land Act. Ireland was again to absorb Gladstone's attention, ultimately to the practical exclusion of other matters; while the conduct of foreign affairs was

still destined to be a source of popular dissatisfaction. During the Conservative term of office the Irish Home-Rulers, though as yet the limitations of the county franchise kept their numbers low, had come to be distinctively known as the Irish members. Under the leadership of Charles Stewart Parnell, they were already consolidating into a compact and disciplined force with a large capacity for the systematic obstruction of public business. Under the new administration they rapidly became one of the most effectively organised forces on record.

The state of affairs in Ireland had not improved; agitation and organised resistance to authority had increased. The first announcement that the Government did not intend to renew the Peace Preservation Act on its lapse was regarded with grave apprehension; while the Irish members complained that there was no promise of immediately proceeding to a new Land Bill. Certain proposals brought forward by one of the Irish members were, however, embodied at an early date in the Bill for Compensation for Disturbance; but the destruction of the Bill by the Lords, coupled with the lapse of the



THE IRISH LAND LEAGUE: RECREATION TIME IN KILMAINHAM PRISON

A new Land Act passed by the Government in face of strenuous opposition did nothing to settle the disturbed condition of the country, and the agitation and outrages continuing, Parnell and other leaders were lodged in Kilmainham Gaol.

Peace Preservation Act, was the signal for the outbreak of a series of agrarian outrages; and the practice of "boycotting"—a name taken from that of one of its victims—was established and carried out on an extensive scale. Rents could not be collected, and there was an immense number of evictions in consequence. The organisation known as the Land League, with which most of the Irish members were associated, was held responsible; and, in spite of some doubt whether anything that could be brought home to them was in actual violation of the law, some of its leaders were arrested. Since there was no sort of chance that an Irish jury would convict them, the effect for the Government was somewhat ignominious.

These troubles decided the Government that coercive measures must precede the remedial. The Irish members demanded precedence for land reform, and gave warning that a measure of coercion would be met by refusal to pay rent. Nevertheless, the Coercion Bills were introduced to the accompaniment of a prolonged debate, an all-night sitting being followed by one of forty-one hours, which the Speaker brought to a close only by a summary use of his powers on his own responsibility.

This was the cause of drastic measures of procedure, intended to prevent the effective tactical use of obstruction; but no method has yet been devised which can prevent a deliberate waste of the time of the House.

The Coercion Bills were passed after most stormy scenes, and then the new Land Act was introduced, of which the essential feature was the establishment of Land Courts to fix fair rents instead of leaving the amount as one of bargaining between landlord and tenant. The Act was passed, in spite of strenuous opposition in the House of Lords and the open withdrawal of some supporters of the Government.

The Terrible Tragedy in Phoenix Park The Parnellites refused to aid the Government; the agitation and the outrages continued; Parnell himself and other leaders were lodged in Kilmainham; and a manifesto was issued against any payment of rents till they should be set free. This had hardly been done when the tragedy of the Phoenix Park murders occurred, a crime emanating from extremist sources in America, and for the time extremely injurious to the Irish parliamentary party, whom a large section of the public persistently believed to be responsible. By a strange irony it fell to the Gladstone

THE CLOSE OF THE VICTORIAN ERA

Ministry to initiate the British occupation of Egypt. The great financial interests there of British and French had given those two countries a large control. The virtual rebellion of Arabi Pasha, the bombardment of Alexandria by the British fleet, while the French fleet refused co-operation, the overthrow of Arabi by Sir Garnet Wolseley at Tel-el-kebir, and the establishment of a British control intended to be only temporary, have been narrated elsewhere. From these events the Government did not suffer; but the same cannot be said of the later developments. The

Gordon's Death in Khartoum

rise of Mahdism, the mission of General Gordon, the noble but embarrassing course of action which he adopted, and the disastrous delays, owing to which the Government expedition, despatched to his rescue, arrived at Khartoum to find that the place had been captured and the hero slain two days before, January 26th, 1885—these things dealt a disastrous blow which grievously weakened the Government's prestige.

At an earlier stage, too, it had suffered severely by the events connected with the revolt of the Transvaal Boers, the rout of British troops by a handful of farmers at Majuba Hill, and the reinstatement, in 1881, of the Boer Republic as an

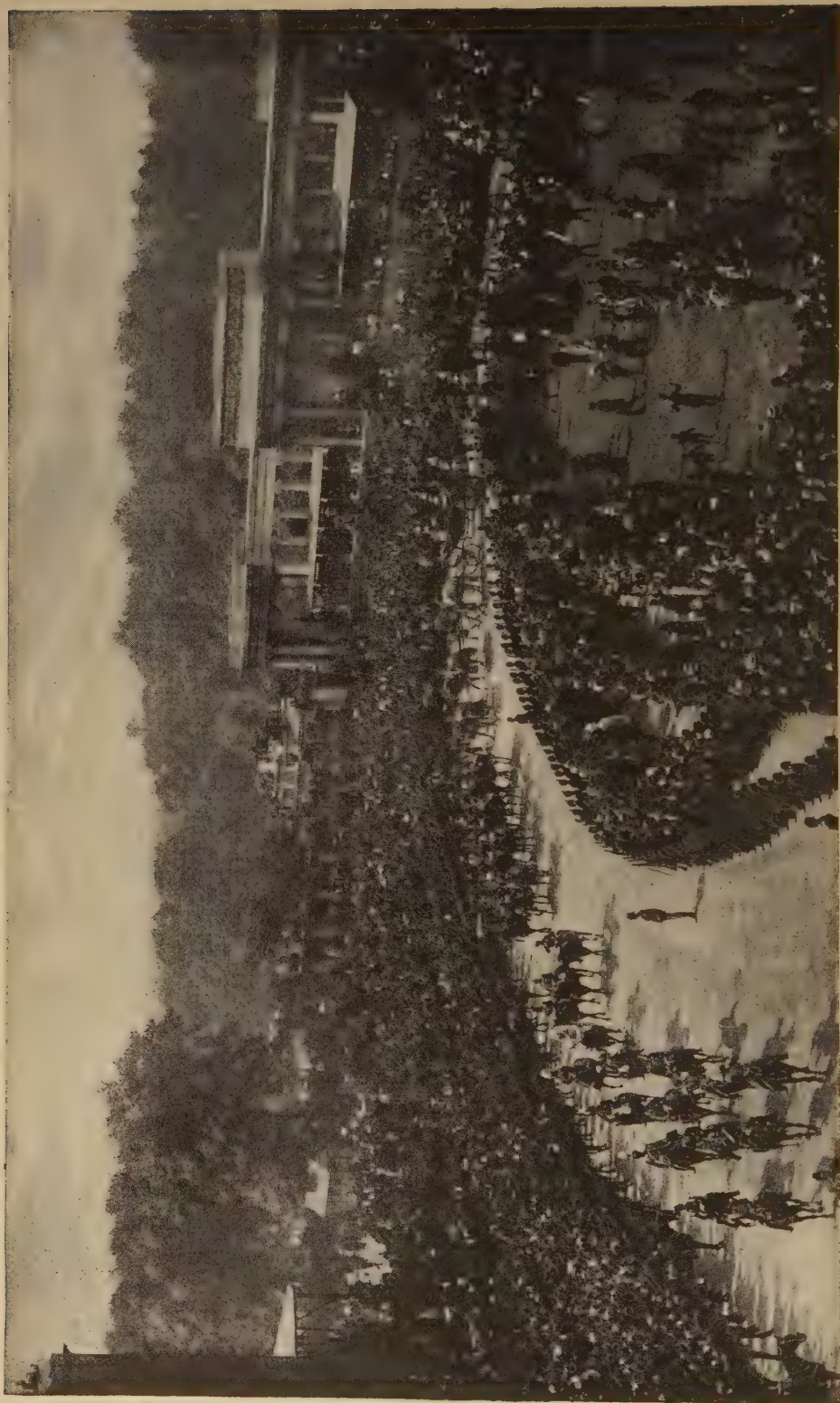
act of justice which, by most Boers and probably by a majority of British, was attributed to pusillanimity. That this was a misjudgment of motive, however unwise the experiment in magnanimity may have been, is sufficiently attested by the position of trusted leadership subsequently held in the Unionist party by chiefs, who at this time shared the responsibilities of the Gladstone Cabinet. The details appear in the African Division. The Penjdeh incident on the Afghan frontier, and its close by another reference to arbitration, by no means satisfactory to the British, belongs to the Indian record, but has to be noted here as the last of the series of events abroad which helped to fix on the Government the stigma of a peace-at-any-price Ministry.

Nevertheless, in spite of the dissatisfaction over foreign affairs, the Cabinet retained the support of the country by its domestic policy. Ireland having taken up its share of legislative time, the completion of the democratic reform initiated by the Conservative "leap in the dark" of 1867 was taken in hand, and a Bill was introduced in 1884 for the enfranchisement of the agricultural as well as the urban labouring classes. The Government's majority in the House of Commons was



THE NILE CAMPAIGN IN 1885: LORD CHARLES BERESFORD'S DASH TO KHARTOUM
The above picture illustrates an incident in the Nile campaign of 1885, when General Gordon was shut up in Khartoum, bravely defending it against the savage hordes of the Mahdi. Making a dash for the Nile, Sir Charles Wilson there found steamers and reinforcements from Gordon, but he was too late to save the gallant soldier. Wilson and his men being in grave danger from the enemy, an expedition under the command of Lord Charles Beresford was despatched to their assistance and sailing up the Nile on the steamer *Safia* accomplished its object by rescuing the party.

From the painting by Dickenson



QUEEN VICTORIA'S JUBILEE: THE ROYAL PROCESSION ON JUBILEE DAY PASSING HYDE PARK CORNER

From a photograph by Messrs. Valentine & Sons

THE CLOSE OF THE VICTORIAN ERA

decisive. But franchise extension necessitated also redistribution of constituencies; and the House of Lords demanded that the Government's Redistribution Bill should take precedence of the Bill extending the franchise, the Conservatives claiming that their opposition was not directed against the principle of the Bill before them.

A serious crisis seemed imminent, and there were many angry demands for the abolition of the hereditary Chamber, or, at least, for its reconstruction on lines which would make it

Cabinet so uneasy that the opportunity was taken to resign when they were defeated on a snap vote on the Budget. Lord Salisbury, who had succeeded Lord Beaconsfield in the leadership of the Conservatives, accepted office in June. Before the dissolution of Parliament in August, a measure was passed, known as the Ashbourne Act, under which £5,000,000 were advanced by the State to facilitate the purchase of their holdings by Irish tenants; and various circumstances produced a strong impression



THE JUBILEE SERVICE IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY ON JUNE 21ST, 1887

From the painting by T. S. C. Crowther

no longer a recognised stronghold of one political party. Nevertheless, the leaders on both sides were not anxious to force a great constitutional struggle, and a practical compromise was arrived at. The Franchise Bill was again introduced and passed in the Commons, but before it was dealt with by the Lords the chiefs of the two parties agreed upon the Redistribution Bill. Honour was satisfied on both sides, and both Bills became law.

The death of General Gordon and the Penjdeh affair made the position of the

of some sort of rapprochement between the Conservatives and the Irish leader.

The result of the General Election at the close of the year was embarrassing. The extended franchise had doubled Parnell's following in the House. Added to the Conservative ranks, they exactly cancelled the total Liberal majority. In effect, they could make government by either party impossible. But the effect on the Liberal leader's mind was what caused most surprise; it brought home to him that the great majority of Irishmen supported



MR. GLADSTONE INTRODUCING THE HOME RULE BILL ON FEBRUARY 13TH, 1893
Mr. Gladstone's solution for the ills which afflicted Ireland was a measure of self-government for that country, and in the above picture he is seen introducing his Home Rule Bill to the House of Commons after the constituencies had sent him back to power. The Bill passed the Lower House, after long discussion, but was thrown out by the House of Lords.
From the painting by R. Ponsonby Staples, by permission of Messrs. Henry Graves & Co.

THE CLOSE OF THE VICTORIAN ERA

Parnell's demands—a conclusion which had not followed in the days when less than half the members from Ireland were Home Rulers. The claim of a minority had suddenly assumed the character of a national demand supported by four-fifths of the national representatives. How could England, the champion of oppressed nationalities, refuse a hearing to such a demand? From this time to the end of his life the establishment of Irish Home Rule became Gladstone's absorbing passion.

There were many members of the Liberal party who had already all but yielded to the conviction that the only solution of the Irish problem lay in Home Rule; there were some who had been actively urging at least a large delegation of powers of local self-government. But of these the most energetic had drawn the line short of the concession of a separate Irish legislature, and the Irish representatives would be content with nothing short of that. The Liberal ranks were split into these two main divisions; and those who would concede

a legislature were again divided. Given an Irish Parliament, should Ireland be represented at Westminster too? If so, she would be able still to hold the balance, to control legislation in the sister kingdoms while herself free from their control. If not, she would cease to have a voice in Imperial affairs, and to realise her partnership in Imperial interests. In any case, too, a legislature elected practically by the peasantry could not be trusted to deal fairly with the question of land, any more than would a legislature elected practically by landlords.

A number of "dissentient Liberals" broke wholly with their leader, though before his intentions were realised he had been able to defeat the Salisbury Ministry, and to assume the responsibilities of office. When he introduced two Bills—one of which was to settle the land question by the State buying out the landlords and selling back the land to the peasants; while the other was to establish a Parliament in Dublin, and abolish the representation at Westminster—the combined forces of the Oppo-

sition proved too strong, and the Home Rule Bill was defeated in the House of Commons on the second reading. Parliament was dissolved. The Conservatives did not, under the circumstances, contest seats held by dissentient Liberals, and the elections returned Lord Salisbury to power with a majority virtually dependent on the consistent support of the body now known as Liberal Unionists. That combination did not cease to rule until twenty years had passed; for, although there was an interval from 1892 to 1895, during

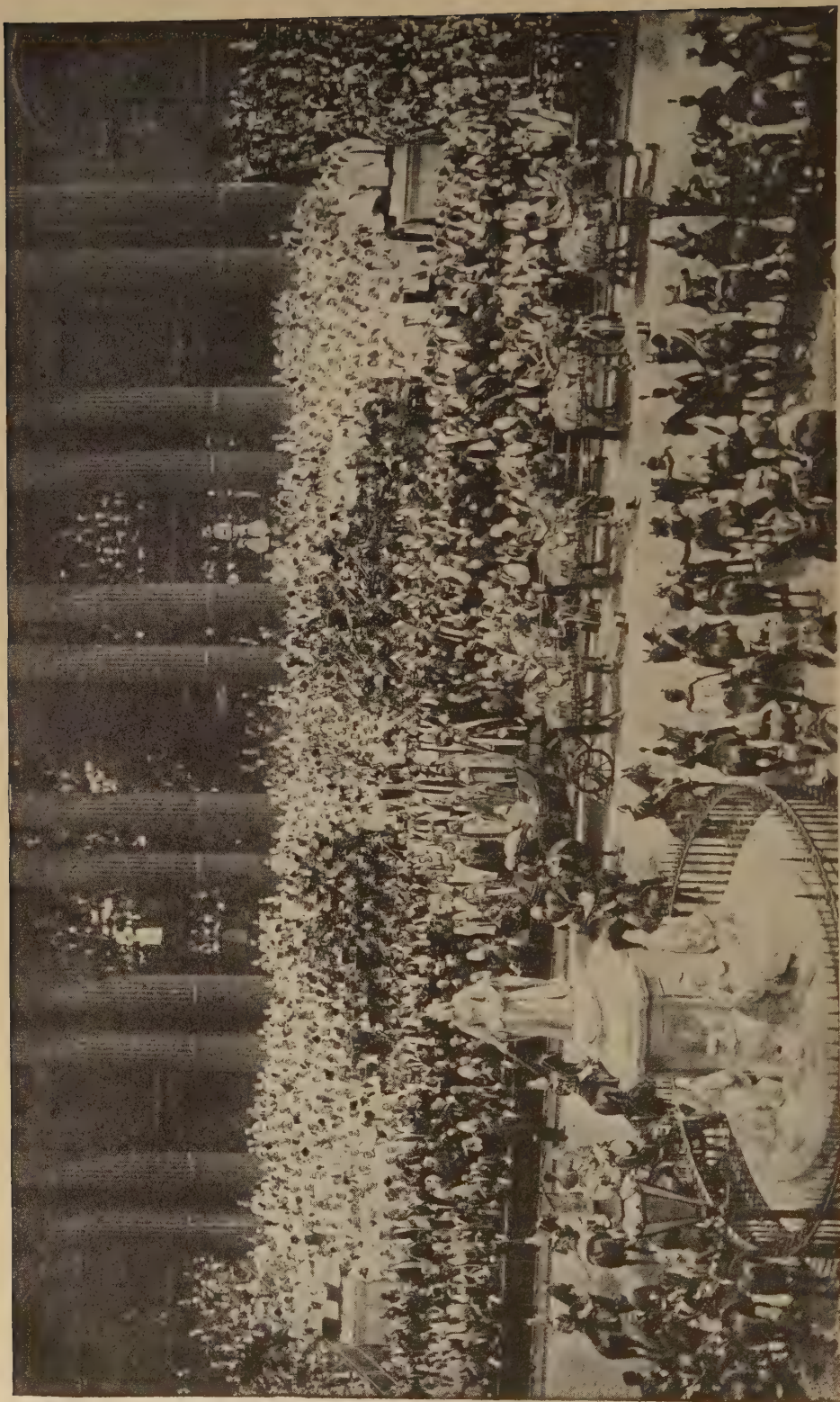
which there was again a Liberal Ministry, the Liberals, apart from Irish Home Rule members, were even then in a minority, and the House of Lords held itself warranted in refusing to recognise the composite majority which Ministers could command as representing the national will.

Whatever constitutional objections might be urged to this doctrine—virtually based on the theory that the Irish party did not count—the Lords found their practical justification when a dissolution decisively ejected the Liberals. From



QUEEN VICTORIA IN 1893

From a photograph by Messrs. Hughes & Mullins, Ryde



THE CELEBRATION OF QUEEN VICTORIA'S DIAMOND JUBILEE: HER MAJESTY'S ARRIVAL AT ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL

From a photograph by Messrs. Eyre & Spottiswoode



THE ROYAL PROCESSION PASSING ALONG PALL MALL



THE COLONIAL PREMIERS AND TROOPS PASSING OVER LONDON BRIDGE

SCENES IN QUEEN VICTORIA'S DIAMOND JUBILEE PROCESSION

Valentine



QUEEN VICTORIA IN THE YEAR OF HER DIAMOND JUBILEE, 1897

Photo · W. & D. Downey



EDWARD VII, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, 1901-1910

Photo: W. S. Stuart



THE FUNERAL OF QUEEN VICTORIA THE COFFIN BEING CARRIED INTO ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL WINDSOR
From the photograph by Messrs. Russell & Sons

THE CLOSE OF THE VICTORIAN ERA

1886 to 1892 the Conservatives held office, supported and very materially influenced by the Liberal Unionists. From 1895 to the end of 1904 Conservatives and Liberal Unionists, combined as the Unionist party, held office.

Lord Salisbury's first administration was marked by three measures in which the influence of his Liberal Unionist supporters was prominent. An Irish Coercion

Act was accompanied by a Land Act authorising a revision of the rents fixed by the land court, and the provision of relief for tenants whose payments were in arrears. In 1888 a great measure was introduced giving extensive powers of local government to locally-elected bodies—county councils, district councils, and borough councils, but this was not extended to Ireland. And in 1891 it was decided that the cost of education, which was made compulsory, ought to be borne by the State. Thenceforth all parents could obtain elementary education for their children without making any direct contribution to the cost.

The period is also noteworthy in other parts of the globe for the delimitation of the spheres of influence of the various European Powers in Africa, and for the final annexation of Burma. At home, the Irish question was placed on an altered footing by the "Parnell Commission," a state inquiry which acquitted the Irish leaders of the complicity in crime with which they had been charged. The dissolution

in 1892 so reduced the Unionist forces that Gladstone, with the support of the Irish, was able to eject them from office.

The new Government introduced a new Home Rule Bill, this time retaining the Irish representatives at Westminster; and on its rejection by the Lords continued to "fill up the cup," but could carry no effective legislation except in the field of finance, where constitutional practice forbade the inter-

vention of the hereditary Chamber. Consequently the one legacy to the nation of this Ministry—led first by Gladstone, and later on, after the aged statesman's retirement, by Lord Rosebery—was the system known as the "Death Duties," which provided a substantial source of revenue from graduated charges on the value of property changing hands owing to the death of the owner. The base principles of the measure are, that all property acquired without effort on the part of the owner owes something extra to the community, and that great wealth owes not only more, but a



KING EDWARD VII. WHEN PRINCE OF WALES

From the painting by A. Stuart Wortley, by permission of Messrs. Henry Graves & Co.

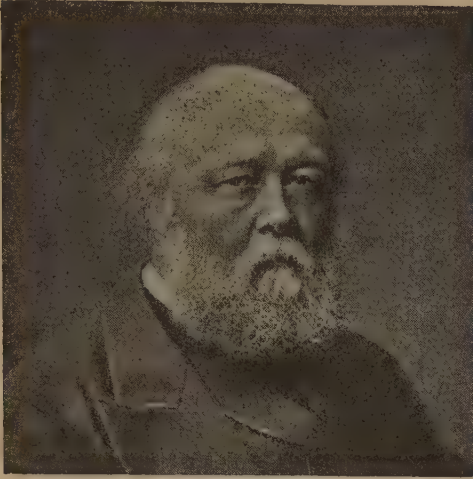
larger percentage than moderate wealth, and moderate wealth than poverty.

The Government majority was small at the best. A chance defeat brought about its resignation; Lord Salisbury took office, and immediately dissolved. The Unionists were returned to power with a majority of 150 over the combined Opposition; and the Liberal wing of the party now definitely amalgamated with



THE LAST CABINET OF QUEEN VICTORIA AND THE FIRST OF KING EDWARD VII.: AN HISTORIC GROUP OF MINISTERS

In the above picture are seen the members of the Cabinet in office when Queen Victoria died, in 1901. Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister, is seated to the left of the picture with his elbow resting on the table, and his colleagues reading from left to right are as follows: Mr. A. J. Balfour, First Lord of the Treasury; Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary for the Colonies; Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. C. J. Ritchie, Secretary for the Home Department; the Earl of Selborne, First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Secretary for Scotland; Lord Ashbourne, Postmaster-General; Mr. Walter Long, President of the Local Government Board; Mr. A. Akers-Douglas, First Commissioner of Works; Lord James Heresford, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; Mr. R. W. Haubury, President of the Board of Agriculture; Mr. G. W. Balfour, President of the Board of Trade; Lord George Hamilton, Secretary for India; Mr. W. St. J. F. Brodrick, Secretary for War; the Marquess of Lansdowne, Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Earl Cadogan, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; the Earl of Halsbury, Lord Chancellor; and the Duke of Devonshire, Lord President of the Council.



Lord Salisbury



William Ewart Gladstone



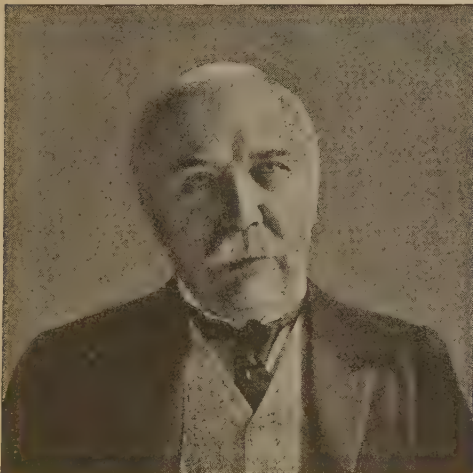
Arthur James Balfour



Lord Rosebery



Joseph Chamberlain



Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman

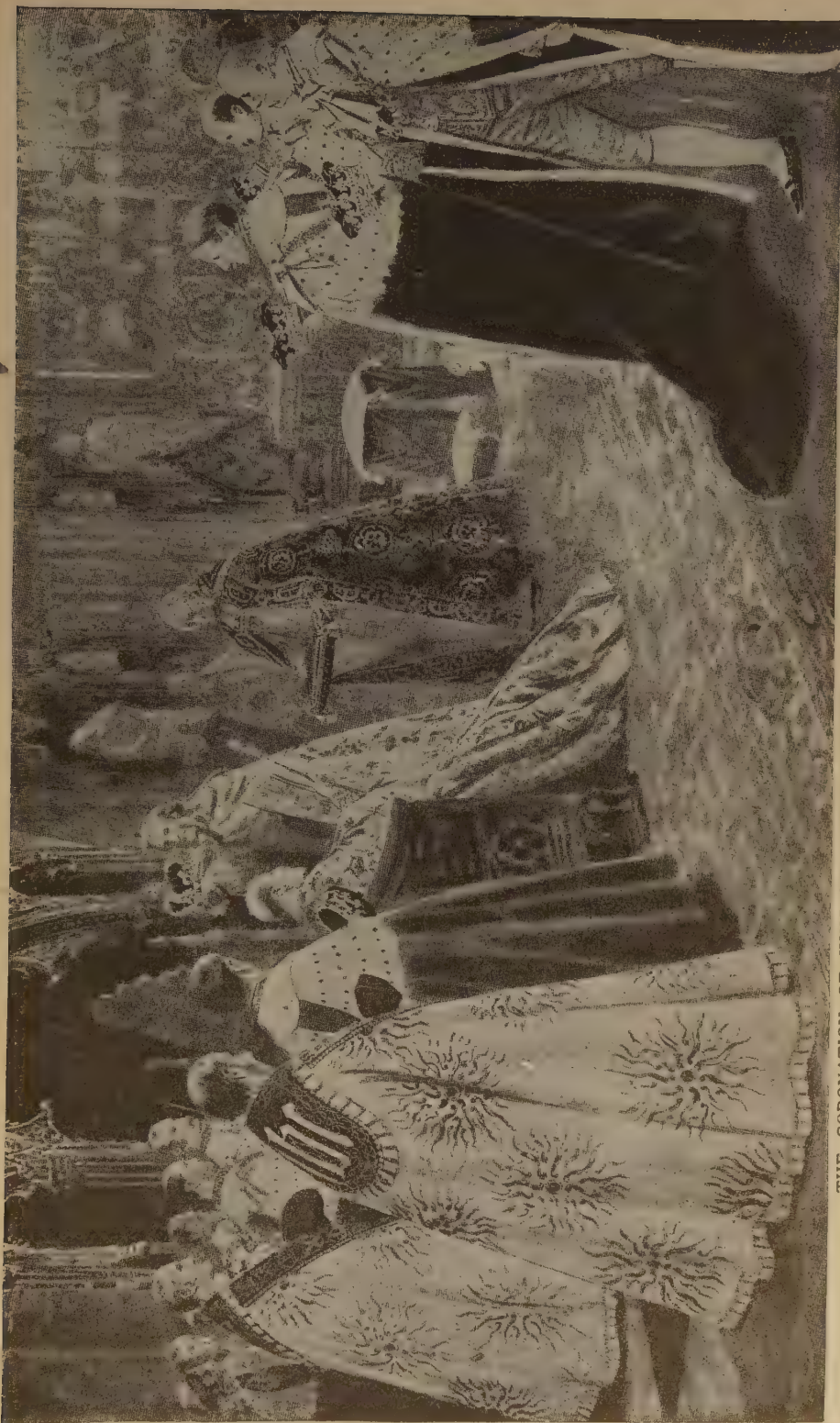


Herbert Henry Asquith

EMINENT BRITISH STATESMEN OF RECENT AND PRESENT TIMES
Photos by London Stereoscopic Co., Valentine, Jerrard, Halfones, Mills and Haines



EDWARD VII. OPENING HIS FIRST PARLIAMENT: THE KING AND QUEEN IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS ON FEBRUARY 14TH, 1901
From the painting by S. Begg



THE CORONATION OF KING EDWARD VII. AT WESTMINSTER ABBEY ON AUGUST 9TH, 1902

The coronation of Edward VII, who succeeded to the throne of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland at the death of Queen Victoria, on January 22nd, 1901, was arranged for June 26th, 1902, but two days before that date the startling announcement was made that the King was seriously ill, and that the ceremony must be postponed. His Majesty's condition was extremely critical, but after undergoing an operation, which, happily, proved successful, he speedily recovered, and was crowned in Westminster Abbey on August 9th.



KING EDWARD VII. AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA

Photo by W. S. Stuart

the Conservatives. The latter title almost disappeared from popular parlance, in which the official name of Unionist was gradually displaced for the old name of Tory, while the official name of Liberal yielded to that of Radical.

From the popular point of view, the succession of Irish Land Acts, whether just or unjust to the landlords, had considerably mitigated the agrarian grievances, and the consciousness that there was at any rate a large body of English and Scottish opinion favourable to Home Rule tended to discourage such violence as would be likely to alienate such sympathy. Unionist governments, however, have continued in the direction of concession to the tenant class and an experiment was made in the Irish Local Government Act of 1898, in the hope that the delegation of large powers of local government to locally elected bodies would weaken the demand for a separate legislature. The effects of the Free Education Act were felt in the great difficulties now encountered by the voluntary schools in maintaining efficiency. Subscriptions dwindled; when the subscribers found themselves in any case required to provide money for the education of other people's children, they were not disposed to keep up their voluntary contributions as well; and the process was commenced, which has already been adverted to, of applying public funds for the relief of denominational schools.

Lord Salisbury's energies, however, were attracted to foreign affairs rather than to domestic legislation. His position and

reputation enabled him to adopt a more conciliatory and less aggressive attitude than would have been easy for a party which did not represent the Beaconsfield tradition; and, on the other hand, he had the strong support of that section of Liberals who looked on Lord Rosebery as their chief when he refused to intervene forcibly—as many of the Opposition desired—in the Armenian troubles of Turkey.

The principle that the independent action of separate Powers should be

checked and replaced by the concerted pressure of Europe became the guiding rule; while it suffered from the undoubted drawback that the concerted action of Europe is exceedingly difficult to set in motion. The possibilities of such a concert cannot be ignored, and serve as a check on individualist aggressiveness. These principles found expression also in connection with the Turco-Greek War, and at a later stage, when the Boxer insurrection brought about concerted European intervention in China, and considerable

diplomatic skill was required to limit the general scramble for Chinese territory. Lovers of the principle of arbitration found considerable satisfaction in the adoption of that method for settling a boundary dispute with Venezuela in 1896, since the result demonstrated that anti-British decisions in such courts need no longer be regarded as a foregone conclusion.

British relations with European Powers were seriously endangered for a moment when, on the conclusion of the reconquest of the Egyptian Sudan by Lord Kitchener,



HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII.

From a photograph by W. S. Stuart

a company of Frenchmen was found to have made its way to Fashoda. It was not without difficulty that the French were persuaded to recognise the decisive character of British claims in that region. In colonial affairs, the Salisbury regime was signalised by the movement towards

The Death of Queen Victoria

Federation, which took shape in the establishment of the Commonwealth of Australia; and still more memorably by the war with the Boer Republics in South Africa, which, beginning in 1899, was only terminated in 1902 with their definite incorporation in the British Empire.

Before that time, at the beginning of 1901, the great queen, whose reign was the longest in her country—it had extended almost to sixty-four years—had passed away, and Edward VII. ascended the throne. She had become by degrees the ideal type of the constitutional monarch, save for a somewhat excessive withdrawal, not from political activity, but from publicity since the death of the Prince Consort. Her successor displayed a singularly acute perception of the very important part such a ruler may play internationally; at least, whilst the politics of European states are largely controlled by crowned heads. The title which has been applied to him of Edward the Peacemaker is perhaps the proudest that any monarch could earn. The dissolution of Parliament had brought only a formal break in the Salisbury administration, the Ministerial majority being unimpaired. It was not very long, however, before its chief retired, his place being taken by Arthur Balfour. His primacy in the party was shared by Joseph Chamberlain, who very shortly startled England by declaring in favour of Tariff Reform—a theory of preferential or protective tariffs which was popularly supposed to be dead and buried, but now

Chamberlain's Tariff Reform Proposals

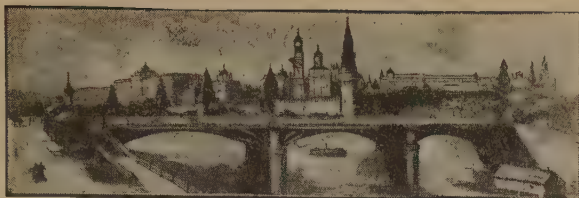
became the object of the enthusiastic advocacy of a large number of persons who had hitherto not shown any signs of questioning the economic creed of Cobden. While the Liberals were unanimous in upholding the doctrines of Free Trade, the Unionists were divided almost as markedly as the Liberals had been over Home Rule. Mr. Balfour achieved the feat of persuading each section of the party that his views coincided precisely with theirs. It became obvious, however, that the majority of the party were becoming converted definitely to the most extreme view that Mr. Chamberlain had advocated; and the General Election in 1905 gave an overwhelming Free Trade majority. Led by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman till his death, and afterwards by Mr. Asquith, the Liberal Government endeavoured to deal with a series of exceedingly thorny questions. Mr. Asquith appealed to the country in

January, 1910, and was returned to power with a composite majority of 100—Liberals, Nationalists, and Labour—over the Unionists. The rejection of Liberal measures by the House of Lords brought about another General Election in December, 1910, when Mr. Asquith again returned to power with an undiminished majority. In May of that year King Edward VII. died, and his son ascended the throne as George V. In 1911 the Parliament Act was passed, providing that any Bill twice passed by the Commons, though rejected in two consecutive Sessions by the House of Lords, becomes law automatically in the third year. Mr. Lloyd George's National Insurance Act of 1911 provoked heated discussion before and after its passage into law. On the retirement of Mr. Balfour from the leadership of the Unionist party, in November, 1911, Mr. Bonar Law was chosen by the party as his successor.

ARTHUR D. INNES



Valentine



REACTION TRIUMPHANT IN RUSSIA AND CHANGES IN TURKEY

THE expansion of Russia in Asia has already been dealt with, and before entering—as we shall do in the following pages—on the account of the Eastern Question, which is the chief concern of Russia in Europe, we must give a brief sketch of her recent domestic history.

The Tsar Alexander II., who succeeded Nicholas while the Crimean War was still in progress, was a man with liberal inclinations, but he was to a great extent the victim of a system from which a very much stronger man with the same desires would have found it next to impossible to free himself. In spite of the great measure of emancipation for the serfs, Russia remained under the iron heel of an oligarchy in spite of the theoretical semi-divine authority of the Tsar himself. The merciless repression of all freedom begot the deadliest of all foes of order—Nihilism; and Nihilism, and the terror thereof, intensified the repression of every movement, however orderly, towards liberty. In spite of the fact that Alexander was contemplating something at least in the direction of summoning a popular Assembly, he fell a victim to Nihilist plots in 1881.

Alexander II. a Victim of Nihilism

The murdered Tsar was the first ruler of Russia since 1598 who had been able to mount the throne of his fathers in peace. His father, who had felt in his own case the want of a good education, procured the best teachers for his son, and it was fortunate for Russia that the celebrated poet Shukovsky directed the training of Alexander. Alexander saw clearly the defects of his predecessor, but also understood that a thorough reform was only possible after the abolition of serfdom, and he therefore resolutely set himself to carry this out. He was spurred on by the example of the neighbouring empire of Austria, where the emancipation of the serfs had been carried out in 1781; the better class of Russians had long felt it

to be a disgrace to their country that slavery still flourished there. It was necessary to go cautiously to work, and above all to win the nobility for the cause. The Tsar therefore acted in a wise and noble manner when he expressed the wish that the nobles should take the work of emancipating the serfs into their own hands.

The Tsar's Great Work for the Serfs

There were, however, only a few who pledged themselves to the Tsar's idea. Among them were the conscientious Rostovzof Levschin, who prepared an historical account of serfdom in Russia, and the indefatigable Sergej St. Lanskoj and Tshevskin. The Grand Duke Constantine entered on the plan with great enthusiasm; the Grand Duchess Helene Pavlovna emancipated in 1859 the serfs of the estates comprised in her appanage.

All were unanimous on the question of emancipation, only there was a division of opinion, as previously under Catherine II., on the point whether the land should be given to the peasants as freehold. A secret committee was appointed by the emperor. Since this did not make any progress with its labours, a higher board, known as the Chief Commission, met, composed of more trustworthy members.

But even yet the opposition was too strong. Its leader, Prince Alexej Orlov, asserted that he would rather cut off his hand than sign the charter of emancipation. Finally, a Supreme Commission was appointed; this, being vigorously supported

Millions of Serfs Emancipated

by the whole Press, finally completed the work. The imperial rescript of March 3rd, 1861, proclaimed the emancipation of the serfs on private estates and of the domestic slaves. By this edict more than twenty-three millions received their liberty. The peasants were required merely to pay a reasonable sum for their holdings, which now became their property. The rejoicings of the people were boundless. Wherever the Tsar appeared, he was greeted and

cheered as the liberator. In the year 1864 he emancipated also the peasants in Poland and Transcaucasia, and in 1866 the peasants on the imperial demesnes, and restricted the infliction of corporal punishment.

Now for the first time further reforms could be carried out. The judicial system was separated from the executive and reorganised; trial by jury was introduced, and the taxation regulated. The economic condition and the productive power of the empire increased rapidly. The Tsar, as has recently been discovered, even thought seriously of granting a constitutional government; his untimely assassination prevented him from carrying out his scheme. He gave the governments a sort of autonomy, and established in every district an independently elected district

diet, and a provincial diet—Zemstvo—above that in every government. Universal conscription was now introduced. It was now possible to take serious steps towards spreading culture among the people. It is true that out of a Budget of \$236,000,000 in 1867, only \$4,000,000 had been applied to educational purposes. But the figures gradually rose, and thousands of schools were founded. On the whole, even in the department of public education, a more liberal spirit prevailed. In the year 1863, a liberal statute was passed for the universities. Russia had seldom had a more philanthropic monarch. And yet the life of this Tsar, whose motto was "Justice, light, and freedom," was frequently attempted. Just as the rustic population of the



ALEXANDER II., TSAR OF RUSSIA

A man of liberal inclinations, he resolutely set himself to carry out reforms, but the Nihilists were determined upon his destruction, and he was assassinated on March 13th, 1881.



NIHILIST CONSPIRACIES IN RUSSIA: CONDEMNED MEN AND WOMEN ON THE SCAFFOLD

REACTION IN RUSSIA AND CHANGE IN TURKEY

Russian provinces furnishes the best imaginable material for new religious sects, so the half-educated world of Russia is a fertile soil for every sort of "great ideas." The students especially, who were scrupulously prevented from receiving a sound, intellectual discipline, were often led astray by senseless oppression and still more senseless reforms. The Tsar, while in the imperial summer garden, was shot at by a student, Demetrius, on April 16th, 1866. Alexander did not allow this to divert him

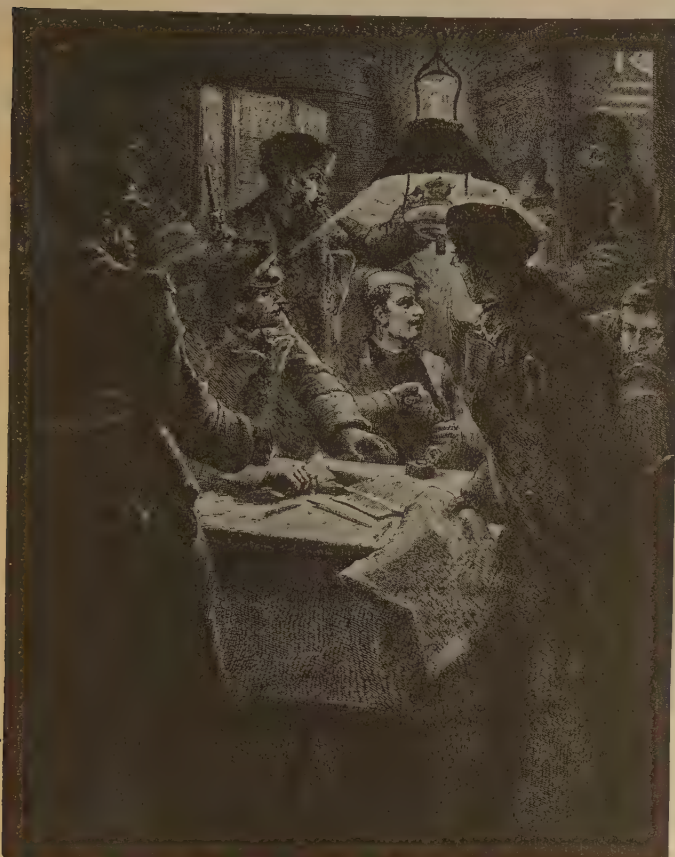
was blown to pieces by a bomb thrown under his carriage on March 13th, 1881. The murder was a great blow for the free-thinking party, for the supporters of despotism and brute force were right when they asserted that the people did not yet know the proper use of liberty. The representatives of this reactionary movement, Ivan Aksakov the Slavophil and Michail Katkof, acquired more influence, especially since they had been able to impress on the educated sections of the

people the idea that absolutism, orthodoxy, and many barbarous customs of the people, which it was proposed to eradicate, belonged to the essence of Russian, and, in fact, of Slavonic, life. When, therefore, Alexander's son, Alexander III., had mounted the throne, they became all-powerful, more especially their associate Constantine Pobiedonostev, who was made Procurator-General of the Holy Synod in 1880. The ship of state was once more steered into the vortex of reaction.

Alexander III. was known, like his father, to have had a leaning towards Liberal ideas; but the manner of his father's death destroyed all prospect of his acting upon them, and severity towards everything which was suspected of association with a revolutionary propaganda was increased instead of being relaxed. The maintenance of order by an extraordinarily elaborate system of espionage

and by police methods, which have had no parallel in Western Europe except during periods of religious persecution, inevitably has exceedingly ugly concomitants, and among these was cruel popular persecution of the Jews, which was encouraged instead of being checked by the Government.

Alexander III. died in 1894, and was succeeded by the present Tsar, Nicholas II. His reign has been marked by the terrible disasters of the Japanese war, which went



POLICE SURPRISING A MEETING OF RUSSIAN NIHILISTS

from the path of reform. On June 6th, 1867, a Pole, Anton Beresovsky, aimed at him, although he had bestowed benefits on the Poles. The folly of such inexperienced youths was outdone by the brutality of the police, which provoked the greatest indignation. Nihilist societies with widespread branches were founded at home and abroad. Secret newspapers were published, terrorism was preached, new assassinations were attempted, until finally the Tsar

far towards destroying the bogey of an immense and irresistible Russian power from which Western imaginations had long been suffering. On the other hand, there has been a moment when the friends of freedom were beginning to believe that by at last summoning the Duma the Tsar was intending to open the gates for a serious reform of the government. The next steps, however, pointed to a triumph of reaction; nevertheless, a hope may be admitted that in spite of the clang of bolts and bars the opening of

Syria, from the Persian frontier, from Servia, and from Bulgaria; it was obliged in consequence to agree with the other Powers to Russia's demands on March 13th, 1871, and also to lay down certain points for the regulation of the Danube traffic.

In 1873 the Russian War Minister, Miljutin, reorganised the army on the model of the German military system, introducing general conscription and considerably increasing both the number of regiments and of soldiers available in time of war. Thereupon the Eastern



THE ASSASSINATION OF ALEXANDER II., TSAR OF RUSSIA, IN 1881

In consequence of the Russian Government's severe repression of the revolutionary movements, the Nihilists determined to have revenge upon the Tsar and his officers, and on March 13th, 1881, a bomb was thrown at the emperor's carriage near his palace in St. Petersburg, Alexander II. being so severely injured that he died a few hours afterwards.

the gates is appreciably nearer at hand. Reference has already been made to the conference in London which, taking place during the Franco-Prussian War, reopened the Black Sea question, and thereby led up to a revival of the Eastern Question in general. At that conference Russia secured the abolition of the clauses of the Peace of Paris of 1856 prohibiting her from keeping warships in the Black Sea. The Porte had been forced to send a considerable body of troops to Yemen in Arabia, and was in receipt of disturbing news from

Question was again brought upon the stage by the Pan-Slavonic party. Thanks to their agitation, a revolt broke out in Herzegovina in 1875, which the Porte did not immediately suppress. When a consular commission of the Powers and Austrian intervention led to no result, the Porte took decided action, and would have restored order in Montenegro, in Herzegovina, and in Servia by superior force, had not Ignatieff opposed the use of menaces. Unfortunately for the Porte, the French and German consuls were



ALEXANDER III., TSAR OF RUSSIA



THE TSARINA OF RUSSIA



THE TSAR IN OLD RUSSIAN COSTUME



THE TSARINA IN OLD NATIVE DRESS

ALEXANDER III., TSAR OF ALL THE RUSSIAS, AND HIS CONSORT

murdered on May 6th, 1876, in the course of a riot at Salonika, and the incident cost Turkey a heavy price. Hardly had a memorandum of Gortchakoff secured a two months' armistice among the revolted parties, when the Bulgarians revolted in Drenova, Panagjurishte, Koprivshitzta, Gabrovo, and Srednagora, and were crushed by the fanatical population with dreadful cruelty—the "Bulgarian atrocities" execrated by Gladstone and the English Press.

On May 10th, 1876, the Softas, the theological students, took up arms in the capital and haughtily requested the Sultan,

who was regarded as blindly devoted to Russia, to dismiss the Grand Vizir Mahmud Nedim Pasha, to send away Ignatieff, and to begin war against Montenegro. In vain did Abd ul-Aziz attempt to calm the storm by summoning Mehemet Rüşdi; the measure of his wrongdoing was full. On May 29th the new Grand Vizir and the Minister of War, Hussein Avni and Midhat Pasha, declared the Sultan deposed, and placed Murad V., the eldest son of Abd ul-Mejid, on the throne. Abd ul-Aziz was conveyed to his palace at Chiragan and there murdered, as transpired from an inquiry held in 1882; a few days after Hussein Pasha with other Ministers were assassinated in the house of Midhat. Even before the

tour of the Sultan Abd ul-Aziz to Europe in the spring of 1867, a conspiracy had been discovered, directed principally against the then Grand Vizir, Ali Pasha.

The chiefs of the movement called themselves Young Turks, in an opposite sense to that which is conveyed by the terms "Young Germany," or "la Giovine Italia." The objects of this conspiracy were the restoration of the old Turkish regime and of the Turkish Empire, with the complete suppression of all non-Mohammedans; the surest means to this end was proclaimed to be the arming of the Mohammedan people and the murder of the liberal-

minded Ali, while the final object was war against Western Europe. After the demonstration of the Softas in 1876, the fall of Mahmud Nedim Pasha, the deposition of the Sultan, and the miserable failure of the diplomacy of the Great Powers, Chauvinism again raised its head. As early as October, 1875, the Turkish imperial newspaper, "Bassiret," had issued an inspiring and revolutionary appeal for a crusade of the Mohammedans against the infidels. Special mention was made of Algiers, East India, Java, Sumatra, and the Caucasus. In 1876 the "Sabah"—morning—threatened a general levy of 300,000,000 Mohammedans,

who were to occupy England and Russia, France and Austria, and to devastate these countries, while Germany was to be spared so long as she remained neutral.

The chief persons who shared in the deposition of the Sultan Abd ul-Aziz and the enthronement of the Sultan Murad V. were Midhat, Hussein Avni Müterjim, Mehemet Rüşdi, and Zia Bey; of these the first and the last were Young Turks, while the other two were Old Turks, assuming this distinction to be possible of maintenance. Apart from these, the members of the Young Turkish party set their hopes particularly on Prince Murad, as they expected him to issue some form of constitution. As a matter of fact, when Murad had

become sultan, he proclaimed his intention of granting a constitution on July 15th, 1876; but even then his mind was beginning to be overclouded, and fate willed otherwise. Midhat Pasha was the life and soul of the constitutional movement. In the winter of 1876 he drew up a memorial which he submitted to the Powers. He explained that the main cause of the decline of the Turkish Empire was to be found not in religious or racial disputes, but in a despotic government and the extravagant whims of the Sultan Abd ul-Aziz. Midhat Pasha availed himself by preference of the services of two famous



NICHOLAS II., TSAR OF RUSSIA
Born on May 18th, 1868, he succeeded his father, Alexander III., in 1894, and has since that time witnessed the overthrow of his military forces by Japan and the constitutional revolutionary movement within his own land.



THE MARRIAGE OF THE TSAR OF RUSSIA IN THE CHAPEL OF THE WINTER PALACE, ST. PETERSBURG, ON NOVEMBER 26TH, 1894
 On November 26th, 1894, Nicholas II., Tsar of Russia, was married to Princess Victoria Alice of Hesse, which event is illustrated above by an artist present on the occasion. The ceremony was performed under the direction of the Metropolitan Archbishop, with his assistant priests. Two jewelled golden crowns, adorned with medallion figures of Christ and the Virgin Mary, were held over the heads of the bride and bridegroom by several of the Russian Grand Dukes, successively relieving each other, while standing before the emperor and his bride the high-priest joined their hands beneath his stole. That part of the ceremony over, the crowns were lowered, and the holy portraits thereon kissed by the married couple.



THE TSAR NICHOLAS II. OF RUSSIA AND THE TSARINA ALEXANDRA FEODOROVNA

Photo: Russell & Sons

authors, Kemal and Zia Bey. These men were also leaders of the "Young Turkish party." Their aims, however, were not only political, but primarily literary. It is in this department that their most distinguished services were performed. They abandoned the conventionality of classical poetry and the courtly style of prose writing, and found their model either in the inexhaustible treasures of the Ottoman ballad poetry and popular language, or, as regards the "moderns," in French literature. The wealth of poetry and of moral force, and especially of the pure undefiled Ottoman language existing in the stories, satires, humorous tales, narratives, chap-books, chivalrous and political romances, ballads, puppet plays, riddles, and proverbs of the Turkish nation was only waiting the discoverer. In this respect the efforts of the Young Turks exercised a healthy influence upon Ottoman civilisation, even though their first efforts for reformation or revolution far exceeded the limits of what was permissible or possible.

Ali Suavi Effendi was a compound of Peter of Amiens and Mazzini; but he was entirely faithful to the Koran. Zia Bey had, in the year 1859, under the title of

Andalus Tarikhi, published a history of the Arab dominion in the Iberian peninsula, which was based on the somewhat superficial work of Louis Viardot, and amounted to a glorification of Moslem civilisation, characterised by a hostile attitude to Europe and Christianity. Kemal Bey, a faithful scholar of his great master and model, Shinassi Effendi, the creator of modern Ottoman literature and language, was the most important of all the Turkish poets of the modern period. He published a newspaper under the title of "Ibret"—pattern—in which he actually defended the Commune of Paris. His most important dramatic work was "Silistria" or "Vatan," the Fatherland. Though the details of the heroic defence of the Danube

forts in 1854 may not be historically true, yet he secured a striking success through the exalted tone of his love for the "fatherland," a conception formerly unknown to Mohammedanism, and by the popular style of the work. Its success led to the author's banishment, after the production of this piece in Constantinople in 1873. In conjunction with Mehemet Bey, the nephew of the Grand Vizir, Mahmud Nedim Pasha, he founded the

**Banishment
of the Scholarly
Kemal Bey**

REACTION IN RUSSIA AND CHANGE IN TURKEY

Turkish newspaper, "Mukhbir," that is, the "Reporter." The paper was suppressed when the persecution against the Young Turks was begun; the conspirators made their escape safely to Paris. There they came in contact with Fazil Mustafa, the brother of the Khedive Ismail, who had been banished on account of his claims to the Egyptian succession.

Persecution of the Young Turks

The "Mukhbir" continued to appear in Paris and London, and thousands of copies were smuggled into Turkey; some numbers also appeared in French. To the European public at large, however, this party assumed a mask of toleration, and concealed their fanatical zeal for Mohammedanism under an appearance of free thought. Under Mahmud Pasha they were amnestied and recalled. Zia and Riza Bey, who had formerly been ambassadors in Teheran and St. Petersburg, were then the foremost in enlightening the Grand Vizir upon the complicated Bulgarian question and the problem of the Catholic Armenians. At this period there was also a Turkish

theatre at Stamboul, with a repertoire of forty to fifty pieces, partly original and partly translations of Molière by Ahmed Vesik, or of Schiller by Ahmed Midhat Effendi, the editor of the official Turkish newspaper; Vesik also published some maps in Turkish for the use of schools, and took part in the composition of a great dictionary. Münif Effendi translated part of Voltaire's "Entretiens et Dialogues Philosophiques," and followed the example of Fuad in proposing the extension and regulation of the narrow, crooked streets of Stamboul. Public libraries were founded; Abd ul-Aziz began a zoological garden, and in the medical school of the Seraglio of Galata a museum of natural objects was opened to the public.

The foundation of the "University" of Constantinople can only be described as a failure. Strangely enough, some decades later, in the movement for the emancipation of women, which found expression in 1895 in the newspaper of Tahir Effendi, "Khanimlara Makhsus Gazeta," female collaborators like Fatima Alija, Nigiar Chamin,



EXPELLING THE JEWS FROM RUSSIA: A SCENE AT THE BALTIC RAILWAY STATION
Wanderers on the face of the earth, the Jews have found their way into all parts of the world, but in few lands has their presence been welcomed, while in many countries they have been the victims of cruel treatment. Russia has been particularly unkind to the ancient people, as indicated in the above picture, persecuting them with much harshness.



THE LAST VISIT OF THE SULTAN ABD UL-AZIZ TO THE MOSQUE AT BAGDSCHA
 Turkey's summary methods of high politics are well illustrated in the case of Abd ul-Aziz, who, after being deposed was taken to his palace at Chiragan and there put to death by the new Grand Vizir and the Minister of War

Hamijeti Zehra, Fahr-en-Nisa, Makbula Lemian, Emine Wahide, and Renesie, notwithstanding their thorough knowledge of Oriental and European languages and morals, spoke out strongly on the side of the Young Turks on behalf of the strengthening and retention of Mohammedan customs and of the avoidance of European civilisation in methods of education. At the same time Vambéry forecasts from this woman's movement an approximation to Western manners and the beginning of a beneficial reform of the state and of society.

Upon the whole, it is by no means easy to gain a clear idea of the theories and ideals of the modern Young Turkish party. Their first official leader was the Cherkess general, Hussein Pasha. He was joined by numerous



MURAD V., SULTAN OF TURKEY

When on May 29th, 1876, the Sultan Abd ul-Aziz was deposed, Murad V., the eldest son of Abd ul-Mejid, was placed on the throne. His reign, however, was brief, as he was deposed, owing to insanity, in August of the same year.

Photo: W. and D. Downey

adherents, who called themselves Fedayiî, conspirators or martyrs. Even at that time, 1860, this free federation of Ottomans was aiming at the following points: a reform of Turkey by the Turks without distinction of faith and not by Europe, the abolition of despotic government, a responsible Ministry composed of honourable statesmen, and a Chamber composed of members of all the races and religions within the Ottoman Empire. Khair ed-dîn Pasha and Khalil Sherif Pasha pursued the same objects under Abd ul-Aziz, and were supported by Zia Bey and Kemal Bey in writing and speech, and by Ali and Fuad in the government. They developed great plans, and actually succeeded in obtaining approval for some of them from the tyrannical



Safvet Pasha



General Ignatieff



Kerim Pasha

NOTABLE LEADERS IN THE TURKISH AND RUSSIAN MOVEMENTS

When the Grand Vizir, Mehemet Rüşdi Pasha, was deposed in 1878, the office was given to Safvet Pasha; General Ignatieff was prominent in the Russo-Turkish war of 1878, and was principally responsible for the treaty of peace between Russia and Turkey signed at San Stefano; while Abd ul-Kerim Pasha was an able Turkish general.

Sultan, who went so far as to summon an Armenian Christian, Agathon Effendi, to the Ministry. The programme of Midhat in 1876 was, generally speaking, based upon principles borrowed from the West; the supremacy of law, universal equality, the strengthening of the Divan against the Seraglio, freedom of the Press, independence of the judicature, reorganisation of the administrative power with respect for the Mohammedan legal code, but also in accord with Western experience, order in the palace, a change in the Eastern principle of succession, European education for the princes, marriage of the princes with European princesses, and the consequent abolition of slavery, of polygamy, of concubines, and eunuch government.

In conjunction with Fazil and Server Pasha, Midhat defended his creations, the Constitution, the Parliament, and the Senate, in his "İftihad." He demanded a complete severance of the caliphate from the sultanate, and an abolition of theocratic government. This proposal deeply offended the strong ecclesiastical party of the Ulemas. Under the following sultan, Midhat was overthrown; and the inheritors of his ideas, the Reform Turks, or Liberals, as they preferred to be called, continued until recently the struggle to secure the liberation of the Sultan Abd ul-Hamid II. and his people from the hands of the Court Camarilla. It may be noted that in May, 1904, public attention was occupied with the rumour of the imprisonment of certain



THE FIRST STATE PASSAGE OF THE SULTAN MURAD V. TO DOLMA-BAKCHEH

Young Turks of high position. This party included Ahmed Riza, the editor of the "Meschweret," Murad Bey, a kind of political chameleon, editor of the "Misan," Theodor Kassope, the brilliant journalist of the "Haial," Ismail Kemal Bey, Vasilaki Bey, Mehemet Ubeidullah, Said Bey, Zia Bey, and Ferdi Bey, and even the Sultan's brother-in-law, Mahmud Damad, who died on January 18th, 1903, at Brussels. In sad tones does the Turkish ballad recount the deposition of the "beloved ruler Abd ul-Aziz." A gloomy fate, however, still bore heavily upon the Ottoman throne; on August 31st, 1876, Murad V., the hope of the Young Turkish party, was deposed owing to insanity, and placed in confinement until his death, on August 29th, 1904.

He was succeeded by his brother, Abd ul-Hamid II., born September 21st, 1842, the thirty-fourth sovereign of the Ottoman House and the twenty-eighth since the conquest of Constantinople. A reform of education and of the constitution, the improvement of trade and economic life by a vast extension of the railway system, were the objects which this highly gifted monarch set before himself of his own free and vigorous will, for the purpose of raising "this nation of gentlemen," as Bismarck called the Ottomans, to the height of civilisation. In vain did the Sirdar Abd ul-Kerim drive back the Serbs at Alexinatz on September 1st, 1876, into the valley of the Morava. On November 1st the Bashibazouks had made their way beyond Junis

and Stoltz as far as the neighbourhood of Belgrade; the telegram of the Tsar Alexander II., despatched from Livadia on October 31st, commanded a cessation of hostilities. In vain did the diplomatic and peaceful Sultan resolve upon the extremity of compliance in the peace concluded on February 28th, 1877.

When the Powers demanded an independent administration for Bulgaria, Midhat Pasha, who had been Grand Vizir since December 22nd, 1876, answered this

move by producing a constitution which the Sultan imposed upon his empire on December 23rd. This Representative Assembly of 200 Moslems and 60 Christians declined the proposals of the conference of the Powers. Ignatieff then went round the courts of Europe and secured their agreement to the "London Protocol," which recommended the Sublime Porte to recognise the autonomy of the two provinces of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia under Christian governors. However, Midhat was overthrown on February 5th, 1877, by a palace



Midhat Pasha



Hussein Avni Pasha



Halil Sherif Pasha



Mehemet Rüşdi Pasha

MINISTERS OF THE SULTAN OF TURKEY

While holding a Cabinet Council with their colleagues at Constantinople in 1876, the four pashas whose portraits are given above were attacked by Hassan Bey, a military man who had been imprisoned for his laxity in obeying orders, and two of them, Hussein Avni Pasha and Mehemet Rüşdi, died from the wounds inflicted.

revolution, and Edhem Pasha, his successor, induced the Sultan curtly to decline the Russian proposals on April 9th.

On April 23rd the Tsar Alexander II. informed his troops at Kishineff that war had been declared. On the night of the 24th the Cossacks crossed the Pruth, and the whole army advanced into Roumania, not, as before, to secure the "liberation of the Christians," but that of their "Slavonic brothers." On April 16th Roumania had concluded with Russia a

REACTION IN RUSSIA AND CHANGE IN TURKEY

convention admitting the passage of troops, which was regarded by the Porte as a *casus belli* in the case of that state also. Thereupon the Chamber at Bucharest proclaimed their independence. The Turks were in position with 180,000 men along the Danube, while 80,000 troops were ready in Asia. Russia was certain of the benevolent neutrality of Germany, and in January, 1877, she had concluded the agreement of Reichstadt with Austria, which secured Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austro-Hungary in the event of her non-interference. On May 3rd the Turks declared the shores of the Black Sea to be in a state of blockade. On May 6th the Sultan assumed the title "Defender of the Faith," and proclaimed the Holy War.

At the outset the Turkish warship *Seifi* was attacked by Russian torpedo boats below Matchin, on the Danube, and sunk; on May 11th a Russian battery at Braila shelled the Turkish monitor *Lutfi Jalil*, and blew up the ship with its crew. On May 17th the Russo-

Caucasian army stormed Ardakhan and invested Kars. However, the victory of Mukhtar Pasha over Loris Melikoff forced the Russians to retire to their own country in the middle of July. A Turkish fleet, supported by the revolt of the Cherkesses in the Caucasus, bombarded the Russian forts on the Abkhasian coast and captured Sukhum Kaleh; but this position was unavoidably evacuated in August, for the Russians had then recaptured Kars and made a victorious advance to Erzeroum.

Mukhtar Pasha undertook the defence of Constantinople. The Russians, indeed, had not been able to cross the Danube at Sistova and Zimnitsa until June 29th, owing to the floods; but on July 7th they reached Tirnovo, and General Gurko crossed the Balkans on July 13th at the Shipka Pass.

General Schilder-Schuldner was beaten back at Plevna by Osman Nuri Pasha, and the Russian line of retreat was threatened. Had the Turkish commanders

been united and able to make a decisive attack upon the Russians, the latter would scarcely have reached the left bank of the Danube. Meanwhile the Russians brought up their reinforcements and the Roumanian army, in order to capture the "Lion of Plevna," who is still celebrated in the Turkish ballad; he died April 5th, 1900. On September 11th, the birthday of the Russian Tsar, after vast preparations the great attack was begun upon the defences of Osman Pasha, and the Russians suffered their greatest defeat during the whole

campaign; 16,000 dead and wounded Russians covered the battlefield, the sole result being the capture of the redoubt of Grivitza. Finally, on December 10th, the wounded Osman, whose supply of ammunition had failed, was obliged to surrender to a force three times as large as his own, with 40,000 men, 2,000 officers, and 77 guns.

The fall of Plevna encouraged the Serbs at Nisch on January 11th, 1878, and the Montenegrins made conquests on the coast



Kemal Bey



Ibrahim Effendi



Abd ul-Zia Bey



Prince Mustafa Pasha

LEADERS OF THE "YOUNG TURKISH PARTY"
The Young Turkish Party of 1867 had little in common with the movement of recent years. Aiming at restoring the ancient regime, it originated in literary idealism rather than political aspirations.

of the Adriatic on January 19th, 1878; the Greeks crossed the frontier of Thessaly on February 2nd. In Bulgaria, after endless marching, Gurko had subdued the Etropol district at the end of December, 1877, and had effected a junction with the army of Lom in Philippopolis. On January 29th, 1878, the Russians reached the Sea of Marmora at Rodosto, after the capture of the Shipka army, the destruction of the division of Suleiman, and the occupation of Adrianople. On January 31st an armistice was concluded, and then the British fleet entered the Sea of Marmora. The Russians now advanced to the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and on March 3rd dictated the Peace of San Stefano, in which they demanded complete independence for Roumania, Servia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria, the cession of Armenia to Russia and of the Dobrudsha to Roumania, and would also have cut European Turkey in half by the establishment of the states of Roumelia and Macedonia. Thereupon Disraeli threatened war, concentrated Indian troops at Malta, and joined Austria in a demand for a congress. Abd ul-Hamid had dissolved the Chambers on February 14th, and had never recalled them; on May 20th he had suppressed with bloodshed the conspiracy begun by Ali Suavi in favour of Murad, and on May 25th had appointed Mehemet Rüşdi Pasha as Grand Vizir. He concluded a secret treaty with Britain on June 4th, the British undertaking the protection of

Turkey in Asia, and occupying Cyprus by way of return. The Grand Vizir, however, was replaced by Safvet Pasha on June 4th. The demands proposed in the Peace of San Stefano were considerably reduced in the Berlin Congress, June 13th to July 13th, 1878; in particular, Eastern Roumelia was left under Turkish supremacy. Austria, however, was entrusted with the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and was given the right to maintain a body of supervisory troops in the Sanjak of Novibazar, under the supremacy of the Sultan. Roumania's only reward for the valuable service which she had rendered to Russia was the acquisition of the barren Dobrudsha in return for Bessarabia, which was ceded to Russia. Greece secured the right to a better delimitation



THE SULTAN ABDUL HAMID II.
 Brother of Murad V., he succeeded to the throne of Turkey in 1876, and in the following year gave the country a Parliament, which was soon after withdrawn, to be restored in 1908.

Photo: W. & D. Downey

of her northern frontier, but it was not until 1880 that she secured possession of Thessaly and of the district of Arta in Epirus. The war indemnity paid by the Porte to Russia amounted to \$80,000,000. In 1882, Bosnia, which had first to be conquered step by step by the Austrian troops, received a measure of civil government, under which the prosperity of this fertile district considerably increased. The Berlin Treaty was signed by representatives of all the Powers, though all were fully aware that it contained merely the germs of fresh entanglements. Prince Bismarck stigmatised the treaty as a "dishonourable fiction," while the Pan-Slavonic Party blamed the "infidelity of their German



Gurko



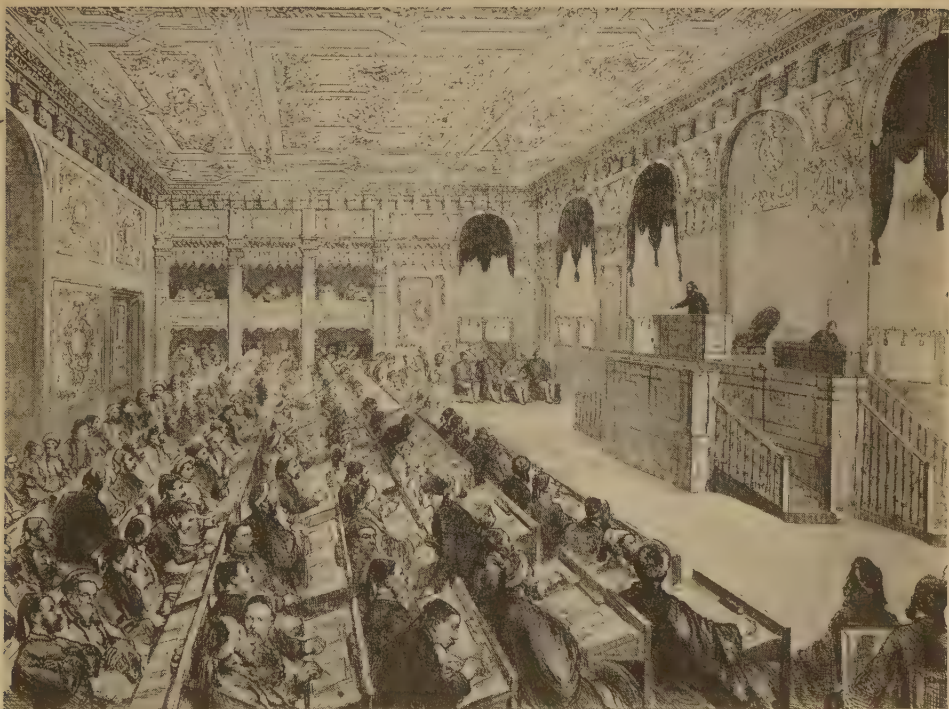
Skobelev

TWO DISTINGUISHED RUSSIAN GENERALS

Count Gurko, a Russian general, distinguished himself in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877, capturing the fortresses of Sophia, Philippopolis and Adrianople, when the armistice of 1878 followed; while Michael Dmitrievitch Skobelev was a leader in the expeditions to Khiva and Khokand and also in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78.



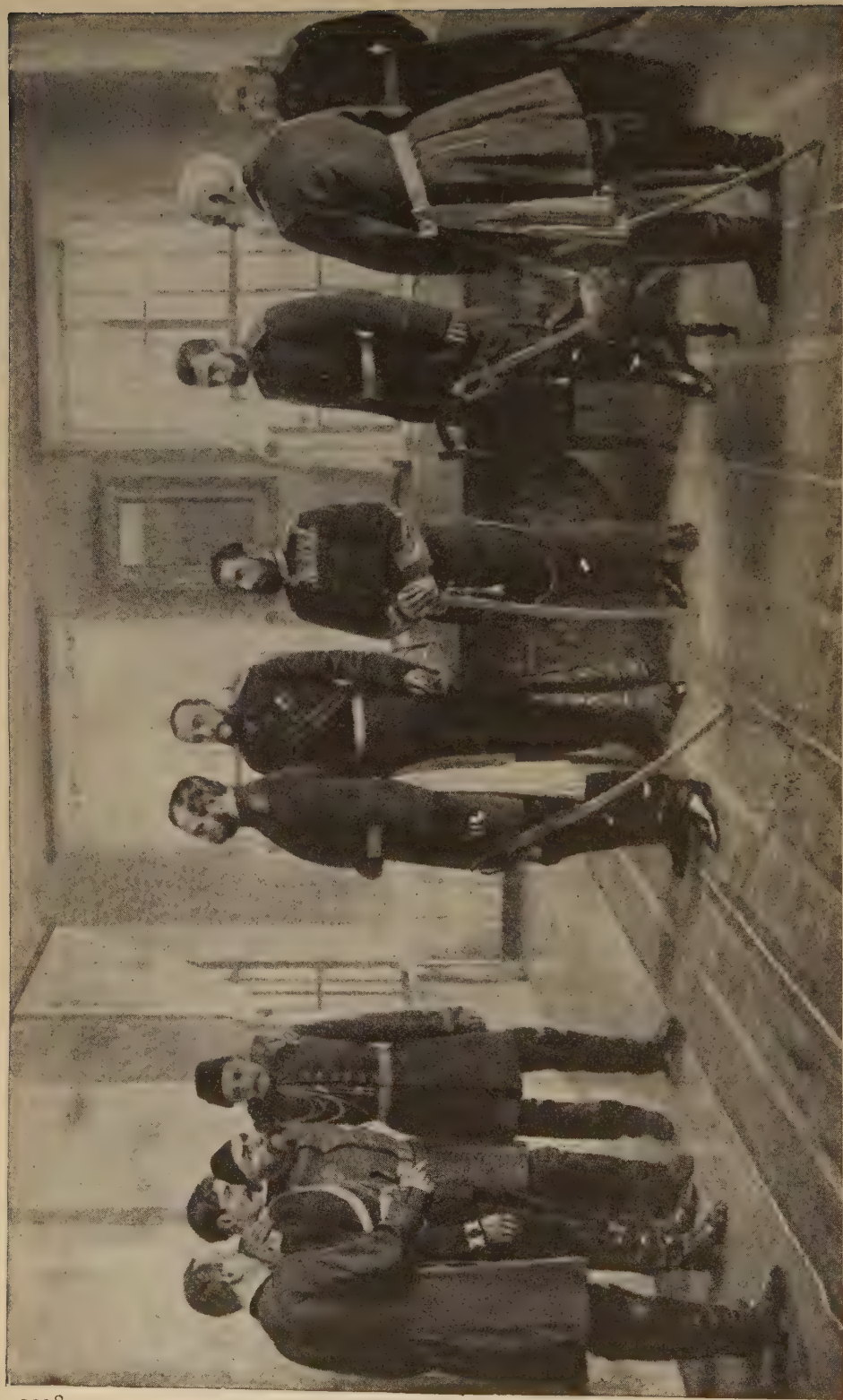
THE SULTAN OPENING THE FIRST TURKISH PARLIAMENT



THE HOUSE IN SESSION AT CONSTANTINOPLE

Turkey's first Parliament, in 1877, as shown in the first of these two pictures, was opened by the Sultan, Abdul Hamid II., in the Grand Throne Room of the Imperial Palace of Dolma-Bakcheh. A sitting of the Parliament is illustrated in the second picture. In the side galleries were special boxes for the Sultan and other illustrious visitors.

TURKEY'S FIRST AND SHORT-LIVED PARLIAMENT OF 1877



THE SURRENDER OF OSMAN PASHA AT PLEVNA: BRINGING THE TURKISH CAPTIVE INTO THE RUSSIAN HEADQUARTERS

From the painting by Verestchagin

REACTION IN RUSSIA AND CHANGE IN TURKEY

friend" for the unfavourable results of the Berlin Congress. Russia did not feel her military power sufficiently great to begin a war with Austria and England, after she had once lost her opportunity of occupying Constantinople. For the blunders of Russian policy, Prince Gortchakoff undoubtedly divided the responsibility with some of his younger adherents, but his freedom from blame is by no means proved.

When the German Chancellor concluded the alliance with Austria on October 7th, 1879, and shortly afterwards the Triple

of his empire by a series of innovations. In 1880 he forced the Albanian League to give in its submission and to cede Dulcignoto Montenegro. The statesmen, Midhat, Mahmud Damad, and Nuri Pasha, who had hitherto gone unpunished, were condemned to death on June 9th, 1881, and banished to Arabia. With the help of German officials, the Sultan secured in 1881 a union with the orthodox and a financial reform of high benefit to the empire. The revenue was increased by the introduction of the tobacco régime in 1883. The state was, however, chiefly



SIGNING THE TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN RUSSIA AND TURKEY AT SAN STEFANO

Alliance in 1883, the far-sighted Sultan at once recognised that the welfare of his state was conditional solely upon the support of these most powerful influences for European peace. In 1879 the deposition of Ismaïl had indeed failed to restore the old supremacy of the Porte; the Nile Valley fell into the hands of Great Britain in 1882, and the conquest of the Sudan immediately followed; on May 12th, 1881, and June 8th, 1883, France also declared her protectorate of Tunis.

However, the Sultan loyally observed the conditions of the Berlin Congress, and attempted to increase the prosperity

strengthened by the Sultan's invitation to German officers to remodel the organisation of the army in 1880, and to elaborate a military law, which came into force in 1887. From that date, all men capable of bearing arms were forthwith assigned to a certain arm of the service, and on attaining their majority were placed under control and incorporated in troops of the line for training. In the officers' schools, which were conducted in Constantinople by the Freiherr von der Goltz from 1883 to 1895, the number of pupils rose from 4,000 to 14,000. In 1880 the old museum of antiquities was built in the

Serai gardens—Chinili Kiosk—while the new museum was constructed in 1891. In 1891 the School of Art was founded close at hand by Hamid Bey, where, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Koran against the representation of the human countenance, more than 130 young Turks were regularly instructed in painting,

**Roumania
Proclaimed
a Kingdom**

design. The Sultan displayed even greater wisdom in holding aloof from the disturbances between the Balkan States, though Russian dissatisfaction with her Slavonic protectorates gave him every excuse for armed interference, and though his action on this occasion was stigmatised as "weakness" by the Young Turkish party. Roumania was proclaimed a kingdom on March 26th, 1881, as also was Servia on March 6th, 1882.

In Servia, the reckless financial policy of a rapid succession of Ministers, the agitation fomented by the Radicals, the domestic quarrels in the royal family, the divorce in 1888, and the abdication of King Milan in favour of his son Alexander I. in 1889, the latter's coup d'état in 1893, and his marriage with Draga Maschin in 1900, were events which gave the unhappy country neither peace nor justice. King Alexander I. was murdered in the royal palace at Belgrade in June, 1903, and the regicides then placed King Peter on the throne.

On April 29th, 1879, the Bulgarian Sobranje had chosen Prince Alexander of Battenberg as ruler of the country. On May 9th, 1881, he overthrew the Radical Government and the influence of the agitators for a larger Bulgaria in Eastern Roumelia and Macedonia by means of a coup d'état. However, on September 19th, 1883, he restored the constitution of Tirnovo and undertook the government of Eastern Roumelia, much against the will of Russia, on September 20th, 1885. There-

**The Peace
of
Bucharest**

upon the jealous Servians declared war upon the Bulgarians on November 13th. After one temporary success at the Dragoman Pass, King Milan was defeated by Prince Alexander on November 18th and 19th, at Slivnitza and Pirot; driven back upon Tzaribrod, and was spared in the Peace of Bucharest, March 3rd, 1886, only at the request of Austria.

The rise of Bulgaria and its union with Eastern Roumelia on October 5th, 1886,

aroused the jealousy and the anger of the Tsar and of the Pan Slavists. On the night of August 21st Prince Alexander was surprised in his bed and forced to abdicate; upon his return he was unable to make his peace with the Tsar, and was definitely banished from the country on December 7th, 1886; he died on November 17th, 1893.

After the short regency of Stambuloff and the disturbance caused by the appearance of the Russian general, Baron Kaulbars, the Sobranje chose Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg as their ruler in September, 1886; and in August, 1887, he took the oath to the Bulgarian constitution. Notwithstanding the aloofness of the Sultan, the anger of the Tsar, and the outrages of the Pan Slavists in the country, this prince maintained his position, married Princess Louise of Parma in 1893, and from 1896 brought up his son Boris in the faith of the orthodox Church. After the murder of Stambuloff, the prince secured a reconciliation with the Tsar, his recognition by the Sultan, and was able, even in Macedonia, to bring about the investiture of

**Bulgarian
Independence
Asserted**

Bulgarian bishops. In 1908 Bulgaria formally declared itself an independent kingdom, and Prince Ferdinand was proclaimed Tsar. His sovereignty was recognised by the European Powers in the following year.

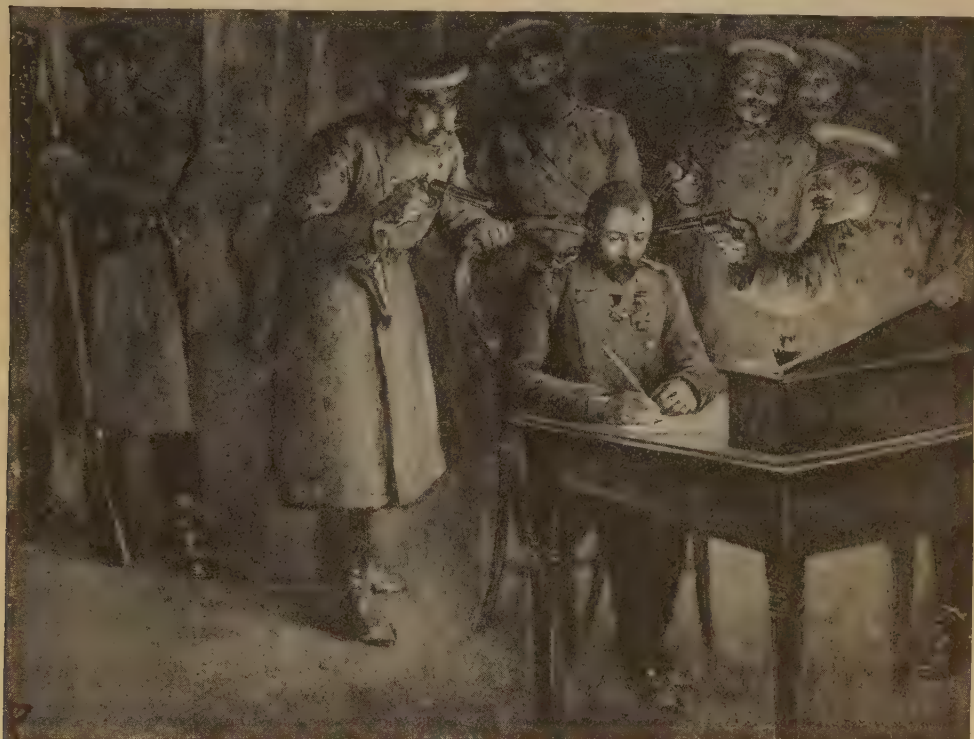
In 1889 a decision of the courts transferred the Turkish railways from the hands of Baron Hirsch to the possession of the Porte. German influence also secured the construction of the Anatolian railway, which had been pushed as far as Angora and Konia in 1896, and which, when continued to the Persian Gulf, will greatly strengthen the strategical and economic power of Turkey and increase her influence upon international trade. After the failure of the unceasing efforts of the German Commercial Company for Eastern Trade, founded 1881, the company, founded at Hamburg in 1889, of the Deutsche Levante Linie was able to issue combined tariffs for maritime and railway traffic, and thus successfully to resume commerce with the East.

Before, however, this decaying empire had been surrounded by the iron girdle of the railroad beyond Bagdad it was shaken to its depths by two disastrous events—the Armenian revolt and the war in Thessaly. Paragraph 61 of the Treaty of

REACTION IN RUSSIA AND CHANGE IN TURKEY

Berlin had demanded protection from the rapacious officials, the Kurds, and Cherkesses, and reforms in the administration to help the oppressed people of the Armenians, who had shown excellent capacity for trade and manual labour. Thanks to the indolence and corruption of the authorities, these reforms were introduced with extreme slowness. In 1894 disturbances broke out in Sassun, and the cruelty with which they were suppressed immediately gave the signal for revolt in Trebizond, Gümishhane, Samsun, Agia Gune, and the Armenian vilayets;

put pressure on the Porte. On September 30th, 1895, certain Armenians gathered before the Sublime Porte, demanding reforms; on August 26th, 1896, these Armenian conspirators surprised the Ottoman Bank, and after their liberation a massacre, apparently led by the soldiers and police, was begun upon the Armenians in the capital. When the Powers protested against this bloodshed, the massacres were stopped and reforms were promised; but the Armenian question remained one of the pieces upon the political chessboard, while attention was



PRINCE ALEXANDER OF BULGARIA SIGNING HIS ABDICATION

Turkish soldiers and Kurds were massacred with the connivance of the authorities. The Armenians, entrenched in the mountains of Cilicia at Zeitun, sustained a formal siege for a long period, and from London, Athens, Paris, Geneva, and Tiflis Armenian agents carried the seeds of revolt into the distressed highlands of Upper Armenia and of the Taurus. These very towns in Western Europe served as refuges not only for the Armenian agents who were favoured by England, but also for their deadly enemies, the Young Turks, of whom France made occasional use to

soon diverted to North America, Eastern Asia, and South Africa. The Greek campaign proved more disastrous to the Christians than to the once forbearing Sultan. Two visits from the German Emperor increased and strengthened the reputation of Abd ul-Hamid II., and made German influence supreme with the Porte.

In Crete it had proved impossible to appease the animosity between the Christians and Mohammedans, notwithstanding their common descent; and the breach of the convention of Halepa of 1878, and the imposition of a constitution which limited

their freedom in 1889, led to a bloody revolt; this movement was increased from 1886 by the hopes of the incorporation of the island with the mother country, notwithstanding the blockade of the Greek harbours by the Powers. On a fresh outburst of hostilities in 1896-1897, the Greek Colonel Vassos, with 2,000 men, occupied Platania in

Turkey and Greece at War

Crete on February 15th, 1897, and took possession of the island in the name of King George. The Governor, George Berovitch Pasha, left Crete. The Powers protested against this violation of international law, bombarded the rebels from their ships, and blockaded the island.

When Greece declined to withdraw her troops upon an ultimatum from the Powers, the Porte declared war on April 17th, 1897. The Turkish army advanced into Thessaly under Edhem Pasha, and defeated the Greek army, which was badly disciplined and organised, under the Crown Prince of Greece, Constantine, at Turnavos, Larissa, Pher-sala, Domokos, and in Epirus. On May 19th an armistice was arranged by the intervention of the Powers, and a peace was concluded at Constantinople on September 17th, 1897, under the terms of which Greece lost certain frontier districts on the north of Thessaly, and undertook to pay a war indemnity of four million pounds Turkish, or \$18,750,000.

The heaviest punishment inflicted upon Greece was the control of the finances imposed at the proposal of Germany, as the Germans had been the chief sufferers from the financial crisis. Greece withdrew her troops from Crete, and the island received complete independence under the suzerainty of the Sultan; Prince George of Greece was appointed as Governor. In 1893 Greece at length completed the canal through the Isthmus of Corinth. She has not yet pushed forward her railway

Greece on the Road to Prosperity

system to a junction with the more developed system of the Balkan States, but is now advancing towards a more prosperous development. This short campaign had proved that the efforts of German instructors to improve the organisation, the training, mobilisation, leadership, and discipline of the Turkish troops had borne good fruit. Thus Turkey reached the close of the century. Vambéry, Adolf Wahrmund, and Von der Goltz have

prophesied a new life and power for the Ottoman State under certain conditions. From the intellectual renaissance in the best men of the nation, they anticipate a revival of the powers dormant in the country and a gradual replacing of Asiatic by European ideas, a reconciliation between Mohammedanism and Christianity, and the development of a *modus vivendi* for these two great religions.

In view of the inexhaustible, and in many cases highly gifted, population of Asia, the protection of the empire, limited to its own frontiers, is guaranteed only by the organisation of the empire and the construction of railways and telegraphs. The weak spot in Turkey is the Bosphorus, which is unfortified on the land side, though the Dardanelles are strongly fortified. The source of all Turkish evils is found in the incapacity of the executive; the extensive spy system, which destroys all confidence; the lack of check upon the state expenditure; the permanent condition of insolvency, only concealed by forced loans and reductions of the salaries of officials; the

Turkey's Bloodless Revolution

miserable condition of the population; the dishonest taxation which is the natural consequence; and especially the autocracy of the Sultan, Abd-ul Hamid II., who, with great short-sightedness, reduced the position of Grand Vizir to a shadow. Abd-ul Hamid was deposed by the newly elected National Assembly in 1909, and his brother, Mehmed V., was proclaimed Sultan. But the evils remained unredressed. The centre of gravity in the Turkish Empire need not necessarily be looked for in the military force at Constantinople; much rather should it be found in a body of reliable Crown advisers and capable officials. Prophecy, however, would seem to be more thoroughly impossible with regard to the Ottoman dominions than elsewhere.

The astonishing revolution of 1908, inaugurated apparently with the full approval of Abd-ul Hamid II., was not destined to give the Ottoman Empire a new lease of life by placing new ideals within the reach of the Turkish people. While the conquest and annexation of Tripoli by Italy, and the success of the Balkan States in their war against Turkey in 1912, have still further reduced the area under Ottoman rule.

VLADIMIR MILKOWICZ

THE
RE-MAKING
OF
EUROPE.



EUROPE
SINCE 1871
III

THE GERMAN & AUSTRIAN EMPIRES THEIR SOCIAL & LEGISLATIVE DEVELOPMENT

IN the years 1871-1902 three emperors ruled at the head of the German Empire. First, the veteran founder of the empire, William I., from 1871 to 1888; then his son, Frederic III., best known as Crown Prince Frederic William, a victim of incurable cancer, who reigned only ninety-nine days, from March 9th to June 15th, 1888; and, lastly, his eldest son, William II., born January 27th, 1859.

The differences between the characters of these three rulers are strongly marked. William I. was a man of simple character, a thorough soldier, taking no great interest in the arts and sciences, but keenly devoted to the practical business of life, full of manly amiability and loyal conscientiousness. The words he uttered on his death-bed, "I have no time to be tired," characterise his whole nature. He had the highest conception of his royal rights and duties; he read everything which he had to sign, and emphatically asserted his own views; but he was accessible to the counsel of experienced statesmen. He adhered with the greatest tenacity to the old Prussian traditions. Frederic III. was by nature and through the influence of his English consort, Victoria, the eldest daughter of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, devoted to the liberal ideas of the time, a warm friend of all artistic and scientific effort, and a soldier so far as and no farther than his political position required.

The Brief Reign of Frederic III.

In his brief reign he allowed himself to be directed by Bismarck, from whom his father had repeatedly declared that he never wished to be separated. Differences of opinion which had earlier, especially in 1863-1866, existed between the monarch and the statesman sank so much into the background in the ninety-nine days that Bismarck asserted he had never, in his long ministerial career, known less friction between Crown and Ministry than had existed under the Emperor Frederic.

Affairs assumed quite a different shape under William II., who, coming to the throne as a young man of twenty-nine years, brought with him a thoroughly independent, indeed, despotic, nature, and in the consciousness of ample abilities and honest purpose felt competent to be his own chancellor. Thus, after only a year and a half a sharp quarrel broke out between the young monarch and the grey-haired statesman, who had so long conducted affairs with prudence and courage. From differences of opinion as to the legitimate position of the Prime Minister towards the Crown and his colleagues, and as to the social and political questions which William II. thought he was able to solve at one stroke, the feud blazed up so fiercely that the emperor on March 20th, 1890, abruptly dismissed Bismarck. Since then, Count Caprivi, Prince Hohenlohe, Prince Bülow and Count Bethmann-Hollweg have filled the office of Imperial Chancellor; but the importance of the office has been much diminished by the personal activity of the emperor.

Dismissal of Prince Bismarck

Although just criticism has often been brought to bear on particular measures taken by the Government, and on its frequently slack and unsteady attitude since 1890, and although serious discontent was produced, especially under Caprivi, by its Anglophile tendencies, its indulgence towards the Poles, and its brusque treatment of Bismarck, whom the emperor took back into favour in January, 1894, yet it cannot be disguised that during this whole period the development of the German nation, in spite of disagreeable episodes of every sort, has been materially advanced. The phrase of William II., "I am leading you towards splendid prospects," was a proud but not by any means an untrue utterance. The institutions of the empire in the very first years of its existence were

The Proud Claim of William II.

completed by unceasing and generally successful legislative work. Wide local diversities could not but act as a check on the conception of real unity; and a just and very important step towards the unification was the adoption in 1872 of a universal

Germany's Military Strength

gold standard and a universal decimal system of coinage, weights, and measures. This was followed up by the unification of civil procedure in the field of law, in 1876—a change already anticipated in criminal law by the North German Confederation—and the adoption of a uniform civil code for the empire, which came into force in the year 1900. The fixed determination of the whole nation to maintain

such a military force as should secure it from attack—prompted by the knowledge, for many years after the great war, that if ever France had an opportunity of attempting to recover her lost provinces she would certainly seize it—has hitherto triumphed, though sometimes with extreme difficulty, over all attempts at reduction. Beyond this, however, William II. has declined to recognise the limitation of Germany to its European territory; alive to the immense amount of wealth and power which Great Britain has acquired by her maritime supremacy, he has resolved to give Germany a first-class navy, the growth of which is watched with some suspicion by the Power to which naval supremacy is even more vital than military supremacy to Germany. Doubts, however, may be felt as to how long the accompanying strain of taxation will be endured.

The first decade of the new empire was largely occupied by a struggle between Church and State—the Roman Church and the Prussian State—which has been responsible for a new political term, "Kulturkampf," signifying the war between the State as representing civilisation, and the Church as representing its opposite. The struggle, however, was not confined to Prussia; the whole nation was

concerned in it, and its sympathies were enlisted on one side or the other. In the first German Reichstag an almost exclusively Catholic party was formed, the Centre, which stood under the extremely clever leadership of the Hanoverian ex-Minister of State Ludwig Windthorst, 1812–1891, and immediately proved itself the refuge of Ultramontane, Guelph, and Particularist efforts.

It aimed, but unsuccessfully, at a German interference in Italy, in order to win back for the Pope his temporal power, and demanded that the articles of the Prussian constitution, which secured to the Churches complete freedom from State control, should be introduced into the Imperial constitution; but it was unable to carry its wishes either with Bismarck or in the Reichstag. It adopted, in consequence, an unfriendly attitude towards the Government. The Prussian Government further complained that the Catholic clergy in Posen and West Prussia, by an abuse of their influential position, especially in the matter of elementary schools which were under their direction, supported the national Polish movements and prejudiced the German Catholics in favour of Poland. As a result of all this agitation, Falk, the Minister of Public Worship and Instruction, carried a Bill in 1872, which strictly defined the inspection of



THE EMPEROR FREDERIC III.

His occupancy of the German Imperial throne lasted for only three months. Succeeding his father, William I., in March, 1888, his death occurred at Potsdam, from an affection of the throat, on June 15th of the same year.

Photo: Reichard & Lindner

schools as a state concern, and threw open to laymen the office of inspector, particularly in country districts. Falk then, in 1873, brought before the Landtag of the monarchy the four Bills, which, in spite of violent opposition on the part of the Centre and the Extreme Right, obtained a large majority and were called the "May Laws," since they received the sanction of the Crown in May, 1874. The first of these laws confined within closer limits the right of the Churches to inflict penalties on laymen in the case of contumacy; the second restricted their disciplinary power over their clergy, and



AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE FLEET DURING HIS VISIT TO ENGLAND IN 1899



IN UNIFORM OF IMPERIAL CUIRASSIERS A RECENT PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN BERLIN

HIS MAJESTY WILLIAM II., GERMAN EMPEROR

Photos by Voigt, Russell & Sons, and Neue Photo-Gesellschaft

abolished all foreign—and therefore all papal—jurisdiction over Prussian clergy. The third enacted that the clergy should no longer be educated for their profession in ecclesiastical but in State institutions, and prohibited their attendance at foreign seminaries, especially those in Rome; it also provided that the bishops, before making any appointment to a benefice, should give notice to the State authorities, and, if a well-founded protest was made by the State, should make another nomination. The fourth law regulated withdrawals from the Churches. Finally, in 1875 a fifth law abolished all existing religious orders in Prussia which did not devote themselves to the care of the sick, and thus in particular put an end to their activity in school matters.

Since the Pope, and the bishops following the example set them by the Pope, pronounced these laws incompatible with the principles of the Catholic Church, and in accordance with the saying: "We must obey God rather than men," refused submission to these laws, a struggle of many years' duration broke out between the State and the Church; the vast majority of the Catholic population showed unbroken loyalty and obedience to their spiritual leaders. The struggle was waged on both sides with much bitterness, and since Catholic priests frequently used the pulpit in order to fire the believers to resist the State laws, the Prussian Government held itself bound to proceed against such agitation by penal measures. But since criminal jurisdiction

was one of the rights of the empire, it was inevitable that the latter should find itself entangled in the quarrel.

At the instance of Johann Lutz, the Bavarian Minister, who was engaged in a keen contest with the Bavarian Ultramontanes, the so-called "pulpit paragraph," which attached penalties to the misuse of the pulpit for inciting opposition against the Government, was inserted in the Criminal Code in November, 1871. The empire on two other occasions lent the Prussian Government its aid, first on July 4th, 1872, when it prohibited the Jesuit order and its branches from owning establishments in the dominions of the empire and from developing any activity as an order, and again on February 6th, 1875, when it introduced civil marriage in a universally binding form, not merely the so-called civil marriage of necessity. By these imperial laws it was rendered impossible for the Catholic clergy and that warlike militia of the infallible Pope, the Order of Jesuits, to agitate against the May laws; and the influence of the Church on civil life was checked, since a marriage might be contracted and a household founded

without the benediction of the Church. Bismarck during the heat of the dispute had already declared that the Government built their hopes of peace mainly on the prospect that a peace-loving Pope would once again, as had happened in past history, succeed the belligerent Pope Pius IX. This event occurred on February 20th, 1878, when, after the death of Pius. on February 7th, Cardinal Joachim



"DROPPING THE PILOT"

The great debt which Germany owes to Bismarck has been told in a preceding chapter; the above, reproduced by permission from the famous "Punch" cartoon by Sir John Tenniel, illustrates the dismissal of the "Iron Chancellor" by the youthful and impetuous emperor, William II., on March 20th, 1890.

Pecci was elected Pope, and took the title of Leo XIII. He prided himself on calming by peaceful concessions the disturbances under which the reputation alike of State and Church had suffered greatly—Bismarck was, on July 13th, 1874, the object of a murderous attack by Kullmann, a fanatical Catholic.

The Nuncio at Munich, Masella, visited Bismarck at Kissingen, in July, 1878. After nine years of excessively difficult negotiations a truce was concluded in 1887, to which the most trenchant May laws were sacrificed; for instance, the law concerning the ecclesiastical court and the preliminary training of the clergy in State institutions. But the State had by no means made an unconditional surrender to the Church; on the contrary, all the three imperial laws remained in force, and in Prussia the law as to State control of the schools, the exclusion of the orders from the schools, and the obligation of the bishops to signify beforehand to the Oberpräsident—lord-lieutenant—of the respective provinces the names of the clergy whom they proposed to appoint to vacant benefices. Bismarck had not “gone to Canossa.”

The Socialist movement was rapidly swollen by the stimulus which was given to trade and industries immediately after the war of 1870, since hundreds of new factories sprang up, and thousands upon thousands of men abandoned agriculture and streamed into the factories. The reaction which set in after the second half of the year 1873 left a mass of these workmen without bread, planted bitterness and revolutionary thoughts in their hearts, and thus increased the number of those who were discontented with the existing order of things. In the year 1875 the two parties hitherto existing within the Social Democracy, the followers of Bebel and Liebknecht, and those of Lassalle, amalgamated at Gotha into the “Socialist Labour Party,” and, thanks to universal suffrage, won in the elections to the

Reichstag of 1877 more than twenty seats. Two attempts on the life of the aged emperor in 1878, one by a professed Nihilist, the other by Dr. Nobeling, who escaped inquiry by committing suicide, were, as a matter of course, associated with “Social Democracy,” which at once became the object of penal legislation; with the normal result of making the organisation a secret one, but also with the effect of checking breaches of the law. The emperor and his great chancellor, however, were both aware that restrictive legislation must fail of its object unless

it is accompanied by measures for curing the disease of which disorder is the symptom. Since 1883 a series of laws have protected labour and provided safeguards; notably the insurance law of 1889 and the bank law of 1884, steps which have been opposed by the school of economists which regards them as incompatible with the pure doctrines of Individualism as supposed to have been developed at Manchester. These measures, however, have not gone far enough to satisfy the Social Democrats, who since the expiry of the restrictive law in 1890, have multiplied enormously, and in so doing have shed a good many of their early extravagances.

Colonial development, in turn, has attracted some degree of German enthusiasm, never shared by Bismarck, who saw in the

acquisition of colonies mainly sources of friction with other Powers, which offered in themselves little prospect of adequate economic development. Nevertheless, he somewhat reluctantly recognised the necessity for the Imperial Government to give the colonising spirit fair play under its ægis; with the result that considerable portions of Africa were appended to the German Empire—as related elsewhere.

The Prussian State received through the mighty events of 1866 and 1870, which altered its whole framework and put new and important duties before it, a definite stimulus towards internal reforms.



THE GERMAN EMPRESS

A princess of Schleswig-Holstein, she was married to the Emperor, William II., in 1881, and of the marriage there has been a family of six sons and one daughter.

Neue Photo-Gesellschaft

The absolutism and the bureaucratic principles of the age of Frederic the Great had obtained recognition in the constitution of 1850; the landed nobility were still a privileged body. It was necessary that these anomalies should be removed and that self-government should be introduced. For example, in rural districts the lord of

New Scheme of Local Government

the manor had still the right to nominate the Schultheiss—village mayor; the Landrat of the district was appointed by the king on the nomination of the chief landowner, the other inhabitants of the district being neglected; and the nobility predominated in the provincial Landtags.

The king, in his speech from the throne on the opening of the Landtag on November 27th, 1871, had pledged his word that his Government would introduce a new scheme of local government. Count Eulenburg, the Minister of the Interior, set to work to elaborate it, and although the House of Peers, under the influence of the private interests of the aristocracy, rejected the Bill at first and Bismarck had grave doubts on the point, he carried it in December, 1872, with the help of the king, who created twenty-five new peers. The king signed the Bill on December 13th. It applied at first only to the five eastern provinces—Prussia, Pomerania, Brandenburg, Saxony, and Silesia.

Anxiety as to the sentiment of the Poles forbade the grant of full self-government to the districts in Posen. According to the new law, the country communities elected their own head for the future; and only in some special cases was the landowner or his nominee still allowed to fill up this post. Country and town communities which contained under 25,000 inhabitants were for the time being constituted as a district, whose affairs were administered by a Kreistag—district council—of at least twenty-five members chosen by delegates, and therefore indirectly, from all the resi-

Electoral Privileges of the Towns

dents in the district. In the Kreistags half the votes at most were to belong to the towns, the rest to the rural population. At the head stands a Landrat whom the king appoints at the nomination of the entire Kreistag; a committee of six members is assigned to the Landrat to assist him. Towns with more than 25,000 inhabitants form special "urban districts." Since the new scheme of local government worked very satisfactorily, it was extended in 1885—

1889 to the remaining six provinces; in Posen, for the reasons mentioned, narrower limits were imposed on self-government.

In the year 1875 the provincial Landtags were reformed. In future they were to consist of representatives of the Kreistags and of the municipal colleges—the magistrates and municipal officers—which met for the purpose of election in a common session; they were to assemble at least once in every two years at the royal summons and pass resolutions affecting all provincial matters, especially the construction of roads, land improvements, public institutions, public libraries, the care of monuments, and the application of the sums of money assigned to the provinces by the State in virtue of the law of dotation.

A provincial committee of seven to thirteen persons, with a provincial director as the head of all the provincial officials, was to be elected for the administration of the affairs of the province. The feature of all this legislation was that it preserved to the greatest possible degree the principle of communal self-government; there is now

The Sad Fate of Ludwig II. no country in the world which, so far as laws enable it, can show so many guarantees as Prussia for the sovereignty of the law and for the effectiveness of self-government; the duty of the people now is to cultivate those characteristics which give to such laws force and vitality.

In Bavaria, under King Ludwig II., born in 1845, Lutz was at the head of affairs. He was a keen antagonist of the Ultramontanes, who also met with the pronounced disfavour of the king. The latter withdrew more and more from public life, and relapsed into a dreamy existence, devoted to music and architecture, while his enormous expenditure on royal castles totally disordered the civil list. He was obliged in the end to be placed under supervision; in order to escape from it he drowned himself and his attendant physician, Bernhard von Gudden, in the lake of Starnberg on June 13th, 1886.

Since his brother Otto, born in 1848, had also long been mentally afflicted, his uncle, Prince Leopold, assumed the sovereignty as Prince Regent. He left the Liberal Ministry in office; but the Ultramontanes acquired more and more influence, and after 1899 they had even a small majority in the Second Chamber. At the urgent pressure of the Roman Catholic bishops, the State refused to recognise the Old

GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Catholics as belonging to the Catholic Church, and only granted them the rights of a private religious body in March, 1891. Otto was succeeded by Ludwig III, who was proclaimed king on November 5th, 1913.

In Saxony, King John died on October 29th, 1873; he was succeeded by his son Albert, who had won fame in the wars of 1866 and 1870-1871, and was a capable ruler with German sympathies. In order to anticipate the imperial railway scheme, the Saxon Government bought up gradually all the private lines in Saxony by the middle of the 'seventies; in 1894 and 1901 the class-tax and income-tax law of the year 1873 were reformed in accordance with the spirit of the times. Owing to an increase in the number of the Social Democrats, who carried in 1891-1892 eleven, and in

followed in his turn, in October, 1904, by Frederic Augustus III. In Württemberg, under the rule of King Charles I., 1864-1891, the "German party," which combined in itself the National Liberals and the Free Conservatives, was preponderant in the Landtag, and Baron von Mittnacht, the Minister-President in agreement with this party, conducted the affairs of state in a spirit of loyalty to the empire. In the year 1891 Charles I. was succeeded by his cousin, William II., who had served in the French war and gave proof of conscientiousness, good intentions, and sound sympathy with the national cause.

In Baden Grand Duke Frederic I., born in 1826, the son-in-law of Emperor William I., a thoroughly loyal prince of national and liberal sympathies, reigned



Count Caprivi



Prince Hohenlohe



Prince von Bülow

Bieber

THREE IMPERIAL CHANCELLORS OF GERMANY

After the dismissal in 1890 of the great Imperial Chancellor, Prince Bismarck, the office was successively filled by the three statesmen whose portraits are given above—Count Caprivi, Prince Hohenlohe, and Prince von Bülow.

1895 actually fourteen, out of the eighty-one electoral districts for the Landtag election, the Government and the Estates, which since 1880 were under the control of the Conservatives, resolved in 1896, notwithstanding the well-grounded protests of educated sympathisers with the social cause, to replace the universal suffrage introduced in 1868 by a suffrage graduated in three classes, which would render the third class of owners and voters quite helpless against the two upper classes. In the year 1897 the Social Democrats lost six seats at once in consequence; and from 1901 till 1914 no Social Democrat sat in the Landtag. On the death of King Albert at Sibyllenort on June 19th, 1902, his brother George, born in 1832, succeeded, and was

from 1852 to 1907, when he was succeeded by Frederic II. The intense antagonism between the State and the Catholic Church led in 1876, under the Ministry of Julius Jolly, February, 1868-October, 1876, to the introduction of elementary schools of mixed denominations. Since 1881 the tension has gradually been relaxed; but the Centre pursued unremittingly their object of reducing the ruling National Liberal party in the Landtag to a minority, by the help of the Democrats; they lowered the majority of their rivals in 1891 to one vote, and completely attained their object in 1893.

On June 27th, 1901, there occurred a change in the Ministry in favour of Conservatism. when Arthur Brauer became

Premier in place of the veteran Liberal, Wilhelm Nökk, and Alexander Dusch, Minister of Public Worship; the latter showed an inclination to fulfil the wish, of the Episcopal Curia in Freiburg and of the Centre, for the toleration of monasteries,

**Disaffection
in Alsace
and Lorraine**

since he hoped in this way to get the upper hand of the more conciliatory party in the Centre. In Alsace-Lorraine, by the imperial law of June 9th, 1871, the executive power was conferred upon the emperor. The country thus became an imperial province—Reichsland—in so far that the executive power in the State, which in the other German countries is held quite apart from the executive power in

the empire, coincides here with it. The Imperial Chancellor was Minister for the Reichsland; the administration of the country was conducted from 1871 to 1879, by the able and wise Eduard von Möller, who was nominated High President. In virtue of Paragraph 10 of the law of December 30th, 1871, he possessed the right of taking every measure which seemed necessary to him in case of danger to the public safety, and in the most extreme cases even to raise troops for the defence of the country. The disaffection of the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine, among whom in particular the "Notables"—namely, the manufacturers, large landowners, doctors, and notaries—were quite un-German, rendered this "Dictatorship paragraph" essential for a long time. On January 1st, 1874, the Imperial constitution came into force for Alsace-Lorraine; the fifteen representatives elected to the Reichstag belonged almost all to the "Protesters," who condemned the severance of the provinces from France as an act of violence.

But gradually the so-called Autonomists gained ground; these accepted the incorporation into Germany as an irrevocable fact, but wished to win the greatest amount of self-government and provincial independence for the country. Bismarck thought it wise to support the

movement and by this indirect method to make the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine good Germans. He granted to the country in October, 1874, a popular representation—at first deliberative only, but since 1877 with powers to legislate; this was the Landesausschuss, which contains fifty-eight members—thirty-four elected by the three district councils of Upper and Lower Alsace and Lorraine, twenty by the country districts, four by the towns of Colmar, Metz, Mülhausen, and Strassburg. Universal and equal suffrage was not employed for the Landesausschuss, since that would have served to make the anti-German clerical party supreme; but the restricted suffrage gave the Notables the authority.



KING ALBERT OF SAXONY

The son of King John, he succeeded to the throne of Saxony on the death of his father in the year 1873, assuming the crown with an excellent reputation won on the battlefield.

Photo: London Stereoscopic Co.

On July 4th, 1879, the Empire granted to the imperial province the self-government which it desired. An imperial Governor-General—Statthalter—was to administer the country for the future in place of the High President; under him were placed for the conduct of affairs a Secretary of State and four Under-Secretaries of State, all to be nominated by the emperor. The Imperial Chancellor thus ceased to be Minister for the imperial province; Alsace-Lorraine was allowed to send three deliberative representatives into the Bundesrat, which thus was increased to sixty-one members.

The post of governor was filled from 1879 to 1885 by the ex-Field-Marshal Manteuffel, who displayed a deplorable weakness towards the Notables. He was succeeded by Prince Hohenlohe, hitherto ambassador at Paris, whose refined and dignified manner somewhat improved the situation. When he became

Imperial Chancellor in 1894, the governorship was conferred on the uncle of the empress, Prince Hermann von Hohenlohe-Langenburg. The results of the first thirty years of the incorporation of the Reichsland into the empire were not unsatisfactory, if fairly estimated. The inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine gradually adapted themselves more or less to the new position

**A New
Imperial
Chancellor**

GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

of affairs. The protesting party, as such, disappeared, and if the country did not become German in the fullest sense, it was, at any rate, no longer French. The reasons for the slow development are clear. Threads which have been snapped for nearly two centuries can only slowly be joined together again, and the year 1870, which for Germans is a great and glorious remembrance, signifies for Alsace-Lorraine a year of defeat and oppression, and the results it brought with it were only slowly realised by the people. In June, 1902, such progress, however, had been made that, from confidence in the increasing good will of the population towards the empire, the "Dictatorship paragraph" was repealed, and the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine now from being Germans of the "second class" became Germans of the "first class." In the Grand Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt the Grand Duke Ludwig III. died in June, 1877. Under his nephew, Ludwig IV., 1877-1892, who was married to Alice, daughter of Queen Victoria of Great Britain, the long-standing dispute with the Catholic Church was settled in 1887-1888. His son, Ernest Ludwig, born 1868, concluded in 1896, the railway convention with Prussia.

In Brunswick the reigning line became extinct on October 18th, 1884, by the death of Duke William, and since the next heir, Duke Ernest Augustus of Cumberland, son of the exiled King George V. of Hanover, who died in 1878, had not made any treaty with Prussia, Prince Albert of Prussia, born in 1837, a nephew of Emperor William I., was appointed regent by the Bundesrat. In November, 1913, Ernest Augustus (born 1887) was proclaimed Duke of Brunswick. In Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Frederic Francis IV. became Grand Duke in April, 1897. In Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Charles Edward succeeded to the dukedom in 1897. In Lippe-Detmold, Prince Waldemar, at his death on March 20th, 1895, left a will, according to which Prince Adolf of Schaumburg, brother-in-law of the emperor, was to govern as regent for his feeble-minded brother, Prince Alexander. But Count Ernest of Lippe-Biesterfeld protested

against this, and by the decision of a court of arbitration, in which King Albert of Saxony presided over six members of the Imperial Court, Count Ernest was appointed to the regency in July, 1897. In Oldenburg, Grand Duke Peter died on June 13th, 1900, and was succeeded by Frederic Augustus;

and in Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, Grand Duke Charles Alexander, one of the last eye-witnesses of the great age of Weimar, who had seen Goethe and breathed of his inspiration, died on January 5th, 1901. Although in Austria the German Liberal bourgeois Ministry of Herbst-Giskra resigned at the beginning of 1870, partly on account of internal dissensions, yet the Constitutional party there, resting on the German Liberals, remained at the helm

until 1879. Prince Adolph Auersperg was at the head of the Liberal Cabinet from 1871 to 1879. The Czechs, who did not recognise the Constitution of 1861, absented themselves from the Reichsrat and made no concealment of their leanings towards Russia as the chief Slav power. By this means the position of the Constitutional party was gradually shaken; and when, at the beginning of October, 1878, it opposed the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria, it completely lost ground with the Emperor Francis Joseph, who

recognised that this occupation was of vital interest to the monarchy, which had to secure a more advantageous position for itself on the Balkan Peninsula against the intrusion of Russian influence.

The emperor summoned, on August 12th, 1879, the Ministry of Count Taaffe, which aimed at the so-called reconciliation of the nationalities by the grant of equal rights to all. The Czechs, amongst whom the Conservative Old Czechs were gradually crowded out by the more radical Young Czechs, now entered the Reichsrat and usurped the power in the Landtag Chamber at Prague, in consequence of which, among other things, they carried the proposed division of the ancient German university at Prague into German and Czech sections. The Germans, on their side, did not appear for some time



COUNT TAAFFE

An Austrian statesman, he was summoned by the Emperor Francis Joseph to form a Ministry in 1879, and offended the Germans by wishing to grant equal rights to all.

Unfortunate
Prince
Alexander

in the Landtag. The more radical views of the "German Popular party" and of the "Pan-German" party, which only pursued German national interests, under the clever leaders Von Schönerer, Iro, and Wolf, gained more and more the ascendancy with them, and overshadowed the Liberal Constitutional party, which

The Fall of Count Taaffe placed the interests of Austria above the cause of nationality. The two former parties were at the same time strongly anti-Semitic, while the Liberal Conservative party had a large Jewish element. Taaffe fell on November 11th, 1893, since he wished to introduce universal and equal suffrage, an innovation which would have greatly weakened the parliamentary representation of the Poles, Conservatives and Liberals.

After an attempt to govern with the Coalition Ministry of Count Alfred Windisch-Graetz until June 16th, 1895, Count Badeni, a Pole, seized the reins of government on September 29th, 1895. He conceded in 1896 the election of seventy-two representatives by universal suffrage, in addition to the 353 representatives elected under a restricted franchise, but in general conducted an administration on principles partly Slav, partly clerical, and partly feudal, and by his language ordinances of April 5th, 1897, in consequence of which all officials in Bohemia and Moravia, from 1901 onwards, were to possess a mastery of the Czech as well as of the German language, precipitated the whole Austrian monarchy into wild confusion.

In order to prevent the Czechising of the official classes, and finally of the Germans generally, which was threatened by the language ordinance, the Germans in the Reichsrat set about the most reckless obstruction of all parliamentary business, and secured on November 28th, 1897, the dismissal of Badeni and the repeal of the ordinances. But the storm was not calmed by this. The

Obstructions in the Reichsrat Czechs demanded the restoration of the ordinances, which would have only meant the establishment of equal rights for all; but the Germans demanded legal recognition of the dignity of the German language as the language of the State. The Reichsrat was completely crippled for four full years by this impassable breach between the parties, since at one time the Germans, at another the Czechs, "obstructed," while by their interminable

speeches and motions they hindered the progress of legislation. The German Constitutional party sank more and more into the background; Vienna was wrested from it by the Catholic "Social Christian" party under its leader Karl Lueger, whom the emperor actually confirmed in office as burgomaster, in April, 1897, and the Pan-German section was enlarged in the Reichsrat elections of 1900 from five to twenty-one representatives. While the Catholic clergy made overtures to the Slavs, a movement, advancing with the watchword, "Freedom from Rome!" began among the Catholic German population of Bohemia and the Alpine districts; and this movement led to the founding of numerous Protestant or Old Catholic communities in hitherto purely Catholic districts.

Since the barrenness of the Reichsrat was felt to be irksome by the electorates, whose economic interests remained unsatisfied, the Minister Ernst von Koerber, after January 19th, 1900, succeeded in 1901, by an appeal to material interests, in breaking down the spell of obstruction and making the newly elected Reichsrat once more capable of work. About \$150,000,000 were granted then for railroads and canals, and in May, 1902, a Budget Bill was carried for the first time for five years. The relations of Hungary to Cisleithania depended after 1867 on the terms of a treaty concluded for ten years, which was renewed in 1877 and 1887. But the third renewal met with great difficulties, since Cisleithania demanded an increase in the share of thirty per cent. which Hungary has to pay of the common expenditure.

The celebration of the millennium of the Hungarian nation took a most brilliant form. The Germans, Roumanians, and Serbs in Hungary had indeed cause to complain of the forcible suppression of their nationality. Thus, in 1898, in virtue of a State law Magyar names were substituted for all the non-Magyar place names, and at the elections the Ministry of Desiderius Banffy, which was formed on January 14th, 1895, employed every means of intimidating and deceiving public opinion. The inevitable change of Cabinet on February 26th, 1899, which brought into power the Ministry of Koloman von Szell, led to some improvement in this respect; the elections of 1901 were carried out for the first time without acts of violence.

THE
RE-MAKING
OF
EUROPE



EUROPE
SINCE 1871
IV

FRANCE UNDER THE THIRD REPUBLIC

SPAIN'S LOST COLONIES AND ITALY'S ECONOMIC PROGRESS

THE great majority of the French National Assembly, elected on February 8th, 1871, were in favour of monarchy, and, since Paris was republican, the Assembly fixed on Versailles as the seat of government. The threatened restoration of the monarchy, as well as the conscious pride with which Paris as the "heart of France" was opposed to the provinces, produced that terrible revolution which is called, from the municipal committee elected by the proletarian masses, the rising of the Commune. On March 28th, the "Communist Republic" was proclaimed, which at once procured the required supplies of money by compulsory loans from the wealthy and by the confiscation of the property of the religious orders.

The Parisians had been allowed to keep their arms on the conclusion of the truce in January, 1871, at the express request of the infatuated Faure; with these arms

Another
Revolution
in Paris

they resisted for nearly two months the attacks of the army led by Marshal MacMahon against the rebellious city.

The troops eventually forced their way into the city after a series of murderous engagements; but in the moment of defeat the Communards sought to revenge themselves on their conquerors by levelling the Vendôme column, burning the Tuileries, the Hôtel de Ville, and other public buildings, and shooting the clergy fallen into their hands, and foremost among them Georges Darboy, Archbishop of Paris. As a punishment for this, twenty-six ringleaders were executed by order of court-martial on the Plain of Satory, and some 10,000 who had been taken with arms in their hands were sentenced to transportation or imprisonment.

These terrible events at first only strengthened the inclination towards monarchy. Thiers, however, being convinced that in the end a Conservative republic

was the form of constitution most advantageous to his country, opposed any restoration of the monarchy; but although by a prompt payment of the \$1,000,000,000 he contrived that France should be

Claimants
to the Throne
of France

evacuated by the Germans in 1873, he was compelled to retire from the post of President of the Executive in May, 1873, before the evacuation was complete. Marshal MacMahon became his successor. Since there were three parties in the ranks of the Royalists it was very difficult to set up the monarchy, which, after all, only one of these dynasties could hold.

The Orleanists, it is true, gave way to their childless cousin Henry V. of Bourbon, who, as Count of Chambord, lived at Frohsdorf, near Vienna, and MacMahon was prepared to restore the Bourbon Monarchy; but when, in 1873, the count demanded the disuse of the national tricolour and the reintroduction of the white standard with the lilies of his house, in order that there might be a clear sign of the return of the nation to the pre-revolutionary standpoint, the courage even of the moderate Royalists failed at such a step. The republic received in 1875 its legal basis by the grant of a seven years' tenure of office to its president.

When MacMahon in 1877 made a renewed attempt to pave the way for a restoration of the monarchy, he failed, through the energy of Gambetta and the resistant power of republicanism. The elections produced a strong Republican majority,

Presidents
of the French
Republic

and on January 30th, 1879, MacMahon, despairing of the victory of his cause, gave way to the Republican Jules Grévy.

He was followed by François Sadi Carnot, J. P. P. Casimir-Périer, Félix Faure, Emile Loubet, Armand Fallières, and Raymond Poincaré, who was elected in January, 1913. Grévy was



A GROUP OF REVOLUTIONARIES BEING ESCORTED TO PRISON



FIGHTING IN THE RUE DE RIVOLI

The troubles of France did not end with the long series of defeats inflicted upon its armies by the Prussian troops. Following upon the national humiliation and the downfall of the Emperor, Napoleon III., there was established in Paris on March 28th, 1871, the "Communist Republic." To suppress the revolution thus inaugurated, Marshal MacMahon attacked the rebellious city, but for two months the Parisians, armed with the weapons which they had been allowed to keep on the conclusion of the truce in the January preceding, contrived to resist the army.

THE END OF THE COMMUNE: SCENES IN THE STREETS OF PARIS

forced, through the defalcations of his stepson, Daniel Wilson, to resign on December 1st, 1887; Carnot fell on June 24th, 1894, at Lyons, under the dagger of the Italian anarchist, Santo Caserio; Casimir-Périer retired as soon as January 15th, 1895, from disgust at his office, which conferred more external glitter than real power; and Faure died on February 16th, 1899, soon after an attack of apoplexy.

The Monarchists were no longer able to obtain a commanding position, especially since Pope Leo XIII. in 1892 had ordered the Catholics to support the existing constitution. The party which

but, after the resumption of his trial, was condemned, on September 9th, 1899, to ten years' imprisonment in a fortress, only, on September 19th, to be pardoned by President Loubet. But again the Republic weathered the storm. One consequence of the Dreyfus agitation has been to increase the anti-clerical tendencies of the executive.

In June, 1899, the Social Democrat, Alexandre Millerand, actually entered the Cabinet as Minister of Commerce. In March, 1901, a law against associations was passed by the Ministry of Waldeck-Rousseau, which placed under State control the religious orders, especially those



THE BURNING OF THE TUILERIES BY THE COMMUNARDS OF PARIS

After a series of murderous engagements, the army under Marshal MacMahon forced its way into Paris and defeated the Communards. The latter, however, were determined to revenge themselves upon their conquerors, and this they did by levelling the Vendôme column, burning the Tuileries, the Hôtel de Ville, and other public buildings, and shooting the clergy who fell into their hands. In the punishments which followed twenty-six ringleaders were executed, and about 10,000 who had been taken with arms in their hands were sentenced to transportation or imprisonment.

was obedient to the Pope styled itself "les ralliés." Even the venality of Republican statesmen who allowed themselves to be paid for their support in Parliament by the company for the construction of the Panama Canal, which went bankrupt in December, 1888, was unable to overthrow the Republican government.

A crisis even more alarming was produced by the lawsuit of the Jewish captain, Alfred Dreyfus, who, on December 22nd, 1894, was found guilty of betraying military secrets, ignominiously degraded and transported to Devil's Island, near Cayenne,

inveighing against the "atheistic" Republic, punished the disobedient ones with dissolution, and deprived the orders of the instruction of the young.

A drama which is interesting from a different point of view developed round the figure of General Boulanger. He was Minister of War from January, 1886, to June, 1887, and obtained an immense popularity. He almost provoked a war with Germany in the spring of 1887, and after April, 1888, undertook to remodel the constitution with a view to the restoration of the

Empire. Wherever he appeared on his black charger the crowds greeted him with loud cheers. But at last M. Constans, the Minister, boldly laid hands on him, and arraigned him before the High Court as a conspirator against the constitution. Boulanger, from fear of condemnation, and not being bold enough to stir up a revolution, fled, on April 8th, to Brussels, where he died by his own hand on September 30th, 1891.

In the sphere of foreign policy the Third Republic was very successful in so far that on May 12th, 1881, by use of the temporarily good understanding with Germany established by the Ministry of Jules Ferry, Sidi Ali, the Bey of Tunis, who died on June 11th, 1902, was forced to accept the French protectorate, and thus the position of France on the Mediterranean was much strengthened.

Tonkin, in Further India, was acquired after a checkered campaign against China, between 1883 and 1885; on October 2nd, 1893, Siam was driven back behind the Mekong; and on August 6th, 1896, Madagascar was incorporated into the French colonial possessions. France also won considerable territory on the continent of Africa. In 1892 she occupied the negro kingdom of Dahomeh, while concurrently the whole Western Sudan from Timbuctoo to the Congo became French. On Lake Chad France is the predominant Power, and treaties with Germany and Britain secured its possessions. Disturbances in Morocco gave an opportunity for French interference, resulting in the establishment of a French Protectorate over that country in 1912. Her only severe check in Africa has been that experienced from Britain in connection with the Fashoda episode.

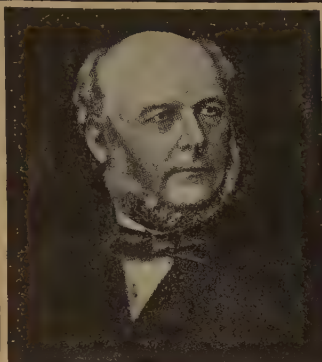
But the originally most ardent wish of the French, to revenge themselves on

Germany and to win back Alsace-Lorraine, has not yet been gratified. The efficiency of the German army and the increasing numerical superiority of the German population—in 1901 there were 56,000,000 Germans to 38,000,000 French—excluded all possibility of a French victory in a duel between the two nations. Even the Dual Alliance with Russia, which was projected in 1891 under Alexander III. and concluded under Nicholas II., has freed, indeed, France from her isolation, but—according to the noteworthy confession of "Le Siècle" of September 19th, 1901—made a re-conquest of the lost provinces impossible, for the reason that Russia also wished to stand on good terms with her neighbour Germany. A dispute with the Sultan, Abdul Hamid II., who did not satisfy the demands of some French officials, led to the despatch of a French fleet under



THE DEGRADATION OF CAPTAIN DREYFUS

Another crisis of an alarming character overtook France in 1894, when the Jewish captain, Alfred Dreyfus, was found guilty of betraying military secrets and sentenced to confinement on Devil's Island. Five years later, in September, 1899, the trial was reopened. Dreyfus was then sentenced to ten years' imprisonment in a fortress, but the punishment was not carried out, the prisoner, whose innocence had been established, receiving a pardon from President Loubet.



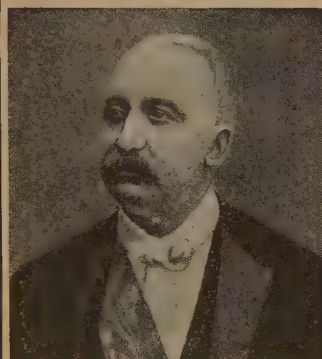
Grévy



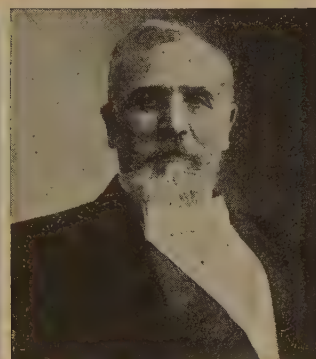
Carnot



Casimir-Périer



Faure



Loubet



Fallières

SIX PRESIDENTS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

Since 1879 the Presidential chair of the French Republic has been occupied by the statesmen whose portraits are given above. In that year Jules Grévy was elected to the office, resigning in 1887, when he was succeeded by Francois Sadi Carnot, who was assassinated in 1894 at Lyons. Disgusted with the office, Casimir-Périer retired in January, 1895; Faure died in 1899; Loubet retired in 1906, and Armand Fallières in 1913.

Photos by Pier.e-Petit and Nadar

Admiral Caillard in November, 1901, to Mytilene. The Sultan gave in. granted to French schools and hospitals in Turkey the immunity from taxation which was demanded for them, and thus saved the island from the fate of the island of Cyprus, which has remained in British occupation since 1878.

The failure of the Hohenzollern candidature for the Spanish Crown had placed Ferdinand Amadeus of Savoy on the throne in December, 1870; but on February 11th, 1873, the new monarch resigned his unbearable post. The only remaining alternative was to proclaim a republic. Spanish republicanism has

characteristics peculiarly its own. Its special feature, federalism, is one that is due to the Iberian soil, which brought it forth. Even to the present time the idea of a republic has drawn its strength from the hope of transforming into a republic those separate provinces of Spain which only the loosest of bonds could unite into one kingdom. A federal republic was now to be founded; though, for the moment, the founders had to content themselves, whether they would or no, with giving a republican form to the administrative and executive powers already in existence. The new republic was in a critical position. The



GENERAL BOULANGER

Minister of War, General Boulanger was for some time a great public favourite; but, charged with conspiring against the constitution, he feared condemnation, and died by his own hand in 1891.

forces of reaction had been aroused by the triumph of the Radicals, and were gathering round the man who had inherited the Carlist claims, Don Carlos the Younger, who summoned the Basque provinces to his support. Once

again ba talions of these mountaineers, distinguished by that classic headgear, the round cap of the Basques, flocked to the standard of the reactionary party. But once again it became manifest that their strength was in defensive tactics. An attack upon the capital was even more out of the question than during the First Carlist War. The Socialist agitators in the south, excited by the example of the Parisian Commune, thought that their time had also come, and seized several towns, in particular the arsenal of Cartagena, from which they were not easily dislodged.

The army at the disposal of the republic had been utterly demoralised by the continual pronunciamientos, and had to be reorganised in part. Fortunately, neither Carlism nor communism, thanks to incompetent leadership, was able to attract many recruits; and the feeling that, at any rate, the highest positions in the state must be placed beyond the reach of ambitious intriguers grew stronger every day. Isabella had been driven out, and no one was inclined to give her another chance; but great hopes were held of the queen's son, the young Alfonso. The republic was set aside without difficulty on December 29-30th, 1874; and on January 14th, 1875, Alfonso was proclaimed king. Many might have considered this to be merely another act in the political farce; but such pessimists

were wrong. The early death of Alfonso XII., on November 25th, 1885, did not shake in any way the position of the monarchy. The Queen-widow, Maria Christina, acted as regent, at first for her daughter Mercedes, and then for her son

Alfonso XIII., who was born on May 17th, 1886, and met with no opposition worthy of mention.

The period of peace, which could not be broken even by the irrepressible revolt of the remnants of the Spanish colonial empire, is a standing testimony to the fact that the economic condi-

tions of the country were slowly but undeniably improving, and that it was beginning more and more to develop and to make use of its natural wealth. It may be that foreigners had given the impulse and were appropriating a portion of the profit; but, none the less, the

advantage to the country itself was unmistakable. At this time, it is true, the social problem was a menacing danger, and its most deadly fruit, anarchism, was brought to fullest maturity in Spain; but this was partly due to the general lack of education, and was, moreover, a heritage from the sad course of Spain's earlier development. That there is an improvement is undeniable. The events of the year 1898—the war with the United States of America and the loss of all her more important colonies—demonstrated how small was the power of resistance that Spain could

offer to a determined opponent, in spite of all her recent progress; and how inferior she was to those wealthy Powers which have acquired a great reserve of strength by establishing themselves upon a sound economic basis, and by taking a



FERDINAND AMADEUS AND ALFONSO XII.

The throne of Spain in the troublous days that followed the abdication of Isabella II. did not offer a very tempting prize, but Ferdinand Amadeus, the second son of King Victor Emmanuel of Italy, accepted it in 1870, abdicating in February, 1873. When the Carlist movement collapsed in the closing days of 1874, Alfonso XII. was elected king.



DON CARLOS

The brother of Ferdinand VII., he was anxious to succeed to the throne of Spain, and under pressure from the Reactionary party he raised the standard of a revolt.

due share in the progressive movements of modern times. Calamity had long been in the air. When the American colonies were lost at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico were retained, partly perhaps on

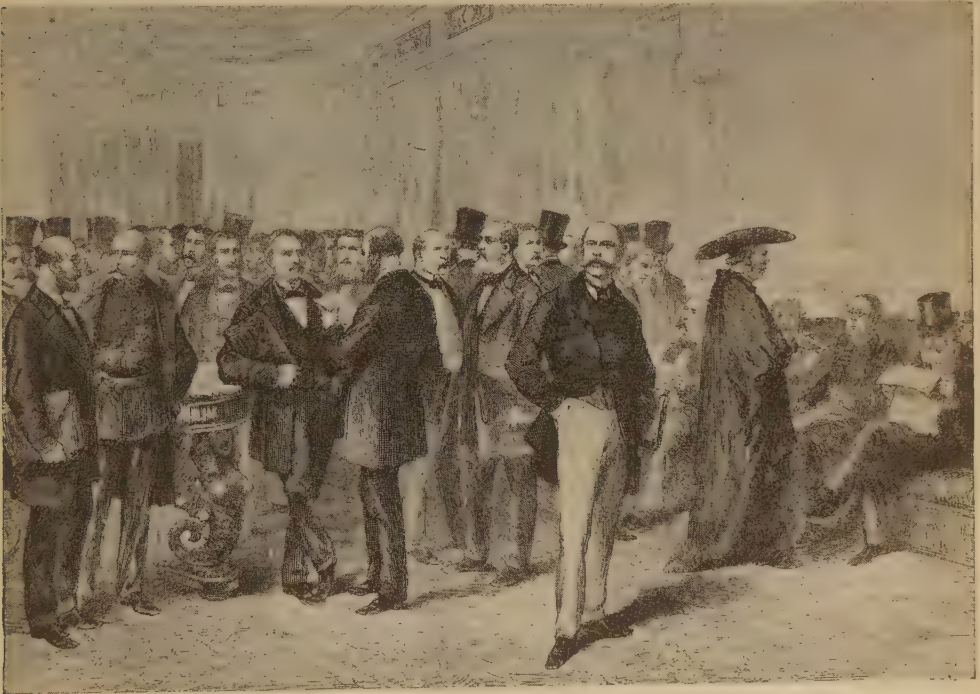
account of a revolt of the negro slaves in Cuba in the year 1812, which was vigorously opposed by all the white inhabitants of the island. Until the middle of the century it was only the negro population which showed any tendency to revolt. However, later on, the creole element in Cuba found that its natural course of development was impeded by the Spanish Government, and became unruly. It was supported, sometimes secretly, sometimes openly, in the United States. Every conspiracy and filibustering expedition—the first began in 1849—found ready support in North America. The American Government had even declared with praiseworthy frankness that it proposed to seize Cuba at the first favourable opportunity, but Spain was saved by the outbreak of the Civil War in the United States.

The victory of the North in this war brought about a temporary coolness between Americans and Cubans. The great

revolt of 1868–78, when creoles and negroes fought together against Spain, was not supported by any attack from America. But the rich island gradually became an object of interest to American speculators, and Spain could not make up its mind to the generous concessions which would have satisfied the self-assertive creoles. The abolition of slavery in 1880 led to an economic crisis, but did not inspire the liberated slaves with any friendly feelings for Spain. So at last, in the year 1895–96, a revolt began, to some extent supported in the United States; Spain gradually spent her strength in the remarkable efforts she made to meet the danger.

At the same time, 1896, a revolt broke out in the Philippines, where Spanish mismanagement, without the stimulus of any foreign influence, had driven the most enlightened and preponderant class among the natives, the Tagals, to open resistance. Notwithstanding the many tokens that foreboded ruin, the characteristic Spanish indifference to consequences was as apparent as ever. The fleet, which was the only means of salvation, continued in such utter neglect that a large number of the best ships could not be used at all.

**Spain Blind
and
Incompetent**



LOBBY OF THE CORTES IN MADRID DURING THE BRIEF DAYS OF THE SPANISH REPUBLIC

A chance occurrence, or, as the Americans wrongly alleged, an act of treachery, the blowing up of the United States battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbour, led to the outbreak of hostilities on April 21st, 1898. With curiously clear foresight the United States had sent a considerable fleet, under Commodore Dewey, towards the Philippines. He destroyed the little Spanish squadron of Montojo at Cavite on May 1st, and, with the help of the revolted natives, obliged Manila to surrender. In Cuba the Spaniards, under Martinez Campos, Weyler, and finally, Marshal Blanco, had tried to avert calamity by the employment both of mildness and of severity. Their power in the island collapsed no less ingloriously when their little fleet, under Cervera, which had been equipped with great difficulty, had been destroyed off Santiago on July 3rd. Of Spain's immense empire, only two little colonies on the west coast of Africa now remain. The remainder of her possessions in the Pacific Ocean, the Caroline, Pellew, and Marianne islands, were sold to Germany for \$4,250,000 on June 19th, 1899. The loss of her colonies, which was formally declared in the Peace of Paris, December 10th, 1898, is, in truth, a fortunate event for Spain. It never understood how to make proper use of its possessions. What it has lost is the happy hunting-ground of office-seekers and political parasites, passing their time discussing public affairs in the cafés of Madrid, and waiting for a revolution to further their designs. Possibly the number of these political parasites will decrease. Possibly there will be a general return to honest endeavour. The fact that the government of a woman and of a child (long since grown to full manhood) was never seriously threatened, in spite of all disasters abroad, is the best testimony to the excellent spirit prevailing in Spain for many years. With her eyes fixed upon her own resources, Spain may now—and all signs seem to indicate

that she will—give an attention, too long deferred, to the training of the national mind and the development of national industry commensurate with the great natural wealth of the country and the high qualities and potency of the people.

In the Kingdom of Italy the predominant party was from 1861 to 1876 the *Consorteria*, or Moderate Conservative, which had been founded by Cavour. Its failures, however, and all kinds of personal jealousies enabled the Left to gain the supremacy, which was only temporarily taken from it by the renewed strength of the Right under the Marquis di Rudini. The Left abolished the duty on flour, which made the working-man's bread dear,

and conferred the suffrage on all who could read and write and paid a small tax. But it could not check satisfactorily the miserable destitution of the poorer classes, especially of the labourers in the north, in the Basilicata, and in Sicily, and of the miners in the Sicilian sulphur-mines. Sicily also suffered under the reign of terror which the secret society of the Mafia established in many parts. Owing to the dearth of food, the social revolution in Milan, Ancona, the Romagna, and Southern Italy repeatedly produced open insurrection against the authority of the state. From May 6th to 12th, 1898, Milan was completely



HUMBERT I. OF ITALY

The son of Victor Emmanuel II., he succeeded to the throne of Italy in 1878, and on July 29th, 1900, was assassinated at Monza by an anarchist who had been sent from America.

in the hands of the revolution, and order was only restored after sanguinary conflicts in which fifty-three persons were killed and hundreds wounded. The efforts of Italia irredenta, which wished to unite with the monarchy the whole "unredeemed" Italian population outside Italy, in Trieste, Dalmatia, Tirol, Ticino, and Nice, had been, especially since 1878, detrimental to a good understanding with neighbouring states; they hindered the alliance of Italy with Austria, and so also with Germany, and gave France an opportunity to carry off, on the pretext of the depredations of the Tunisian border tribes of the Krumir, the province of Tunis, under the

very eyes of the Italians, who had been trying to acquire it themselves. King Humbert I., the worthy son of Victor Emmanuel II., 1878 to 1900, being thus taught the dangers of the policy of the "free hand," concluded in March, 1887, at the advice of his Minister, Count Robilant, the Triple Alliance with Austria and Germany, which, being subsequently consolidated by the policy of Francesco Crispi, has proved hitherto a main support of the peace of Europe. It secured Italy's position in the Mediterranean, and thus effectively checked French designs on Tripoli. The attempt to place Abyssinia under Italian suzerainty gained for Italy the possession of Assab in 1881, and that of Massowah in 1885. But on March 1st, 1896, the great King Menelik with 90,000 men defeated and nearly annihilated the Italian army, 15,000 men strong, under Baratieri at Abba Garima, east of Adowah, carried 3,000 Italian soldiers as prisoners into the heart of his country, and extorted, on October 26th, 1896, a peace which secured the independence of Abyssinia and confined the Italian colony on the Red

out damage to their reputations, caused repeatedly, as in 1894, for example, considerable excitement. King Humbert was assassinated on July 29th, 1900, at Monza,



KING VICTOR EMMANUEL III. Brogi

Born in 1869, he came to the throne as successor to his father, Humbert I., in the year 1900. On October 24th, 1896, he was married to Princess Helena of Montenegro.

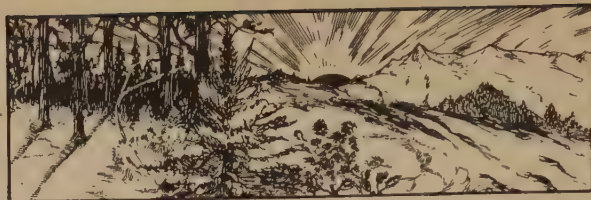
by Gaetano Bresci, an anarchist sent from America; he was succeeded by his son Victor Emmanuel III., born in 1869, who by his marriage to Princess Helena of Montenegro on October 24th, 1896, formed an alliance on the other side of the Adriatic. The economic position of Italy has considerably improved, and a commercial treaty has been made with France. The Triple Alliance was renewed in 1912.

The Papacy was for years hostile to the national state of Italy, which had deprived it of all secular possessions, and before the twentieth century it forbade all true sons of the Church to show any sort of recognition of the "usurping" Kingdom of Italy by taking part in political elections. Even the Guarantee Act of May, 1871, which secures to the Pope his independence, the possession of the Vatican, and a yearly income of \$600,000, has not so far been acknowledged by the Curia, since it emanates from the legislature of the monarchy, and the right of the monarchy to exist is contested by the Pope.



QUEEN HELENA OF ITALY Brogi

Sea within narrower limits; it now only extends from Massowah to the rivers Marab and Belesa. Bank scandals, from which even Ministers did not emerge with-



MINOR STATES OF WESTERN EUROPE THE CLEAVAGE OF NORWAY AND SWEDEN

THE Swiss Confederation has gone through a progressive development, so far as material interests are concerned, since about 1860. It obtained a rich market for its industries by commercial treaties with its neighbours, and the great lines of mountain railways, into the Engadine, over the St. Gothard, through the heart of which a tunnel nine and one-third miles long was driven in 1882, and into the Bernese Oberland, promoted the influx of strangers, from which Switzerland derives great profits.

The constitution of the Confederation, like those of many cantons, has gradually become more democratic in the course of years. After the cantons of Zürich, Basle, Berne, and others had introduced since 1869 the Referendum, or the voting of the entire people on legislative proposals, the Federal constitution was modified on May 29th, 1874, according to the views of the Liberals and the Centre. Legislation on the subjects of contracts, bills, and trade, as well as the jurisdiction over the army and the Church, were assigned to the Confederation; it also received powers in economic matters. A supreme Federal Court and a system of registration of births, deaths, and marriages by government officials was introduced. The Referendum is allowed in all cases when either 30,000 voters or eight out of the twenty-two cantons demand that the nation itself shall say the last word on a measure approved by the Federal and National Councils. On July 5th, 1891, the popular rights

Increasing the Popular Privileges

were increased by the grant to the people of the initiative in the legislation on condition that 50,000 votes require it. This concession to democratic principles has, it must be confessed, produced the result that many useful laws which had been decided upon by the legislative bodies have been lost at the very last, especially when an increased

expenditure might be expected from them. The French cantons of Western Switzerland and the Catholic cantons of Old Switzerland often came together in the attempt to hinder all progressive centralisation. The Confederation received, however, on October 25th, 1885, the monopoly of manufacturing and selling alcohol, and in 1887 the supervision of the forests and the right to legislate on the food supply; in 1898 the nationalisation of the railways and uniformity of procedure in civil and criminal cases were granted by the people.

The Confederation quarrelled with the papal throne in 1873, because Bishop E. Lachat of Basle had on his own responsibility published the Vatican decrees. The bishopric of Basle was, in consequence, abolished by the Confederation on January 29th; Kasper Mermillod, who put himself forward as Bishop of Geneva, was banished from the country on February 17th, and the papal chargé d'affaires, G. B. Agnozzi, was given his passports towards the end of November. The Old Catholic movement found great support in Switzerland, and received on June 7th, 1876, a bishop of its own, "Christian Catholic," in the person of Edward Herzog, and a special theological faculty in Berne, which was, however, only thinly attended. But in the course of time a fresh agreement was effected between Church and State; the bishopric of Basle was revived in 1884-1885, though the nunciature remained in abeyance.

Church and State Come to Terms

The social movement of the time led in 1887 to the legal restriction of the maximum working day to eleven hours, in 1881 to the adoption of a law of employers' liability, and in 1890 to the establishment of workmen's insurances against accidents and illness. On the other hand, the social democratic proposal to introduce into the constitution the "Right to Labour" was rejected by the people by 300,000 to 73,000 votes. While the Radical Democratic party was prominent, the Social Democracy generally, although it rested on

the Radical Grütli-Verein, which had formally joined it in 1901, and constituted a special group in the National Council, has attained to no great influence. Since also the Conservative Liberals were able to exercise very limited power, the minority have lately directed their efforts to carry the system of proportionate voting in the Confederation as well as in the cantons, and thus to secure themselves at least a proportionate share in the popular representation and in legislation.

The kingdom of Belgium had been released by the war of 1870-1871 from the continual danger which had threatened it from the side of France. The two great parties of Liberals and Clericals were alternately in office, as had been the case for the past decades. But both parties saw themselves compelled, on political grounds, to abandon gradually the exclusive recognition of the French language in official matters and private intercourse, and to make concessions to the Flemings, who composed more than half the population of the kingdom. Accordingly, under the Clerical Cabinet of Baron J. J. d'Anethan, the use of the Flemish language was permitted in the law courts; under the Liberal Ministry of Frère-Orban, in 1878, its employment as the medium of instruction in the national schools was conceded; while under the renewed Clerical government of 1886 a royal Flemish academy for language and literature was founded. In 1892 officers were required to learn the two national languages. Frère-Orban, supported by a majority of eighteen votes, carried, on July 1st, 1879, the law which introduced undenominational national schools into Belgium. The religious instruction was now given outside the school hours, but classrooms were placed at the disposal of the clergy for the purpose. Owing to the ambiguous attitude of the Curia, which ostensibly exhorted the faithful to follow the law, but in secret stirred up opposition,

Religious Instruction in Belgium

the Radical Grütli-Verein, which had formally joined it in 1901, and constituted a special group in the National Council, has attained to no great influence. Since also the Conservative Liberals were able to exercise very limited power, the minority have lately directed their efforts to carry the system of proportionate voting in the Confederation as well as in the cantons, and thus to secure themselves at least a proportionate share in the popular representation and in legislation.

d'Anethan, then Ambassador at the Vatican, was recalled, and the Nuncio Serafino Vannutelli was given his passports. In 1881 the number of state gymnasia was increased, and fifty undenominational girls' schools were founded. But since the new

The Cost of Education schools laid considerable burdens on parishes, as much as \$4,400,000 yearly, discontent gradually was felt with the Liberal Ministry, which also opposed the introduction of universal suffrage; and the Clericals by the elections of 1884 won a majority of twenty votes.

The Clerical Cabinet of Jules Malou now passed a law, in virtue of which parishes were empowered to recognise the "free"

schools—that is to say, the schools erected by the Church—as national schools in the meaning of the law of 1879; in this way the latter was practically annulled, for the parishes, from motives of economy, made such ample use of this permission, in 1,465 cases, that out of 1,933 national schools 877 were closed within a year, and were replaced by Church schools. Diplomatic intercourse with the Curia was resumed in 1885 by a Belgian ambassador to the Vatican, Baron E. de Pitteurs-Hiégaerts, and by the reappointment of a nuncio in Brussels, Domen-Ferrata. The Clerical party maintained

their majority at the next elections; in fact, they grew to be more than two-thirds of the members of the Chamber.

The rise of the Social Democrats, whose influence had begun to spread far and wide through the industrial regions of Belgium, combined, with a fall of wages, to produce a disastrous revolution in Liège, Brussels, and Charleroi in March, 1886, on the occasion of a festival in honour of the Paris Commune. A new and formidable antagonist faced the Clericals in place of the Liberals, who were divided into a Moderate and a Radical section. The Government attempted to pave the way for Social Reform by the creation of courts of arbitration between workmen and manufacturers,



THE KING OF THE BELGIANS
Leopold II., King of the Belgians, founded in West Africa, with the assistance of Sir Henry Stanley, the Congo State, which was formally recognised by the Great Powers in 1885.
King Leopold died in December, 1909.
Numa Blanc

by the introduction of state supervision over workshops, and the prohibition of the payment of wages in kind; but the Clericals could not bring themselves to adopt really comprehensive measures of strict social justice, among which the universal liability to military service would be reckoned.

At the elections of 1892 they lost the two-thirds majority, and conceded in 1893 universal suffrage, with the proviso that electors who possessed means, were married, and academically educated, should possess a plural vote. The number of electors was increased by this law from 130,000 to 1,200,000. Since the first clause in particular helped the Clerical party in the country, it maintained its majority; the Liberals and Social Democrats vainly endeavoured to strike the clause conceding plurality of votes out of the constitution. A general strike organised for this purpose on April 14th, 1902, had to be abandoned on the 20th; and the new elections on May 25th resulted in a small gain for the Clericals. King Leopold II. did good service in opening up Africa, where he founded, with the help of Sir Henry Stanley, the Congo State. This state was recognised by the Great Powers at the Berlin Congo Conference in 1885, and Leopold, in virtue of a Belgian law which allowed him to bear this double title, assumed the style of Sovereign of the Congo State. The subsequent de-

velopments have been dealt with in the African portion of this work. In the Netherlands also the institution of unde-

nominal national schools in 1857 gave rise to excited party disputes. After that date the Catholics were completely separated from the Liberals, and among the Protestants a Christian - Conservative party, the "Anti-revolutionary," was formed, which gradually won many supporters; its leader was the energetic and talented Abra-

ham Kuyper, born in 1837, a pastor of the reformed religion. In March, 1888, and again in 1901, the united Catholics and Anti-revolutionaries obtained the majority. Kuyper, as Prime Minister of the Conservative Cabinet constructed on July 27th, 1901, was now able to announce their decision to procure for Christianity once more its proper influence on national life, and thus first and foremost to restore the denominational national schools. The social movement in Holland can point to comparatively little results. In 1889 a measure was passed to prohibit the excessive labour of women and children, and in 1892 a graduated scale of taxation on property and incomes was introduced. In 1896 universal suffrage was accepted, with the limitations that the electors must be twenty-five years of age and must pay some amount, however small, of direct taxation. A strike of



WILLIAM III. OF HOLLAND AND QUEEN EMMA
Popular with his people, King William III. of Holland was twice married, his second bride being Princess Emma of Waldeck-Pyrmont. In 1888 it was settled by constitutional law that their daughter, Wilhelmina, born in 1880, should succeed to the throne on her father's death, which event occurred in November, 1890.



QUEEN WILHELMINA
Attaining her majority on August 31st, 1898, she came to the throne, and on February 7th, 1901, married Duke Henry of Mecklenburg, who received the title of Prince Consort.

MINOR STATES OF WESTERN EUROPE

railway employees in February, 1903, necessitated remedial legislation. In the Dutch Indies the Colonial Government in 1873-1879 and 1896 had to conduct difficult campaigns against the Sultan of Achin in Sumatra, and in 1894-1895 on the island of Lombok, where the native dynasty had been deposed.

The male line of the House of Orange since June 21st, 1884, when the Crown Prince Alexander died childless, was only represented by the king, William III. It was therefore settled in 1888 by a

throne. The anticipated event occurred on November 23rd, 1890. While in Luxemburg, where females cannot reign, the former Duke Adolf of Nassau, as head of the Walram line, and in this respect heir of the Ottonian line of the House of Nassau, became Grand Duke, the clever and popular queen-mother, Emma, took over the regency for Wilhelmina until August 31st, 1898. On that day the young queen, who then attained her majority, entered herself on her high office, and promised to rule with that same spirit of

devotion to duty which endeared her ancestors to the Dutch nation. On February 7th, 1901, she gave her hand to Duke Henry of Mecklenburg, who received the title of Prince of the Netherlands. On April 30th, 1909, Princess Juliana was born. During the political struggle the relations of Norway and Sweden had become worse. The Norwegians had quite a different conception of the union from the Swedes, and they demanded that the two countries should be placed on an entirely equal footing. A fruitless attempt was made to come to an agreement concerning the revision of the Rigsakt of 1815. Finally, the Norwegians demanded their own consular service. This led to long and wearisome negotiations



THE ACCESSION OF KING HAAKON TO THE THRONE OF NORWAY
After the dissolution of the union between Norway and Sweden, the Storting elected to the throne of the former country Prince Charles, the second son of Frederic VII., King of Denmark, and on November 27th, 1905, he took the oath in presence of the Storting, swearing that he would govern the kingdom of Norway in accordance with its constitution and laws.

constitutional law that, on the death of William, his daughter Wilhelmina, born 1880, by the king's second marriage with Emma of Waldeck, should inherit the

between the Norwegian and the Swedish Governments. These negotiations remained ineffective because it was evident that the Swedes, instead of admitting the equality

of Norway, wished to maintain their own predominance. This roused universal indignation in Norway. On May 23rd, 1905, the Storting unanimously passed a law establishing a national consular service. Upon the king's refusal to sanction the law, the Ministry of Peter Michelsen tendered their resignations. The king did not accept these, because, according to his own declaration, no Ministry could exist at that time in Norway which represented his opinions. But

on June 7th, the Ministry laid its power in the hands of the Storting, which declared the personal union with Sweden dissolved, and authorised the Ministry to exercise until further notice the power appertaining to the king. Negotiations with Sweden were then entered upon. At Karlstad, on September 23rd, a treaty was concluded which settled the points of controversy raised by the dissolution of the union. King Oscar II. recognised Norway as an entirely separate state from October 27th. He renounced the Norwegian crown, and declined the request of the Storting that a younger prince of his house should

occupy the Norwegian throne. On November 18th the Storting elected as king Prince Charles, the second son of Frederic VIII., King of Denmark. Prince Charles entered Christiania on November 25th, 1905, as Haakon VII., and was duly crowned on June 22nd, 1906, as King of Norway. In this way the separation of the two countries which had been united for ninety years was conclusively confirmed.

In spite of political struggles important reforms had been introduced—the estab-

lishment of the jury, new regulations in the army, in the schools, and in the elections; the material development of the country likewise did not suffer. Means of communication were greatly improved. By the erection of various agricultural, industrial, and technical schools opportunity was afforded to the people, who were actively interested in industrial pursuits, to acquire greater knowledge. By an improved utilisation of the country's



THE CORONATION OF KING HAAKON AT TRÖNDHJEM CATHEDRAL

natural resources the various branches of industry received a great impetus, especially commerce and navigation. At the present time Norway possesses the largest mercantile fleet in the world in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Next to agriculture and cattle-breeding the people depend mainly for their livelihood on fishing and forestry. The population is almost three times as large as in 1841, and successful efforts are made to encourage culture and progress. G. EGELHAAF



THE SOCIAL QUESTION

BRITAIN'S INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

AND THE RISE OF THE FACTORY SYSTEM

MODERN society is characterised, technically, by the predominance of great industries and the unsuspected advantage derived from the forces of Nature; economically, by freedom of trade and right of settlement; politically, by liberty of speech and of combination, and by popular representation. On this basis, for the first time, the great mass of the productive but dependent population was enabled to take a part in the important movements which make the world's history. These classes previously, leaving out of account isolated risings, had either formed only the passive foundation for all contests for political or social power, or had only been able to struggle for modest improvements in their material welfare.

Limits of Workmen's Unions

It is clear that the immediate preliminary condition for an independent advance of the bulk of the people into the field of public and social life is only satisfied when they are allowed to form suitable and permanent organisations with the object of attaining their ends.

The working classes, therefore, possessed as a whole, to within the last century, no effective influence, because this condition was not fulfilled. So far as organisations generally were permitted in past ages, as was the case with the members of the guilds in the towns, their sphere of influence was restricted to social and religious requirements, relief funds, information as to work, and the improvement of some conditions of labour contracts; and guilds and authorities ensured by close superintendence and merciless severity that these narrow limits were never overstepped by the journeymen's unions.

Notwithstanding, therefore, that before this time occasionally—we may remind our readers of Rome under the Empire—a collection of masses of working men had been formed in large towns and centres of production; notwithstanding that, even

Power of the Ruling Classes

earlier, wide sections of the people had been oppressed and laid under contribution, while at the same time luxury and splendour were publicly paraded, powerful and lasting agitations by the working classes were at that time impossible.

There could be nothing more than isolated violent outbreaks, which were fated inevitably to fail, owing to the political immaturity of the rioters and the firmness of the ruling powers; for example, the Greek and Roman slave risings, or the rebellions of the peasants in Western Europe during the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. The ruling classes knew how to prevent any immediate repetition of these attempts by the oppressed to shatter their chains, since after every victory they applied the principle "væ victis," and exacted, with all the cruelty of the times, terrible penalties as a deterrent warning. The people thus felt their helplessness. Overawed and indifferent to all politics, the peasant

The New Era of Industry

went back to his plough and the artisan to the workshop. If state and society thus seemed in early times safely entrenched behind rampart and moat against the demands of the lower class, the modern state and its liberty offered to the people the possibility of seeing the fall of the hitherto impregnable fortress. This hope and prospect could

not fail to contribute towards rousing the people from their indifference, so that, sooner or later, in all civilised nations the agitation of the lower classes was as general as the former lethargy.

Nothing, however, has been of such wide-reaching importance for the distinctive features of this movement, for its demands and its aims, as the modern industrial development, of which the marked characteristic is the method of capitalistic production. This takes place when a considerable number of workmen is employed by the same individual capital at the same time in the production of the same goods.

Historically, capitalistic production dates its beginning from the "domestic system," which began to develop itself at the beginning of the new era by the side of the handicraft of the guilds. The small exclusive economic spheres of the city states were then transformed into large uniformly administered territories, and, owing to the new colonial districts, international trade received a great stimulus. Requirements thus arose which could not be met within the old guild organisation. Thus a new form of organisation of industrial work was formed in the "domestic system." Its distinctive feature is that a contractor, called a "factor," provides a number of workmen with commissions, which they then execute in their own houses. According to this system, technically the handicraft production still predominates.

But the "domestic system," if not in the manner of production, at least in the manner of sale, denotes an advance beyond handicraft. The master handicraftsman sells his goods directly to the person who requires them; but in the "domestic system" there is always one intermediate dealer between the producer and the consumer—that is, the merchant. And

The Merchant's Place in Commerce

while the individual handicraftsman only sells a small quantity of goods, usually in an adjacent market, the merchant places large masses of goods on one or more adjacent or distant markets. With regard to selling, therefore, the domestic system represents a wholesale trade which appears excellently adapted for the supply of distant markets. And for the very reason that it combined the traditional methods of produc-

tion on a small scale with a more complete method of sale in large quantities, it must have been recognised from the first as the form of industrial enterprise which, while causing the least alteration in long standing conditions, could satisfy the necessity felt in the new era for exchange of commodities between different places or nations. Persons who had some capital, and were far-sighted enough to recognise the tendency of the new want and the extent of the remunerative demand, took the lead, engaged handicraftsmen, day labourers in the towns not belonging to any guild, or hitherto unemployed members of the country population, and started the new organisation.

The "domestic system" was common in England even before the close of the fifteenth century as the method employed in the cloth industry, supplying the great markets and the export trade. Afterwards it continually spread to other trades, until it became, right up to the eighteenth century, the ordinary form of the most important industries intended to put wholesale quantities of goods on

Effects of the Domestic System

the markets. In no other country did it attain such importance, but still it prevailed to a certain degree during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in France and in the German-speaking countries. Since such large spheres were formed where the domestic system prevailed, the new industrial method was felt to be a considerable improvement, and its chief promoters were greeted as national benefactors. A German economist of the period wrote: "There are instances where, owing to them, splendid towns have arisen, and thousands of men have earned an honest living; they make the country populous and productive, and are profitable members of the commonwealth, whose object is to increase and to support the 'societas civilis.'" Frederic the Great termed his Silesian weaving districts the Prussian Peru.

It has been already noticed that the method of working under the domestic system remained the same as existed before in the handicrafts, but the change in the method of the disposal of the products is connected with widely reaching social consequences. The master workman under the domestic system often, it is true, works with assistants, frequently is also owner of the tools, and even of a part of

BRITAIN'S INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

the raw material, quite like the master handicraftsman. But he no longer disposes of the goods to different customers: he delivers them, in return for payment of a previously settled wage, either to the capitalistic merchant, or to intermediate agents, "middlemen," who distribute the raw materials, superintend the work, collect the products, and pay out the wages.

Thus he is still master in his house, but he usually sells the products of his labour in accordance with the commissions received, and thus stands towards the merchant in the same relation as the workman to the employer. The result follows from this that the master workman in the domestic system can no longer hold the independent position towards the capitalistic merchant that the master handicraftsman has towards his customers. They must, therefore, in the course of time sink more and more into the position of ordinary workmen, while the merchants sweep in the substantial profits which are possible in all industries intended for a large and regular market. "On the one side, persons who know the world; who, through their

The Social Question's Dark Side knowledge of markets and their solvency, relieve the small producers of the anxiety of selling; who, by their journeys, their giving credit, and their connections, transact sales, and can bear occasional losses better than the producers; who grasp technical improvements more quickly, since they stand higher in education and are of a quicker intelligence. On the other side, small master workmen, peasants, inhabitants of small towns and of the mountains, women and children who are glad to get work, who, in addition to their industrial work are busied with agriculture and cattle breeding; who are day labourers, with limited ideas, possessing no great technical qualifications, no large capital, no division of labour, but slow to adopt anything new, and clinging tenaciously to their old customs. The master workman in the domestic system thus is nearly always placed at a disadvantage as compared with the merchant, who knows his business and, being a capitalist, can wait his time."

The result of this is a dark side to the social question, which formerly, indeed, when merely the extent of the sales and the interests of the capitalistic producer were considered, could not have been sufficiently realised. Firstly, the lower

wages of these producers under the domestic system; secondly, the "sweating" of these isolated, and therefore unprotected, workers by the merchant employer through reduction of wages in particular, through usurious payment for goods and deceitful calculations of the raw materials furnished; lastly—in the

Distress of the Home Workers case of more unfavourable conditions, namely, loss of the old markets and similar difficulties—the greatest distress existing among these very "home workers," because, wishing to turn to some account not merely their powers of work, but their tools, which usually represent their only possessions, they are compelled to accept work at any wage, even though it only affords the barest livelihood. In this way matters have gone so far that certain districts where the domestic system prevails have become the first scenes of modern pauperism on a large scale.

Attempts were made to meet the requirements of the wholesale market by yet another form of work besides the domestic system—namely, the manufactory, which, indeed, has developed more slowly than the former. It consists in the employment by one contractor of a large number of workmen for purposes of production in one building. According to this definition, it does not depend, as the domestic system, on wholesale selling, but on wholesale production. The consequences are far-reaching. In the first place, where many workmen are busied in the manufacture of one product, an extensive division of the work within the workshop itself can often be effected. The article is no longer the production of one independent craftsman who does various things, but the production of a number of craftsmen working together, each one of whom is continuously discharging one and the same part of the work. The watch which under the guild system was the individual work

Labour Under New Conditions of a Nuremberg craftsman becomes in the age of manufactories the production of a number of different workmen.

There are now employed on it, makers of the rough material, the watch-spring, dial, main-spring, hands, case, screws, etc., a gilder, and a "repasseur," who puts the whole watch together and turns it out in a going condition. The execution is still a "handwork," and therefore dependent on the strength, dexterity, expedition, and

accuracy of the individual workman in the handling of his tool. But since the same workman is always closely employed on the same separate part, the manufactory creates great skill in the particular workman. If already from this reason more goods are turned out by manufacture with a less expenditure of labour than

Results of the Factory System

in independent handwork, the specialisation of tools now customary must tend in the same direction; for since the working tools are now suited to the exclusively peculiar employments of the individual workman, they thus attain a greater perfection than before, and must at the same time increase the productive power of the work.

Since, again, the result of one man's work is the starting point for the work of another, the uninterrupted progress of the collective work presupposes that in a given working time a given result will be obtained, and that everything is systematically organised. By this inter-dependence every single man is bound to devote only the necessary time to his operation, by which means continuity, uniformity, regularity, order, and intensity in the work are created on a scale quite different from that in independent handwork.

Again, the workmen, through the division of the collective work into simple and complex, lower and higher employments, can be assigned tasks according to their natural or acquired capabilities. Thus, a hierarchy of workers is formed, to which a scale of wages corresponds. Production is, however, naturally assisted by the fact that the capitalist "can procure for himself the exact degree of strength and skill corresponding to every operation." Further, all production requires a number of simple occupations, of which every man who walks is capable; these, again, at a time when all operations

A Field for Cheap Labour

are resolved into their simplest parts, develop themselves into exclusive occupations of special workmen. The manufactory thus creates a class of unskilled workmen whom the handwork system rigidly excluded. In this way the cheap labour of women and children can be employed.

Manufactories were started in considerable numbers in England after the last third of the sixteenth century, and for 200 years continually gained in im-

portance. Since the old town corporations and the guild system hindered manufactories, they were by preference founded in ports with an export trade, or in places in rural districts where they were not under the control of the laws of the corporate towns. Government favoured them in pursuance of the mercantile doctrine, where possible, by protective tariffs and bounties on exports, and by prohibiting the production of certain industrial commodities in the colonies. The same policy towards the manufactories was adopted by the other states of Europe.

Still, we must not over-estimate the importance of manufactories at that time. Even in the eighteenth century they only partially dominated the national production among the leading civilised nations, and still rested, if we may use the expression, as an economic work of art on the broad basis of town handwork and the smaller domestic and rural industries. Even in England, where the manufactory system gained most ground, it never became so far master of the situation as to succeed in abolishing the old apprentice

laws with their seven years of apprenticeship. But the manufactory system, having arrived at a certain stage of technical development, discovered methods by which it was itself surpassed. It had attained its completion in those industries which were intended to produce the tools, and especially the complicated mechanical apparatus already adopted. The stage had already been reached of setting up machines and continually perfecting them; from this moment dates the slowly and surely developing change of the greater part of manufactories into wholesale industries worked with machinery. This is the change which has impressed a distinctive stamp on the industrial production, and thus on the social life of the nineteenth century.

The machine, with which a new era in the economic-technical development of the modern civilised world is commenced, is in the first place technically distinguished from the implement of production in earlier times, the tool. It represents a far more complete form of working implement, permits the employment of mechanical motive powers, wind, water, steam, and electricity, to a conspicuous extent, and thus enormously increases the power of production. While Adam Smith,

in his day, relates with admiration that in a manufactory ten men daily turn out 48,000 needles—i.e., 4,800 apiece—Karl Marx records without surprise that a machine for needle-making daily turns out 145,000 needles, and that therefore one woman, whose regular duty it is to attend to four such machines, daily produces by machinery 600,000 needles, as much as 125 of Adam Smith's men. The difference, however, between a machine and a tool, looked at from the

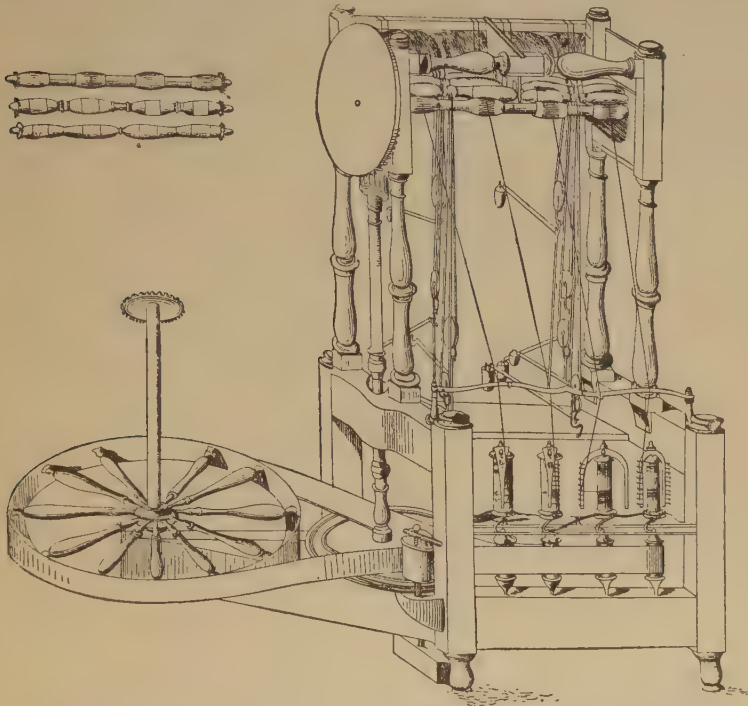
fact, of any human organ which moves itself during the work in the same direction as that in which the tool is moved.

The workman can, therefore, regard the tool as a supplementary organ of himself, and himself as the master of the tool. In this sense, therefore, a spinning-wheel and a hand-loom are tools, for the workman remains master of these working implements, which, besides, only serve to strengthen the movement of the human organs. But so soon as an implement

effects more than such an addition of strength, as soon as the man's powers move in a direction which is entirely divergent from the movement exclusively produced by the mechanism, it becomes a machine. A locomotive, therefore, is a machine, for the handles are moved by the stoker and engine-driver in a different direction entirely from the locomotive which draws the load over the lines. Hence the differences between tool and machine, and, in connection with this, between manufactory and factory, or mill, have been summed

up as follows: In a manufactory and handwork the

workman avails himself of the tool; in the factory he attends to the machine. In the former the movement of the working implement is due to him; in the latter he has to follow its movement. In a word, out of the lifelong habit of guiding a special tool comes the lifelong habit of "tending" a special machine. "During the manufacture period the exercise of hand labour, though distributed, remains the basis. The workmen thus form the members of a living mechanism. In the 'factory' there exists a dead mechanism



THE AGE OF MACHINERY: ARKWRIGHT'S SPINNING JENNY

The introduction of machinery marked a great advance in the industrial development of the country, though the innovation was by no means welcomed by the workers. About the year 1765, a spinning machine—the "Jenny"—was invented, which at first set six, and soon afterwards twenty-five, spindles simultaneously in movement, and could be used in the homes of the workmen. But later machines required to be housed in factory buildings, and thus there sprang up a new system of labour that spread with remarkable rapidity.

technical standpoint, is only quantitative, while from the social point of view it is qualitative. From this aspect the position of the workman who uses the implement is the criterion; and it is seen that the position of the workman occupied with the machine is distinguished, both by the nature of the employment as well as by its place in wholesale business generally, from the position of the workman using tools. A hammer, a file, and such-like are simple tools. They increase the strength of the human arm or foot, in

independent of them, and they are incorporated into it as living appendages." In this sense a factory is defined by Andrew Ure, the first philosopher of the factory system, as a great automaton, composed of various partly mechanical, partly self-conscious organs, which work harmoniously and uninterruptedly in order to produce one and the same object. The peculiar form of combined production in this form of industry leads to the result that the factory fully develops many tendencies which are only suggested in the manufactory.

Factors in the Success of Machinery

The separation of all the mental parts of the process of production from the handwork, the resolution of all processes into their component parts—that is, into the simplest movements—and the principle of carrying out the separate operations by distinct workmen suited for the purpose, from the doctor of chemistry down to the newly engaged rustic and the child are all perfected for the first time under this system. And this again combines to make a barrack-like discipline, and, corresponding to this, a universal, uniform intensity of work, necessary if the factory system, with its various workers and all its complex operations, is to perform its functions properly. Men must now abandon their irregular habits of work, and imitate the uniform regularity of machinery.

Ure had good reason to speak of the "myriads of vassals" who are collected round the steam king in the great workshops. But it was this very peculiarity, together with the enormous increase in production, that contributed to the success of machinery and factories; for, while the work was done with a hitherto unsuspected uniformity, continuity, regularity, and speed, all the expectations of an industrial production of goods for the supply of international markets were fulfilled. The important inventions of machines, which

Rise of the Cotton Industry

ushered in the new age of factories, had been made in the second half of the eighteenth century in the young cotton industry. This industrial revolution had been preceded by the "ribbon mill," which served for the weaving of ribbons and trimmings. This had been worked at Danzig as early as the sixteenth century, but had been suppressed by the council on account of the damage done to competing handicraftsmen. In the seventeenth

century it was set up at Leyden, and after various prohibitions by the council, was finally allowed by the Dutch Government. In the German Empire its use was nevertheless still forbidden, at first by municipal and then by imperial edicts, which were in force until the middle of the eighteenth century; while in England the ribbon mill had long been introduced, although it had given rise to disturbances among injured handworkers and discharged journeymen.

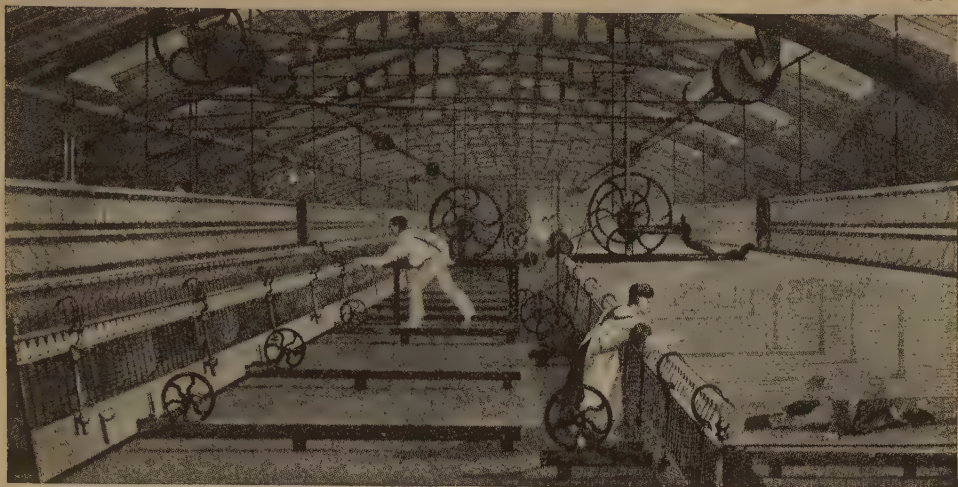
After the last third of the eighteenth century the inventions of the spinning and weaving machines, the forerunner of which had been the ribbon mill, followed in rapid succession. About the year 1765, a spinning-machine, the so-called "jenny," was invented, which at first set six, and soon afterwards twenty-five spindles simultaneously in movement, but could still be used in the house of a master. On the other hand, the "water frame," which was constructed by Arkwright directly afterwards, and was a machine driven by water or steam, and distinctly more effective, necessitated a special factory building. The first factory was erected by Arkwright

himself at Nottingham in 1768. The new method of work was immediately adopted throughout the United Kingdom. Within twenty years England and Scotland saw not less than 142 great spinning mills founded, in which 92,000 workmen set into motion more than 2,000,000 spindles, and produced goods of more than £7,000,000 in value.

The details of the machinery were now quickly perfected. After 1790, when Watt invented his steam engine, the factories were no longer dependent on water power, and thus could be erected in any place, and not merely on the banks of rivers. From this period dates the concentration of factories in the towns. In 1803, the "dressing-frame" was invented, by which means a child was enabled to attend to two looms at once, and could weave about three times as much as an industrious hand-weaver.

Other industries, the woollen industry, the cotton industry, the iron industry, the smelting and mining industries, equally shared in the development of the details of machinery, and completed the transition to the factory industry.

The introduction of the factory system had the most far-reaching results on industrial and social life. In very important branches of industrial activity,



MULE SPINNING MACHINES AT WORK IN ONE OF THE EARLIEST MILLS



A VIEW OF STOCKPORT, SHOWING ITS NUMEROUS FACTORIES, IN 1834



WOMEN ATTENDING TO THE CARDING, DRAWING AND ROVING MACHINES

BRITAIN'S INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT: FACTORIES IN THE YEAR 1834

especially in cotton spinning and weaving, the factory showed itself far superior to the former domestic and handwork systems. Handwork was in these departments soon put aside, or at least condemned to insignificance; but the "domestic" industry showed distinctly more vitality, owing to its peculiar organisation. If the employment of machinery in the

Ruin of the English Hand-Weavers

factory reduced the cost of production for the article, the same final result was produced by the merchant-employer in the domestic industry through reduction of wages and the "sweating" of the home worker.

In this way abuses became inherent in the domestic industry, which afterwards weighed like a curse on this system of work. They became possible because the home workers submitted to the lowering of their conditions of life, for they had no way of escape. Thus Karl Marx, without any great exaggeration, could exclaim: "The history of the world shows no more terrible spectacle than the gradual ruin, which lingered on for decades, but was finally sealed in 1838, of the English hand-weavers, many of whom, with their families, eked out an existence on five cents a day. This was the effect of the factory system on the workers of competing trades."

It was equally disastrous originally to the workers in the factory. "In so far as machinery dispenses with the necessity of muscular strength, it becomes a means of employing workers without muscular strength or of immature physical development but greater suppleness of limb. Women's and children's labour was therefore the first word of the capitalistic employment of machinery." It was therefore most remunerative to exact from these cheap workers, who were the least capable of resisting, quite distinctly longer hours of labour. On this point an official report in England establishes the fact that "before the law was passed for the protection of

Apprentices from the Workhouses

youthful workers, in 1833, children and young persons had to work the whole night or the whole day, or both ad libitum."

John Fielden, a Liberal philanthropist from the middle class, wrote: "In Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and especially in Lancashire, the recently discovered machinery was set up in factories close by streams capable of turning the water-wheel. Thousands of hands were suddenly required in these places, far from the towns.

The custom crept in of obtaining apprentices from the different parish workhouses of London, Birmingham, and elsewhere. The manufacturer had to clothe his apprentices, feed them, and lodge them in an 'apprentices' house' near the factory. Overseers were appointed to superintend their work; but since their wages stood in proportion to the amount of results that could be extracted from the children, self-interest bade these slave-drivers make the children drudge unmercifully.

The consequence was that the children were hounded to death by overwork. The gains of the manufacturers were gigantic, but that only whetted their ghoulish voracity. They began the practice of night work—i.e., after the one batch of hands was utterly worn out by the day work, they had another batch ready for the night work; the day batch went off to the beds which the night batch had just left, and vice versa. It was a popular tradition in Lancashire that the beds were never cold." But even the hours of labour for the men, who were unorganised, and

The Difficult Problem of Unemployment

did not yet feel themselves, as later, to be a unity, were only too often enormously extended. Sober writers of this period have been able to describe the English factory hand as crushed to a lower level than that of West Indian slaves. But not even this modest existence was permanently secured to the worker. There have been, of course, at all times in the history of every civilised country cases of men, willing and able to work, being out of employment; but only since the modern economic-technical development, and since the introduction of the corresponding legislature, has this evil, temporarily at least, assumed unsuspected dimensions. It is connected with the frequency of the occurrence of unfavourable turns of the market and of commercial crises.

These consist mainly in the impossibility of either selling the goods produced wholesale at any price approximate to the old prices, or of profitably continuing the business generally on the old extensive scale. The vendors, manufacturers, and merchants suffer heavy losses, and perhaps become bankrupt. In any case the production must be restricted, and thousands of workmen, from no fault of their own, lose their situations.



THE RISE AND FALL OF CHARTISM AND THE FAILURE OF OWEN'S SOCIALISM

THE labour class revolted against the evils of the factory system at first in a quite barbarous fashion, by riotously attacking the manufacturers and by destroying the factories, and especially the machines, which were frequently regarded as the source of all disaster. It was only gradually that this involuntary opposition of the proletariat to the manufacturing capitalist took the form of a strike. But before the workers arrived at a full knowledge of the power of this weapon, if properly used, and acted accordingly, a movement arose which, starting from a philanthropic point of view, undertook to cure the social ills by radical proposals of reform.

Robert Owen, 1771-1858, a self-made man, who had risen while still young to be co-proprietor of a great cotton mill in New Lanark, Scotland, first made the attempt there on a limited scale after 1801

**Owen's
Famous
Factory**

to remedy by a thoughtful solicitude for the workers the evils which have been described. He removed the children under ten years of age from the factory, limited the daily hours of labour for the adults to ten hours, constructed healthy dwellings as well as pleasure grounds for the workmen, arranged for the co-operative supply of provisions and other commodities, provided gratuitous attendance for the sick, and finally paid full wages to the operatives of his factory when, on account of the failure of cotton, they were obliged to remain idle.

But although Owen's factory, which, in spite of the great outlay for the welfare of the workers, had also material success, was famed throughout all Europe, and became the goal of philanthropists, statesmen, and kings on their tours, yet the example set by it was only occasionally followed by other factory owners. Owen was led by this fact to the conclusion that the deep-rooted evils could only be ended by universally binding legislation.

Thus he was the first to raise the demand for factory laws in 1813, and soon initiated a vigorous agitation with that object. After 1817 he devoted himself with peculiar energy to the problem of remedying the want of employment, which at that time, just when the first commercial crisis was appearing on English soil, occupied all thoughtful minds. His proposal, which

**The State's
Duty to the
Unemployed**

was based on earlier ones of John Bellers, required the State to provide quarters for all persons capable of work but fallen out of employment, in special rural establishments, where they might be engaged in systematic productive work, either agricultural or industrial. By following out these thoughts he came to the conception of his socialistic system, but from that time his interest in the direct amelioration of the lot of the operative by "small means" began to wane.

The fundamental principle of the system of Owen, which was supported by copious arguments in two books, "A New View of Society," 1813, and "A Book of the New Moral World," 1836-1844, assumes that the character of every man is mainly determined by appropriate education and a corresponding form of environment; indeed, Owen thinks that "children can be educated to adopt any habits and ideas that may be wished, so long as they are not absolutely contrary to human nature." Nothing, unfortunately, he finds, is done to restrain the people from the inconsiderate pursuit of their desires; the consequence is the perverted condition

**Miseries
of Industrial
Workers**

of the world at present, shown by the misery of the industrial proletariat. The reason why no steps have been taken in this matter is found in the defective insight of our rulers; they did not even know the appropriate means to perfect men's characters. But now, so Owen declares, the means are obvious to everyone since the attempt has been

successfully made in New Lanark to raise the employees by moral education to a much higher level of morality.

It is merely necessary to guide men towards a correct comprehension of that personal happiness at which they all aim; that is to say, everyone should adopt that line of conduct which must promote the happiness of the community. Formerly men did not know this supreme law which governs the world; but now it is revealed, and can easily be made clear to all, that the personal happiness of the individual can only be increased in proportion as he exerts himself to promote the happiness of his neighbours. As soon as these fundamental propositions are part and parcel of every man, the separate means are not far to seek which can procure the greatest sum of happiness for the individual as well as for all mankind.

This proposition shows quite clearly that Owen must be regarded as a genuine scion of the philosophy of the eighteenth century, who shares its rationalistic and utilitarian ideas as well as its incorrigible and ambitious optimism. He believes with all sincerity that these bald propositions might renew the religion and morality of the world. "Here," he announces, "we have a firm foundation, on which a pure, unstained religion instinct with life may be constructed, and this the only one which can grant to mankind peace and happiness

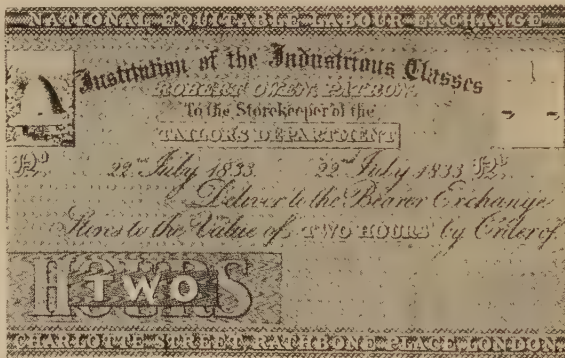
without any counteracting evil." Owen was, however, far too well acquainted with practical life and its needs to content himself, like the theorists of the eighteenth century, with ethical and educational suggestions. On the contrary, he completely realised that even the moral man, if he has not the opportunity offered him of earning his living by labour, must succumb to temptation. He was therefore led to establish, by the side of his educational system, a system of state-organised labour. This culminated in the

general application of the scheme, which we have already mentioned, for the aid of the unemployed. The whole work of production was to be carried out in communities of two, three, or four thousand souls, where the adults, by eight hours' common work daily, were to obtain most of the products, industrial and agricultural, required for their own use, and were to acquire the rest by exchanging their surplus products for the surplus products of the other communities.

The leading thought in this is distinctly "that each one of these communities shall be self-supporting, and shall be held responsible for its deficiencies." No special fundamental propositions for the distribution of goods—certainly the most difficult question in any communistic organisation of society—were advanced by Owen. How could any dispute arise when all were filled with deep morality, and where in consequence of the immense increase in production, there were goods in abundance for everyone? It was possible, therefore, to determine the indi-

vidual needs, and then to allot to each person his share in the goods of this life. In order to start his plans, Owen, himself self-sacrificing to the highest degree, turned to the upper classes, where he expected to find equally great philanthropy. It was not until this appeal to the humanity of the

nobility and gentry met with no response that he began to agitate among the workers, but without fostering class hatred or generally abandoning strictly legal methods. At the same time he did not cease to apply once more to the ruling classes, and even to crowned heads, for sanction and support to his efforts, true to his principle that "rich and poor, monarchs and subjects, had at bottom but one interest." This agitation, which at times had been conducted with great spirit—Owen, between 1826 and 1837,



ONE OF OWEN'S LABOUR BANK NOTES

Among the many schemes started by Owen for the betterment of the conditions of the working people was the Labour Exchange Bank, which issued "labour notes," paper money possessing purchasing value in the stores of the bank. The enterprise, however, was a complete failure, the undertaking going into liquidation.



NEW LANARK AS IT WAS IN OWEN'S TIME. SHOWING HIS MODEL FACTORY

had issued 500 addresses, made 1,000 public speeches, and written 2,000 newspaper articles—met with the most vigorous opposition from the clergy, who, bitterly incensed at Owen's attacks on the Church, organised a counter movement. Even the regular popular party of the time, the Radicals, emphatically opposed Owen; for their goal was at first purely political—namely, the extension of the franchise. Owen had, however, declared the dispute for this political privilege to be unimportant, since all true popular interests could only be advanced by educational and economic reforms.

The total failure of Owen's communistic agitation was decided by the lamentable collapse of his communistic settlements, on the founding of which he was determined, since the English worker could not be convinced by doctrinaire arguments, but only by practical trial. So little was ever produced in these settlements that the rations of the colonists had to be reduced to the barest limits. Thus discontent was developed, which finally led to the abandonment of the settlements, naturally not without considerable financial loss to Owen.

He did not fare better with the Labour Exchange Bank started in 1832. This was intended to apply practically the ideal

principle of all exchange, the equality between the products and the profits of labour; a scheme which, if successful, would have led to the establishment of a socialistic community in the middle of capitalistic political economy. Every member of the bank could display goods in his shop, for which he at once received "labour notes," paper money issued by the bank. The amount of the labour notes paid was decided by the value of the raw material and the extent of labour required for the production of the goods in question on the average, not by the depositor himself only.

Owen's plans were therefore exposed to the ridicule whose shafts always inflict deadly wounds. The downfall of the communistic school in Britain was thus sealed. The factory population now fell under the influence of the politically revolutionary "Chartism." Owen could not support its illegal excesses and struggles for political privileges; and later, after Chartism, came the reign of trades unions and co-operative societies. While Owen's propaganda, in spite of exertions for many decades, only affected a small part of the working class—precisely its most moral and self-sacrificing members—towards the end of the "thirties" a powerful Labour party was suddenly formed in England. It happened as follows. During the violent popular movement which had carried the

Failure of Communistic Settlements

reform of the franchise in 1832, the working classes had been brought forward as auxiliaries by the Liberal citizens. Although the reform, in the nature of things, could only enfranchise the middle class, yet it was assumed that the interests of the working classes were to be subsequently better considered by the legislature than heretofore. Since a Bill of the Radicals to extend the circle of the franchise was rejected by a crushing majority and the reform was declared by Lord John Russell, the leader of the Liberals, to be definitely concluded, the workmen formed unions of their own. These were intended to bring about, by a fresh popular agitation, a renewed reform of the franchise, which should this time really consider the interests of the people.

At the head of these unions stood the "London Workmen's Association," founded in 1836, which proposed the following programme, originally drawn up by the Liberals: Universal suffrage, vote by ballot, equal electoral districts, annual elections of Parliament, abolition of property qualifications for Parliamentary candidates, and salaries for the members. This programme was proclaimed as the "People's Charter," because it was to serve the interests of the lower classes, just as, centuries before, the Magna Charta had served the interest of the aristocracy and middle classes; and, therefore, the supporters of this programme were termed "Chartists." Their intention was to alter social legislation in favour of the masses by help of their political demands, which were intended to be realised at once. It was therefore expressly stated in the first appeal which the London Workmen's Association in 1838 addressed to workmen of the whole kingdom: "If we are fighting for an equality of political rights, this is not done in order to shake off an unjust tax or to effect a transference of wealth,

power, and influence in favour of any one party. We do so in order to be able to cut off the source of our social misery, and by successful methods of prevention to avoid the infliction of penalties under unrighteous laws."

In all manufacturing towns, which had long been roused to violent excitement by systematic agitations against the Poor Law and the deplorable condition of the work-

men, the Chartist programme was received as a joyful message, and wherever factory chimneys smoked Chartist unions were sure to be found.

But this rapid success was only attained because the agitators had held out false hopes of immediate victory to themselves and their followers from among the working and middle classes. They calculated that, as in the reform movement of 1832, the ruling powers would once more yield to a vigorous popular movement. This was the fundamental error which was to prove disastrous to the party. When, indeed, in February, 1839, at a meeting of the "National Convention," the question of their subsequent course was raised, the inevitable result of that delusive agitation was that the party of "moral right," led by the Owenite, William Lovett, 1800-1877, with its programme of peaceful propaganda and a monster petition to Parliament, only represented the minority. The majority was composed of the party of "physical force," who took their battle-cry from Feargus O'Connor, 1796-1855, and thought themselves power-

ful enough to break down the strong fabric of the old system. It was resolved, in the event of the charter being refused by Parliament, to proclaim a "holy month," to strike work simultaneously in every industry. A petition for the introduction of the charter, supposed to contain more than a million signatures, was rejected, and riots immediately broke out.

For some time after that the doctrine was quiescent. But in July, 1840, the party was reorganised, on the basis of the principle that the charter was to be introduced by legal means. When, however, in the year 1842, a new monster petition was absolutely rejected by the Lower House, the "party of physical force" again came to the surface.

Chartism lingered on, until finally in 1848, after the February Revolution in Paris, it roused itself for a last trial of strength, but its effort was again a failure. Revolutionary Socialism in England had had its day. Nevertheless, this movement had not passed away without leaving a trace, for "it had produced one great result: it had roused the English working classes to the most outlying corners of the land from their traditional ideas of subjection, and made them realise their separate interests as a class."



THE TRIUMPH OF TRADES UNIONS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CO-OPERATION

THE movements which we have hitherto considered had met with no practical results. A better fate was reserved for one which, originating with the working classes themselves, endeavoured to attend to their interests on the basis of self-help, the movement of Labour Associations.

Trades Unions Regarded as Conspiracies

Trades unions are workmen's self-defence associations for the purpose of improving the conditions of

labour as well as for the protection of their professional interests generally. They were started in England, partly in connection with older journeymen's unions, in considerable numbers as early as the eighteenth century, when the first waves of the victoriously advancing capitalistic production burst on the working classes. But they were immediately resisted by legislature and heavy judicial sentences. English law extended the idea of conspiracy, which properly ought to be applied only to combinations for the commission of crimes or for the production of false evidence against third persons, to all combinations of workmen who wished to obtain higher wages.

A long list of special enactments forbidding coalitions in various trades had been issued throughout the whole eighteenth century. Finally, at the close of the century a strict general Act was passed which made all agreements between workmen, with the object of raising wages or lessening the hours or quantity of labour, punishable with imprisonment, and inflicted similar penalties on all who deterred a workman from accepting definite posts or caused him to leave them. The complete one-sidedness of these enactments is clearly seen in the fact that combinations of the employers, in order to influence wages, were only punishable by fines. The consequence of this was that at the beginning of the nineteenth century

Workmen's Coalitions Prohibited

secret trades unions had been formed everywhere, which, since all their demonstrations were treated with equal severity, employed the most reckless and reprehensible means for the attainment of their objects. Workmen who refused all complicity with their comrades, especially in strikes, the so-called "blacklegs," were actually attacked and sometimes fell victims to murderous onslaughts. The authorities naturally lost no time in proceeding to the severest counter measures. Labour coalitions could not, however, be suppressed, a sure proof that these represented in the age of capitalistic production a purely instinctive movement.

The prohibition of coalitions of workmen must have seemed to every impartial observer the more unjust, since coalitions of employers for the purpose of lowering wages were, thanks to the class justice of the English magistrates, always unpunished. A parliamentary report of 1824 states: "A number of cases have been communicated to us, in which employers of labour have been charged with combining together in order to lower the wages or to lengthen the hours of labour; but a case could never be adduced in which any employer had been punished for this misdemeanour."

Owing to the effect produced by a parliamentary inquiry proving the injustice and futility of the laws in question, a Bill of the Radical, Joseph Hume, was carried, which expunged from the statute book the prohibition on coalition, and threatened with imprisonment only cases of violence, menaces, or intimidation used for the purpose of forcing workmen to join a coalition, or of compelling employers to grant concessions to the workmen, in 1824. These privileges were indeed considerably restricted in the very next year, when the combinations suddenly spread over the whole country, and seemed to threaten seriously all the

proprietary interests of the citizen class ; for it was now ordained that conspiracies should include "all meetings about the labour conditions of absent persons, as well as those about the persons whom a master is to employ or not to employ, and about the machines which he is to use ; and further, all agreements not to work with a definite person, or to induce other persons to suspend or refuse to accept work."

Notwithstanding that these provisions threatened with penalties many proceedings which proved to be inseparable from an effective employment of labour associations, and actually gave cause to a number of convictions, they have not been able to check the victorious career of the trades unions. It was after 1825 that the labour associations assumed the form typical of their policy and their importance in the history of the world. Up to about 1830 they were strictly local combinations of workers in similar trades. But since in this way, owing to the weakness of the union, they could not adequately meet their duties—namely, to give relief in the case of strikes, want of employment, sickness, or incapacity—they saw themselves compelled spontaneously to start national unions in the

Trades Unions as "Unlawful" Combinations

separate branches. Since the trades unions, safeguarding the interests of the labour class with tenacious energy, frequently caused prolonged strikes, public opinion, influenced by the daily Press, which served the middle class, was long unfavourable to them.

The courts thus treated trades unions as "unlawful" combinations, and therefore, according to the old English law, refused them legal protection. Thus, for example, thefts of the property of trades unions were not liable to prosecution. Thus, again, after excesses had been committed by members of trades unions during riots, various steps were taken to suppress the organisations. The last attempt of this kind occurred in 1866. But a Royal Commission then appointed to investigate the nature of trades unions served to destroy many popular prejudices.

The official recognition of the trades unions dates from that time. It was announced by special laws of 1871 and 1876, the latter passed under the Conservative Cabinet of Disraeli, which sought the support of the Labour party, that trades unions could not be regarded as unlawful unions. So far as no direct com-

pulsion was used, liberty to strike was permitted to the fullest extent, since, for example, the posting of "pickets" in the vicinity of factories or dwelling-houses was expressly allowed. Besides this, the privileges of a "legal entity" were granted to those trades unions which had their regulations enrolled. "They may sue and

**A New Era
for the
Trades Unions** be sued, hold personal and real property, and take summary proceedings against their officials for dishonesty."

For this reason the Congress of the Trades Unions at Glasgow expressed to the Conservative party their "fullest acknowledgments of the greatest benefit that had ever been granted to the sons of toil."

From that time the formerly persecuted unions, which comprised in the year 1914 more than 2,000,000 members, were considered in England "respectable," and had a certain share in the government ; secretaries of trades unions were promoted to be factory inspectors, justices of the peace, or even members of the Ministry. But a more important point is that the public opinion of the country sees in trades unions a necessary institution, and often in disputes with employers takes the side of the workmen's combination.

The Government, when preparing labour laws, always applies for the advice of the trades unions. In the contracts of the Government and of many communities the observance of the terms of labour required by the trades unions is a preliminary stipulation. And, in places, a sort of constitutional management has been developed since the manager of the factory usually consults with the union about any circumstances which can at all affect the interests of the workmen.

If we make it clear to ourselves what trades unionism has done, we cannot refuse to acknowledge it as a splendid proof of the practical sense and great political capacity of the British working classes. It is a special characteristic of British common-sense that the Utopian ideas prevalent only largely contributed to strengthen the power of the current of reform. The leaders of the trades unions movement were thorough-going followers of Owen, but they derived from the teaching of the great optimist merely the distant ideal of the future, while they devoted all their energies in the present to immediate practical improvements of the lot

Labour's Debt to Owen

THE TRIUMPH OF TRADES UNIONS

of the workman. Trades unions, in pursuing this policy, recognised for decades no alternative in the event of the refusal of their demands except a strike. When, however, the workmen had become wiser and their unions had collected large sums, the next step was that they looked for means which led to this goal without the employment of this two-edged sword. The employers also would naturally welcome, from the standpoint of their interests, any possibility of avoiding open war. "As soon as both parties merely consult their interests,

established by A. J. Mundella, at Nottingham, the centre of the manufacturing industries. This board consisted of ten representatives of the workmen and employers respectively. But every proposal as to the interpretation of the old, or the introduction of new, labour conditions had to be first brought before the so-called committee of inquiry, composed of two representatives of the workmen and the employers respectively. If this committee failed to come to an agreement, but not otherwise, the case was brought before the general meeting. The decision



SETTLING THE GREAT COAL STRIKE: THE CONFERENCE AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE

In 1893 the industries of the country were seriously interrupted by the prolonged dispute between the colliers and the mine-owners, the struggle lasting for about four months, and involving much suffering and financial loss. Lord Rosebery, at that time Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the Gladstone administration, was successful in arranging at the Foreign Office, on November 17th, a conference, over which he presided, between representatives of the Federal Coal-Owners and the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, terms being then agreed upon which ended the labour war.

they will ask themselves whether the object of the struggle—namely, to measure their strength—cannot be equally well attained by human judgment, just as the pressure of steam is ascertained by the application of some mechanism, instead of being learnt from the bursting of the boiler." From these considerations the system of "arbitration boards" grew up in Britain; these were intended to settle the disputes between labour and capital in a peaceful way. The type of many boards of this kind is the "board of arbitration" of 1860

adopted there had an absolute binding force on the disputing parties for a definite time, since the contract for work must contain the declaration of all parties thereto, that in the points at issue they will submit, without protest, to the decisions of the arbitration boards. The favourable experiences of this system, and of the system of Rupert Kettle, as county court judge, which was first tested in the building industry at Wolverhampton, led to the imitation of these systems in a number of industrial towns, and they were soon sanctioned by the

Legislature through the granting of appeals to the courts against the decisions of the chambers of arbitration by the Arbitration Act of August 6th, 1872. These systems have been finally perfected even in places where strong trades unions oppose equally close combinations of employers. Thus, in the coal industry of the counties of

Settling

Disputes by Arbitration

Durham and Northumberland, a permanent committee of six representatives of each party, with a neutral president, settled all separate disputes resulting from the application of the labour contract, which held uniformly good for the entire district. On the other hand, disputes as to the constitution of the labour contracts themselves—that is to say, as to the general principles of hours of labour and pay—are, so far as possible, settled by the full meeting of the employers in combination with the delegates of the trades unions. If no agreement results, the matter is referred to arbitration.

Each party is here represented by two arbitrators, who, for their part, choose the umpire, who delivers the final decision. A regular trial takes place before him, as before a court; evidence is tendered, witnesses are cross-examined, and speeches are made on both sides by the aforesaid arbitrators, who in reality are counsel. "The complete technical knowledge of the parties engaged, as well as the strength of the organisations backing them up, produces the result that these proceedings are carried out with the same acuteness, and are as smoothly transacted, as dealings between the largest business houses."

The award is unconditionally carried out by the two interested groups. The existence of the trades unions presupposes this, since otherwise no one would accept the responsibility beforehand of ensuring that many thousand workmen would really submit to the award. This is, of course, valid only for a definite number

Duties of the Arbitrator

of months; after that there must be a renewal of the old agreements, or a fresh examination of them. If the arbitrator gave his decision merely in accordance with his sympathies, this would have no lasting validity, but would only conceal in itself the germ for later conflicts. For this very reason "the arbitrator, like any third person called in to settle prices between two independent parties, has merely to ascertain that which, if

he did not intervene, would be established as the natural limit of the price. Since he is called in to avoid conflict, he has to accomplish the same result as a conflict—namely, the reasonable settlement of the mutual conditions of power. Only when he has done that is he sure that his verdict will be lasting." A case in the year 1877 shows how little any awards which attempt to settle matters by moral considerations are able to arrange a dispute permanently.

Sir Farrer Herschell, as arbitrator, rejected the request of the colliery owners of Northumberland for a reduction in the wages of the miners. The owners submitted for the three months during which the award was to have validity, but immediately afterwards they renewed their demand, with the declaration that this time they must put the award out of the question, and, when the miners afterwards went on strike, they proved victorious. Parliament and Government have exerted themselves to support this development as much as possible. Thus the Act for Conciliation and Arbitration of the year 1895 was passed, which gives to the

Board of Trade's new Powers

Board of Trade the right of interfering in labour disputes. The most important proviso is that the Board of Trade may itself order the parties to nominate delegates in order to settle the dispute by mutual negotiations; on some occasions, under the presidency of a competent person designated by the Board. The Board may also, on its own responsibility, send persons to investigate the matters in dispute, and to furnish a report on the subject; finally, it may urge the establishment of a chamber of arbitration in districts and industries which are still without one.

The chambers of arbitration have since then become more numerous, and have frequently displayed a profitable activity; but their actual results must not be overestimated. There is hardly any institution in the social-political field which all political and social parties so combine to recommend as these very chambers of arbitration. Nevertheless, in forty years they have not been universally adopted; in fact, very often they have been prohibited even in the limited field where their introduction was a success. This experience has clearly demonstrated that the arbitration boards are, contrary to expectation, unable to produce social peace.

THE TRIUMPH OF TRADES UNIONS

The transition from communism to social reform, seen in the trades union movement, is more conspicuously prominent in the movement towards co-operation, which was the immediate result of Owen's teaching and agitation, after the clouds of illusion had lifted. Owen had encouraged the workmen to found communities in order to provide themselves with the necessities of life by co-operative production. After many unsuccessful attempts the fact was established that co-operative stores represented the only form of community of which the labourer was at the time capable. And when this was once known, such societies and their shops sprang up like mushrooms from the soil.

Thus a movement originated in 1826 which, in the words of its historian, Mrs. Sidney Webb, "represents the first real attempt of the British labouring classes to embody in a practical form the ideas of Owen." The spirit which animated these true pioneers of social reform is aptly described by the motto with which the regulations of the society at Warrington were introduced, running as follows: "They

Rochdale Pioneers of Co-operation

helped one another, each his own brother, and each said to his brother: 'Be of good cheer!'" But the young plant which blossomed so quickly and so luxuriantly—in 1832 nearly 500 co-operative stores were already in existence—faded again rapidly, and only a few years later there was hardly a trace of the whole movement, while the labour world was intensely excited by the Chartist propaganda. Its overthrow coincides with the new impetus given to the co-operative movement, which has since lasted almost uninterruptedly to the present day.

The men who then took the lead were the "Rochdale Equitable Pioneers," as twenty-eight poor flannel weavers called themselves, who, on the day after Christmas, 1844, opened the "Old Weaver's Shop" in a back street of Rochdale, with a capital of £28 in all. The statutes announced as their object "the erection of a shop for the sale of provisions, articles of clothing, etc.; the building, purchase, and fitting up of a number of houses in which the members can live who wish to help each other in the improvement of their domestic and social position; the production of such wares as the society shall determine to make, in order to provide work for unemployed, or, especially, badly paid members; the pur-

chase or renting of plots of ground for the same purpose; lastly, the establishment by this society so soon as possible of a self-supporting colony in the country, with a co-operative system of production and distribution, or the furtherance of other attempts to found similar societies." It is clearly seen here how illusions can largely

Methods of the Co-operators

contribute to success, for they gave to those poor weavers, and the many thousands who followed their example, the proud consciousness that they were the disciples of a lofty ideal and the pioneers of mankind, and inspired them with that feeling of exuberant strength which made them capable of bold action and persistent effort. This social prospect could not, however, again dim the view of practical life, as was shown from the typical constitution, so often imitated, which the Rochdale Pioneers drew up for themselves.

According to it their shop made the ordinary retail prices the basis of the sales, and then divided the profits obtained from the business among the members in proportion to the extent of the purchases effected. The purchaser received a receipt, usually a tin counter, for the amount of his purchases. At the end of every quarter the counters were given back, in order that the profits might be distributed accordingly. They usually amounted in English co-operative stores to between 5 per cent. and 15 per cent. in the three months. Anyone could be a member on payment of one shilling entrance fee. Members, therefore, practically were only customers. Of course, under this arrangement every member had an interest in the extension of the body of members, because the turnover then increased, and with it the business expenses were lessened, and so the dividend became larger. After 1872 the practice began of supplying the requirements of the wholesale societies from their own factories.

Disraeli's Service to Co-operation

Co-operative societies, as opposed to trades unions, were soon favoured by the legislature. Here, too, it was Disraeli who most prominently came to their aid, and procured for them, by a series of statutes, from 1852 to 1876, the rights of corporations, after formal registration, together with all other desirable privileges, and limited the liability of members to their subscribed shares in the business.



ENGAGING DOCK LABOURERS AT THE WEST INDIA DOCKS



A FAMILIAR SCENE IN TIMES OF DEPRESSION: "WE'VE GOT NO WORK TO DO!"

From the drawing by Fred. Barnard

TWO PICTORIAL STUDIES IN THE INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM

In the first of these drawings the artist has depicted the eager competition for employment which is daily to be witnessed in times of trade depression at the Docks, where casual labour finds its most likely market, while in the second the unemployed vocalists, who complain that they have "got no work to do," have evidently abandoned the search for it.



THE MARCH OF SOCIAL REFORM AND LABOUR'S RECOGNITION BY THE STATE

THE factory system, with its various branches, had brought with it an unprecedented increase in the labour exacted from the workers, especially from the women and children. Owen, at the beginning of his social reforms, had already abolished those evils in New Lanark, where he was master. But since he saw that such an example was only exceptionally imitated by other owners of factories, he came to the conclusion that the deep-seated distress could only be ended by legislation binding on all alike.

Thus Owen was the first who raised the cry for factory laws, and soon afterwards commenced a violent agitation for this object from 1813 to 1817. The programme which he now developed contained, first, the prohibition of the industrial labour of children under ten years, as well as of all children who could not show a certain minimum of learning; and, secondly, the maximum working day of six hours for children from ten to twelve years, and of ten and a half hours for all adult factory workers. Owen in this way, although he afterwards devoted his attention almost exclusively to his Utopian schemes, introduced the idea of the protection of workers into the modern social movement.

Owen's Utopian Schemes

If merely the interests of the ruling class were of weight, as the materialistic theory of history asserts, the protection of the worker would never have been introduced, so long, at least, as the labouring classes possessed no influence in Parliament. As a matter of fact, this measure was proposed and passed, thanks to moral, religious, and philanthropic reasons, aided by the far-sighted deliberations of wise statesmen. The first comprehensive factory law was enacted in 1819 at the instance of Robert Peel, the father of the famous statesman, himself a manufacturer. This prohibited the employment of children under nine years in cotton mills, and limited the working day of

young persons up to sixteen years of age to twelve hours. But the law had no effective results, since the local police authorities were far too subservient to the wholesale manufacturers. A new Factory Act was passed in 1833, which appointed special

Improving the Conditions of Labour

officials to superintend the protection of the workmen—namely, factory inspectors—an institution which has been copied by all civilised states, and fixed for all textile factories a working day of eight hours for children from nine to thirteen years, and of twelve hours for young persons from thirteen to eighteen years.

Even before this, in the "twenties" of the nineteenth century, a great popular movement in favour of a ten-hour working day had commenced, which was led by a philanthropic politician, Richard Oastler, a Tory, "the manufacturing king"; John Fielden, Thomas Sadler, and Lord Anthony Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, 1801-1885, were also conspicuous. This movement, which lasted almost twenty years, roused great enthusiasm amongst the working classes, and, in view of the want of employment which prevailed towards the end of the "thirties" and the high price of bread, assumed locally forms which alarmed the governing and wealthy classes.

Thus Sir Robert Peel himself declared: "The misery and the uncertainty in the position of the labouring classes is too great. It is a disgrace and a danger to our civilisation; it is absolutely necessary to make their position less hard and less precarious.

If we cannot do everything, we can at least do something, and it is our duty to do what we are able." The Chartist

The Chartist Agitation in England

agitation, which was exciting all England, served finally to make people understand the state of affairs. Chartism, indeed, which had already, in 1839, failed in its main point, had been able to effect very little direct change in the social conditions;

but its indirect results were all the greater, for its abrupt ending made the labour classes understand that it is impossible to break the strong framework of the old constitution by the employment of force. They tried, therefore, henceforth to serve their aims by conformity to the existing institutions. On the other hand, Chartism

The Social Gospel of Carlyle

made it clear to wide circles of the ruling classes that things could no longer go on as hitherto, that the familiar "laissez-aller" policy in social matters must be abandoned. Thus there arose in the wealthy and educated class intellectual currents which were favourable to the concession of the reasonable demands of the labouring class.

Thomas Carlyle signalled himself as the most mighty preacher of a healthy inner life, and to him above all the credit is due of having roused the social conscience of his time. He is distinguished from the Socialists and Radicals in the principle that he considers that human society necessarily involves some notion of rule, otherwise the society could not last. But he assumes two points—that the ruling party protects and safeguards the weaker class, and that this latter is loyal and well behaved towards its leader and protector. Both, however, only thrive on the soil of the faith and the work of all concerned. Work is necessary in order to justify our existence on earth, and faith in the ideal beyond the grave is needed in order to make the severity of labour and the miseries of our existence endurable by us.

The evils of the present day, according to Carlyle's conception, have their root in the fact that all these assumed conditions of a really human existence are not forthcoming. The old relations and ties between the feudal lords and their vassals have ceased, to give place to the unsympathetic payment of ready money as the only bond, "the cash nexus," between

Worship of Mammon

capitalist and workman. The poor man no longer finds any protection, but remains left to himself; the result is that he has no loyal feelings for the ruling classes, but thinks only of rebellion and revolution. Faith is tottering everywhere, even if it be not lost; and finally, work has become irksome to all, so that the proletarian does it only with reluctance, while the aristocrat tries completely to avoid it. Thus men think "this universe is a large,

capacious cattle-stall and a workhouse with an enormous kitchen and long dining-tables, and that he alone is wise who can find his place at it."

The actual circumstance that at the present time, under the rule of selfishness, the signs of the dissolution, the transitoriness, and the unendurable burden of the existing conditions are noticeable, is for Carlyle a reassuring symptom. For now only two courses are left: either the nations, eaten up by the worship of Mammon, succumb, fall a prey to foreign conquerors, and then receive, as is right, a new faith and a new aristocracy forced on them from without; or they develop for themselves new ideals and a new social fabric, in which all sections will be knit together by the bond of mutual loyalty.

It is comprehensible that in Britain especially no contentment is found, since the prevailing doctrines and institutions are unsuitable. Carlyle heaps deadly scorn on them, one after the other. Look now at the utilitarian philosophy and the corresponding national economy; they start with a world of knaves, and wish

A Golden Age for the Workers

that something honest should result! Look again at the Malthusians! They imagine that the labouring class, by sexual restraint, has it in its power to diminish the number of "hands" and to improve its position. They believe in a golden age, when twenty million workers strike simultaneously in the same domain. They needed, indeed, only to pass in an all-embracing trades union the resolution not to marry until the state of the labour market was again completely satisfactory! Or look at the constitution of Parliament! "There no British subject can become a statesman, the leader in deeds, unless he has first shown himself the leader in words! Surely this is the very worst method of election that could be devised!" Or, lastly, consider the government of the existing majority! It provides neither help nor guidance to the people, but is a thing which bobs up and down on the waves of popular favour like the body of a drowned jackass. The end is that a revolt of the people gathers, and some day bursts with fury and dashes the dead body down into the mud at the bottom.

All this must be changed. But how? Carlyle promised himself but little from Socialism. He did not wish for a Utopia, even if its realisation were possible. He

wished hard work for all, since that is the destiny of mankind, and a system of subordination under the most efficient, since in no other way can the continuance and advancement of human society be ensured. The old principles of government must be revived.

Formerly, the lower classes stood in countless different relations to the upper classes beyond those of buyer and seller as now—in the relation of soldier and general, tribesman and chief, loyal subject and ruling monarch. "With the complete triumph of hard cash another age has come, and thus a new aristocracy must come." This is to be the

"nobility of industry," which organises and conducts a noble government, and must be responded to by the subjects with loyalty and obedience. At the time there will be a few leaders of industrial undertakings who will realise this ideal; but soon there will be more and more of them, until we, at last, shall have a noble and upright country of industry under the rule of the wisest. The motto of the nobleman of the future is, "Honourable conduct in business and warm-hearted interest in the welfare of all whom he may employ." This is the theme of Carlyle's positive social policy, which he varies from time to time with new illustrations and historical parallels, now pathetically, now sadly, now with the bold flights of idealist prophecy, now with the thundering denunciations of an Old Testament prophet. Carlyle is thus the first to announce an order of things in which the philanthropic manufacturers, filled with sympathy for the community, are to form the ruling class, the social aristocracy. From

this point of view all else seems incidental, if only the leading sections of the community rise, as is anticipated, of their own impulse to the realisation of a "new code of duties." If Carlyle is therefore no political Socialist, he is yet always sufficiently a

friend to the working classes to advocate the State support of the lower orders; on the other hand, he is an outspoken opponent of the democratic development, which appears to him necessary only so long as the ruling classes cannot remember their duty.

If we wish to form a correct estimate of Carlyle, we must



Earl of Shaftesbury



Frederic D. Maurice

PIONEER LEADERS OF SOCIAL PROGRESS

Leader of a movement which taught that "our interests are common, and every man is full of duties towards his neighbour," the Rev. F. D. Maurice was recognised as the founder of modern "Christian Socialism," while the Earl of Shaftesbury was ever in the forefront of all causes that aimed at the uplifting and Christianising of the people.

Photos by Mansell and Elliott & Fry

not conceive him to be a scientific philosopher or a national economist; he would have been no more able to explain the principles of modern political economy than he was capable of abstruse meditations on the last problems of willing and

being. His greatness rather consisted in the fact that he was a powerful writer, who knew how to awaken enthusiasm in the social policy of the nation. All his individual ideas, on account of this defective knowledge of political economy, were of no practical use, and were far too hastily sketched to be capable of application to real life; but they were the most powerful literary means for spreading among the higher classes of the nation the feeling that the workers were unjustly suffering, and that this condition must be remedied by reforms. Carlyle

himself indeed believed in a future when England would be ruled by a nobility of industry, and all England soon echoed with this new rallying cry. This was an idea which, as such, represented only an illusion of the ruling classes; but an illusion



E. V. NEALE

A wealthy advocate of co-operation, Edward Vansittart Neale was a true friend of the working classes, aiming at peaceful reform and making sacrifices on its behalf.

whose influence led to the rejection of the Manchester dogma in labour questions by the leading circles, and to the adoption by them of a friendly attitude towards the efforts of the workers in the direction of co-operation and coalition. Next to Carlyle must be mentioned Benjamin Disraeli, afterwards Earl of Beaconsfield, 1804-1881, the founder of the first "Social-Conservative group" in Parliament, that of the so-called "Young England." He adopts the essential points of Carlyle. But we find also much that is original in his ideas; above all, the thought of the social kingdom comes for the first time prominently forward. In recent years, he explains, definite classes have ruled in England, and the result is that struggle between those who possess property and those who have none, which, under the dominion of free competition, has produced the unhappy condition of the people.

This calamity must be ended by abolishing the dominion of the classes, and therefore all class legislation. The power must be given to the king, as the only constitutional authority which represents no class interests. Under monarchical government, morality and religion will once more be established in the land. And the most powerful agent is the true nobility which embraces all that has been conspicuous in the state, whether from high birth or from talent, virtues, office, or wealth.

Disraeli, in his novels "Coningsby, or the New Generation," 1844, and "Sybil, or the Two Nations," 1845, has clearly described the results of this doctrine in practical life. In them he instances the model factories, where nothing but love and concord prevail between capitalist and worker. The manufacturer also does his best in this direction, since he takes the most comprehensive measures for the prosperity of his employes, shortens their hours of labour, prepares for them good dwelling - houses, gardens, baths, schools, reading-rooms and churches, and provides for their pleasures by musical societies, games, festivals, and dancing. Many workmen, through their master's aid, actually come to be the owners of their own houses, gardens, and small farms.

This philanthropy finds its earthly reward in the efficiency and willingness of the workers, so that Disraeli's model

manufacturer declares that from the point of view of profits this investment of capital has been one of the best he has ever made. It is the duty of the young aristocratic politicians, to whom Disraeli also directly appealed, to make such a state of affairs universal. His appeal actually fired men's enthusiasm. A number of young members of the nobility, who were fresh from the university and filled with the romantic spirit of the time, formed themselves into the "Young England" party, which honoured Disraeli as its head and teacher, and was eager for social reforms.

Another movement tried to revive the old religious feeling and to lay the only true foundation of economic reform by filling all men with a genuinely Christian spirit. The leader in it was Frederic Denison Maurice, chaplain to Lincoln's Inn, 1805-1872, who taught: "our interests are common, and every man is full of duties towards his neighbour." For this reason the opposite, and unchristian, idea of the constitution of society was to be refuted, and the coincidence of the interests

Founder of Christian Socialism

of all men to be expressed in practical action. Maurice thus founded the modern "Christian Socialism." He was soon joined by other men of equal sincerity of character and of unwearying solicitude for the welfare of the workers—above all by Charles Kingsley, John Malcolm Ludlow, and Vansittart Neale—"a body of friends," as John Stuart Mill said, "chiefly clergymen and barristers, to whose noble exertions hardly enough praise can be awarded."

Since the masses of workmen in crowded meetings joined enthusiastically this crusade against the abuses of the new order of things, the reform movement of the "forties" was bound in the end to become irresistible, especially since parliamentary inquiries and official reports had proved the enormous extent to which the "sweated" labouring classes were over-worked. In vain the supporters of the prevailing doctrine of "laissez-faire," Cobden and Bright, the acknowledged leaders of the school, at their head, resisted with all their might the agitation which struck such a blow at the fundamental propositions of Manchester and was consequently decried as harmful; in vain the great employers of labour, under the leadership of the powerful ironmaster, Lord Londonderry, took the field against "the hypocritical

philanthropy which now prevails"; in vain the employers of the textile industry raised heartbreaking complaints over the threatening ruin of their trade; in vain the learned Oxford professor, Senior, "proved" minutely by the so-called "analysis of the manufacturing process"—in reality by incorrect calculations of the costs of production and prices of manufactured wares—that the whole net profit of the capital sunk in factories came from the twelfth hour of labour, and that therefore that hour could not possibly be curtailed. Dr. Andrew Ure, the panegyrist of the factory system, tried in vain to lay stress on the interests and the morals of the protected young persons themselves, who, if too early released from the discipline of the factory, would be driven into the arms of idleness and vice.

All these forms of opposition, besides the opinion of the head of the government, Sir Robert Peel, which, being unfavourable to reform, weighed heavily in the scale, were defeated by the force of the movement supported by popular feeling. At the decisive voting in Parliament a part of the

Better Times for the Workers Whigs, under the leadership of Macaulay, who in spirited words recommended the protection of workmen as a means of retaining in the nation all those high qualities which had made the country great, allied themselves with the majority of the Tories and with the Radicals, in order to decree the ten-hour working day for persons from thirteen to eighteen years and for all female workers, at first only in the textile industry in 1847.

Although this law, in fact, reduced the working day to ten hours not only for the protected persons, but generally for all employees, since the protected classes composed 60 per cent. of all operatives, yet none of the consequences feared by interested or learned antagonists have ensued. The value of the British exports, reckoned before the passing of the law in 1846 at 57·7 million pounds sterling, had a few years later, in the year 1852, risen to 78 millions, an increase of 35 per cent. "If the shrewd calculation of Professor Senior had been correct," so a factory inspector remarked in his report with pointed irony, "every cotton mill in the United Kingdom would have worked for years at a loss." And with reference to the supposed degeneration of the children in consequence of too short a working day,

a report of the factory inspection of the year 1848 noted that "such uncharitable talk about idleness and vice must be stigmatised as the purest cant and the most shameless hypocrisy."

Thus, the marvellous development of industry, hand in hand with the moral and physical renaissance of the factory worker, struck the dullest eye.

Marvellous Development of Industry The laws were gradually extended to the other great industries, and in 1867, under Disraeli's Ministry, partly also to the workshops; and in 1868, at the instigation of this same Minister, the whole of this legislation, which had already become somewhat confused, was consolidated and completed in the "Factory and Workshop Act."

The manufacturers, even before this, had completely reconciled themselves to the thought of the protection of workmen. Henceforth they offered no more resistance either on principle, by means of political agitation, or, in practical life, by infringement of the factory laws. On this head a committee appointed by Parliament to examine the working of the existing factory laws reported in 1876: "The numerous former inquiries into the position of the children and women engaged in the various industries of the country have disclosed conditions which produced a great outburst of public sympathy, and imperatively called for the intervention of the legislature."

A striking contrast to the circumstances disclosed in these reports is afforded by the present position of the persons in whose favour the various factory and workshop Acts have been passed. Some employments are still unhealthy in spite of the sanitary provisions of these Acts, and in other industries there is still occasionally a pressure of work beyond the limits defined by law, which is prejudicial to the health of the operatives. But such cases are exceptional. At the same time we have no cause for assuming that the

Fruits of Labour Legislation legislation which has shown itself so beneficial to the workers engaged has caused any considerable damage to the industries to which it applied. On the contrary, industrial progress was clearly not checked by the factory laws; and there are only few, even among the employers, who now wish for a repeal of the chief provisions of this Act or deny the benefits produced by this legislation.

THE
RE-MAKING
OF
EUROPE



THE
SOCIAL
QUESTION
V

SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN FRANCE

THE STRIVINGS AFTER EQUALITY AND LIBERTY

IN France the first social movement, in the modern sense, was in connection with the great Revolution. This had tried to put into practice the ideas of Rousseau as to the Law of Nature. Man is by nature good, so Rousseau taught.

Principle of the New Constitution

This good, uncorrupted man, so Robespierre added, was now personified by the lower orders only, who had remained untouched by luxury and vice. The government was, therefore, to be transferred to the lower orders by the grant of equal political privileges to all citizens, and thus the reign of everlasting equality, virtue, and happiness would dawn. The new constitution of 1793 adopted as its principle: "All men are equal by nature and by law," and "The object of society is the welfare of all." Thus, Robespierre declared: "We wish that in our country selfishness may be replaced by morality, ambition by honesty, decency by the sense of duty, contempt of misfortune by contempt of vice."

But men had not yet arrived at clear ideas of a new distribution of property. On the contrary, this result was not attained until the Directory, after the Democratic constitution of 1793 had been set aside. It was due to François Noël Babeuf, 1764-1797, a former partisan of Robespierre. Starting with the precepts of the Law of Nature, Babeuf pictured to himself the ideal society based on the following precepts: the duty of all to work; statutory settlement of the number of working hours; regulation of production by a supreme board

Babeuf's Ideal Society

electd by the people; division of the necessary work among the individual citizens; the right of all citizens to all enjoyments; and a corresponding distribution of property among individuals, according to the standard of equality. Since even the boldest imagination hesitated to hope from one day to another

for the realisation of this ideal, Babeuf had planned a series of appropriately devised measures as a connecting link between the present and the social regeneration of the future. In the first place, a "great national community of property" was to be established, to which all State property, all property of the "enemies of the popular cause," as well as all estates which were left uncultivated, were to be attached.

Every Frenchman could join the community if he gave up his property and placed his working powers at its disposal. Besides that, the community would inherit all private estates. The members were to work in common, and would receive all the food "which composed a moderate and frugal cuisine," and other necessities of life. Anyone who entered the community burdened with debt became exempt from all liabilities. On

An Army of Theorists and Discontents

the basis of this programme, Babeuf, favoured by the circumstances described, succeeded in collecting round him many thousand followers, chiefly old supporters of the Jacobin doctrines, discontented members of the middle class, and political theorists of every rank, but only a very small proportion of artisans.

The Government interfered, alarmed at the threatening character of the movement. A secret association, the Club of the Pantheon, was therefore formed, which took steps to prepare a decisive blow. It was proposed to capture the capital by a coup-de-main, in order to plant side by side the banners of economic and political equality; although the prepared manifesto to the people cautiously spoke only of the restoration of the overthrown constitution of 1793, in order that all who held Jacobin views might join the agitators. While the rebellion was still being secretly discussed, Babeuf and his colleagues, who had long been betrayed and watched by the police, were

arrested in May, 1796. Being brought before the National Tribunal, Babeuf and his friend, Darthé, although acquitted on the charge of conspiracy, were condemned to death for inciting men to divide private property, and guillotined May 27th, 1797, and seven fellow-conspirators, among them the future historian of the movement, Filippo Buonarroti, 1761-1837, were sentenced to banishment. The young communistic movement thus become leaderless was doomed to rapid extinction.

It was not until the third decade of the nineteenth century that a large socialistic movement was again started in France, at a time when the industrial development had not yet created an enormous proletariat. This explains why it found its followers mainly among the sections of the middle and upper classes, which were steeped in idealism. Here "the young men had heard in their childhood of the portentous events of the Revolution, had lived through the Empire, and were sons of heroes or victims; their mothers had conceived them between two battles, and the thunder of cannon had ushered them into the world."

Bazard the Prophet of Socialism

These youths, passionate and romantic in spirit, full of the instinctive dislike of the unscrupulous egotism and the prosaic dulness of the bourgeois society around them, were forced to offer strong opposition to the prevailing utilitarianism, and to welcome rapturously the first prophet who undertook an attack on selfishness, narrow-mindedness, and the aristocracy of wealth. Such a man was Bazard in 1828, who enlisted supporters for Socialism in connection with the teaching of Saint-Simon.

Count Claude Henri de Saint-Simon, 1760-1825, who, while able to found a school, could never produce a regular movement, had stopped short of Socialism. He had never clearly understood the war between capital and proletariat. On the contrary, he included both classes under the category of "industrials"—that is, as the body of those who work at the production of material enjoyments—who, as the most numerous and productive class, ought properly to govern the State, while, as a matter of fact, the great landowners, the clergy, and the high officials possessed the power. The political background of the time favoured these ideas. At that period, 1815-1830, the decisive war in France between the

adherents to the "ancien regime" and the bourgeoisie supported by the people was being waged, while the class dispute between the property-owning orders and the proletariat, which was now first developing, had not yet made itself felt. The teaching of Saint-Simon was the theoretical expression of the aspiring classes generally. The supremacy of the "industrials," which he advocated, began to assert itself in the actual economic development as the supremacy of capital. The spirit of the age, no less than the essence of Saint-Simon's nature, which was wrapped up in mysticism, required that his system should be first and foremost a religious and moral one. He therefore expressly termed it "a new Christianity." His object was to accustom mankind to a new code of ethics, in order to raise on this foundation a new political and social fabric.

Saint-Simon's New Christianity

"In the new Christianity," he wrote, "all morality will be directly derived from the principle that men are to regard each other as brothers. This principle, which was held by primitive Christianity, will be explained, and in its new form will lay down the fundamental proposition that religion must direct society towards the one great end, the immediate amelioration of the lot of the poorest class." Thus it was Saint-Simon's intention to perfect the material side of Christianity, and so to bring about complete earthly happiness.

Saint-Simon had not contemplated a property reform. This was first planned by Saint-Amand Bazard, 1791-1832, who also, in connection with the historico-social ideas of his master, had elaborated a special doctrine of historical development. According to this, there are two fundamental social ideas, that of selfishness, or of individualism, and that of unity, or of association. According as the latter or the former principle predominates, organic or critical periods in the history of nations may be distinguished. The organic epoch is characterised by the universally recognised authority of definite ideas, by the prevalence of the same thoughts in the minds of all, and by a united effort towards the same ends. Mankind here felt itself conscious of some definite purpose, and therefore proceeded to raise permanent social structures. The critical epoch was marked

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Definite Purpose of Mankind

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by criticism of the traditional principles, which were deprived of their influence over men's minds by the disappearance of public spirit and by the reign of individualism. Existing institutions were undermined, until finally the edifice which earlier times had reared crashed down. The followers of the new doctrine announced "to the

**The Dreams
of French
Visionaries**

astounded world an age so full of fame and magnificence, such glorious times, such golden crops and rich harvests, such happy people, so much wealth and pleasure, so much greatness, enjoyment, and harmony, that the most indifferent opened eyes and ears and were intoxicated with these prophetic visions."

The elaboration of this doctrine in detail was chiefly due to Barthélemy Prosper Enfantin, 1796-1864, who represented all profits, rents, and dividends as a species of income which did not depend on the labour of the possessor, but on the "exploitation" of the workman. The fundamental principles which were to put an end to all this, had to be carried out by a hierarchical organisation of society, and so the contesting Saint-Simonian party had already been organised on a strict system of hierarchy, and its guidance entrusted to two high priests—pères suprêmes—Bazard and Enfantin in 1829.

But when Enfantin, becoming arrogant from the number of his followers, who were reckoned by thousands, demanded the "emancipation of the flesh," since he preached that the marriage tie should not be binding if affections grow cool, because society ought to be just to all natures, even to flirts and coquettes, then Bazard seceded, in 1831, disgusted at such a travesty of the true teaching. The "Globe," the organ of the school, soon preached without any further shame the bold doctrine of free love. Such a foolish and immoral deterioration could not fail to alienate the people from a doctrine

**Fragments
of a
Great Cause**

stained with extravagance and indecency. Enfantin could only find forty loyal followers when he withdrew to his property at Ménilmontant, near Paris, with the fragments of what had been shortly before so flourishing a school. "Enfantin," the last number of the "Globe" declared, "is the messiah of God, the king of the nations. The world sees its Christ, and recognises him not; therefore, he withdraws himself from you with his apostles." The last

survivors of the school, Olinde Rodrigues, Michel Chevalier, Charles Duveyrier, were finally dispersed by legal intervention, since a charge of immorality was brought against them in August, 1832. So rapidly was the movement past, and so violent was the disenchantment of the public, that "nothing was left of the whole incident except a feeling of astonishment that men could ever have paid attention to it, and a new ground for distrust of innovations. Before a year elapsed people spoke of Saint-Simonism as of a long-forgotten matter."

Charles Fourier, 1772-1837, elaborated his social theory independently of Saint-Simon. Its starting point was strictly individualistic. His aim was not the happiness of the community nor the equality of all, but the satisfaction of the impulses of the individuals, the most enjoyable life for each separate person. All individual impulses, according to Fourier, come from God, as necessarily follows from their existence, and are therefore good. It is only necessary to give them free play on a profitable field; the result is then obtained that men can always have wishes and

**Fourier's
Social
Theory**

desires, and that the earth can readily satisfy all their wishes. If at the present time men have longings which remain unsatisfied, and impulses which must be suppressed, this, in view of the harmony between wish and enjoyment which God wills, is an evil which must exclusively be attributed to the deficient organisation of human society.

The system of Fourier only attained considerable importance after the dissolution of the Saint-Simonian school. Victor Considérant, 1808-1897, had great influence on it, as he freed the master's teaching from all kinds of fantastic additions, and at the same time brought prominently forward certain vigorous ideas which could be turned to account in the popular agitation, such as the right to work and the insurance of the worker. Both these movements, Saint-Simonism as well as Fourierism, had, on the whole, found supporters only among the "intellectuals," and those members of the middle class who were theorists. The real mass of workers kept aloof from them as a rule.

The first interference of the French workmen in politics followed rather in connection with the secret societies of the Republicans. In the middle of the "twenties" a new secret society, the "Société des

SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN FRANCE

Amis du Peuple," had formed itself out of the ruins of the overthrown Carbonari conspiracy, with a Jacobin programme. Its management was in the hands of a number of young men, mostly students, who succeeded in carrying their agitation into the ranks of the workmen. Out of this society, which made various attempts to effect the establishment of the Republic by concerted risings, was developed, after various intermediate steps, the "*Société des Familles*," the views of which advocated communism.

Filippo Buonarroti, an Italian, one of the banished members of Babeuf's party, had received an amnesty, and on his return had plunged once more headlong into the whirlpool of conspiracy. Thus he had become a Carbonaro, and he afterwards joined that republican body of conspirators. True to his old ideals, he had tried to introduce communism into these associations. But that which the speeches of the feeble old man failed to effect was accomplished by his spirited narrative of Babeuf's teaching, heroism, and martyrdom. The members of the secret clubs—the "intellectuals," the middle class, and the workers—recognised that the only true result of equality for them was communism. Louis Auguste Blanqui, 1805–1881, and Armand Barbès, 1809–1870, two ex-students who had played a part in all republican plots, and had been in the forefront of every disturbance, were the leaders of these communists.

Disheartened by no failures, and crushed by no penalties, these past-masters of conspiracy used every release from prison as an opportunity to plan at once fresh murderous schemes and assassinations. These men, who wanted rather the fiendish delight of conspiracy than any object to conspire for, did not attempt to initiate any such tangible schemes of reform as even Babeuf had already started. The tactics of the secret society guided by them were to make the ruling power incapable of resistance by a skilful and bold coup-de-main at the appropriate moment, and to rouse the people to revolt. An attempt on the life of the king was advised as a preliminary skirmish before the pitched battle. The method of this political warfare is what the Socialists have since usually called "*Blanquist tactics*." On May 12th, 1839, the insurrection of the Blanquists, 850 in number, took place; but since at that

moment no political or economic crisis was felt, the expected response was not forthcoming, and the rising was soon quelled.

While the difficulties of association were so great, the natural disinclination of the French to form strong and permanent party combinations could not fail to produce a large variety of sects, corresponding to the many Socialistic schemes of the time. The exaggerated doctrine of Babeuf as to equality was continued by the school of Etienne Cabet, 1788–1856, which wished to attain its object by strictly legal methods, and in other points made an advantageous departure from the crudities of Babeuf's scheme. The Fourierists have been already mentioned. Next came the school of Philippe Buchez, 1796–1865, who had given a more distinct character to the shapeless propositions of the Fourierists by the effective remedy of union. Buchez insisted from 1831 onwards that the workmen ought to economise until they could form themselves into a productive association. A part of the profits of the business ought then to be applied either to the extension of the old association or to the founding of a new one, until finally all the workmen in France were owners of the capital necessary for production. This train of thought led, as Lexis pointed out, to a series of actual attempts, and certain sections of the Parisian working classes clung tenaciously to the idea.

The plan developed by Louis Blanc, 1811–1882, of founding such "productive" associations by state-given aid could not fail to meet with more support from the proletariat. For then the workman did not require to save out of his small wages; and besides this, the labouring class was liberated at a blow. The scheme of Blanc culminated in the special point that the State should organise the workmen, so far as they wished, into workshops, which, during the first year, were to be directed by the State, but afterwards by the workmen themselves. These "*ateliers sociaux*" were to be associated, to agree as to the method and extent of the production, to provide for the sick and incapable, and to help those undertakings which were depressed by crises. Since it was expected that the industries conducted by capitalists would soon be brought to a standstill by this competition, this system of associations only presented a transition

France's Socialistic Schools

Men who Delighted in Conspiracy

State aid for the Workers

stage towards pure communism, of which the principles were to be: "Production according to capabilities, consumption according to requirements."

All these schools—and this point must be strongly emphasised, for it is often overlooked—must not be considered as merely representative of the working classes; on the contrary, they felt that they represented all classes suffering from capitalistic methods of production, the lower middle class as much as the proletariat. This is still more the case with the Radical Christian Socialists of that time, such as Pierre Leroux, 1797-1871, the Abbés Hugues Félicité Robert de Lamennais, 1782-1854, Henri Benjamin Constant de Rebecque, 1767-1830, and Constantin Pecqueur, 1801-1887. These, consciously or unconsciously, renewed the idea of Saint-Simon, that a purification of mankind by religion and morality was alone able to pave the way for future social reform; for then only would all men regard each other as brothers, and be able to establish a new organisation, in which the possessors of wealth would consent to equalise the differences in property.

Pierre Joseph Proudhon, 1809-1865, a contemporary, appreciated more fully the interests of the middle and the lower classes, since in an ingenious but thoroughly idealist scheme he aimed at a realisation of the three main principles of the great Revolution—justice, equality, and liberty—in the economic world. He took up a position, in the interests of individual freedom, distinctly opposed to communism, against which he brought the charges that it obliterates the distinctions between individuals, fosters the indolence of all, and extinguishes personality. His intention was to preserve the improvements due to the economic system of individualism, but, on the other hand, to remove the distress and unhappiness introduced by it. For this reason

Lamentable Error of Socialism

competition is to be maintained; but opposition and isolation are, within certain limits, to be obviated by reciprocal support and combination. For "competition and association," so he said, "support each other. Far from excluding each other, they do not even diverge. Whoever speaks of competition assumes a common goal; competition is therefore not egotism, and it is the most lamentable error of socialism to see in it

the overthrow of society." He only attacked the unrestrained competition, where the possession of capital, as the privilege of a favoured minority, "exploits" the large, hard-working majority of the people; where the small man, from want of credit, cannot keep his footing; and where the social disorder leads to a crisis, to the bankruptcy of employers, and to want of employment among many thousand workers.

The party of the democratic middle class led by Alexandre Auguste Ledru-Rollin, 1807-1874, saw itself compelled to make advances to Socialism. Its chief organ, the "Réforme," willingly opened its columns to Louis Blanc's social and political articles, and even its official programme clearly showed the influence of the new socialistic doctrines. "The workers," so it ran, "have been slaves and serfs; they are now labourers; our aim must be to elevate them to the position of sharers. The State must take the initiative in industrial successes in order to introduce such organisation of labour as will raise the workers to the position of

The Golden Age of the Bourgeoisie

sharers. The State must provide work for the stalwart and healthy citizen, and help and protection for the old and weak." Notwithstanding this strong socialistic current, there were at first only slight waves visible on the surface of political life; the strict law of meetings and associations, and the franchise, which depended on a large income and was granted only to the 200,000 richest citizens in the whole of France, prevented the new ideas from being asserted with irresistible weight in ordinary times.

In the "thirties" and "forties," when Socialism and the emancipation of the lower orders were so prominent in the world of thought, the governing powers were quite unconcerned by them. At no period of the nineteenth century had the large industries and "haute finance" so ruled the governing powers as at this time, which Treitschke called "the golden age of the bourgeoisie." Indeed the labour legislation in no way served to protect the worker, but was purely directed towards the interests of the bourgeoisie. The associations of workers in the same craft for the promotion of their "presumed" common interests, as it was very significantly termed in the law, which dated from the year 1791, were still prohibited; and

SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN FRANCE

this law, under the government of Louis Philippe, was still enforced merely against coalitions of the workers, and never against the employers. The prefects were instructed, in the event of strikes, to forbid meetings and to put foreigners who took part in them at once across the frontier.

The labour book was obligatory on the workmen, and in the commercial courts the employers had a secured majority. Only a feeble protective law was passed in favour of the workmen, which established a twelve hours' maximum working day for children; and even then the official instructions for carrying it out explained that it could not be strictly observed. The ruling class in France was not at all disturbed, either by the misery of certain sections of the proletarians in the large towns, or by riots of starving workmen or risings of communistic conspirators.

This misgovernment was crowned by the insolent ignorance with which the official representatives of this rule of the great bourgeoisie flatly denied the existence of abuses and declared their world to be the best of all possible worlds.

**Guizot's
Arrogant
Attitude** Although facing a condition of things which concealed in it most bitter class disputes, that section of society asserted that neither disabilities nor privileges existed, since everyone could become rich, and then acquire the highest political rights. "There are no more class disputes," announced François Pierre Guillaume Guizot, 1787-1874, as President of the Council, a short time before the February Revolution, "for there are no longer any conflicting interests." And when reference was made to the agitation among the people, he arrogantly thought that "we, the three powers, the Crown and the Chambers, are the only legal organs of the sovereignty of the people; besides us there is only usurpation and revolution." And thus the demand for the extension of the franchise, which in the whole country was granted only to a bare quarter of a million of the most highly taxed, was flatly refused. No class which so obstinately asserted its privileges could rule for long; and in fact the monarchy of July, 1830, was overturned like a house of cards by the revolutionary hurricane of the year 1848.

The upper bourgeoisie was, however, still politically the most matured class at that time. The real middle class, the

poorer citizens of the towns, had, under the July monarchy, abandoned the radical opposition, which politically supported the traditions of the great Revolution. In other points it fluctuated vaguely between the maintenance of all ownership and a socialistic altruism, and had never been able to effect a union with the peasants, by far the most numerous class in the country. The political immaturity of the middle class was exceeded by that of the working classes, who thought they could come with one mighty leap into that land of promise called Socialism.

Under such circumstances the provisional government which, put at the head of affairs by the Revolution of February, 1848, embodied primarily the middle class, and secondarily the working orders, was not able to produce any considerable results. The maximum working day, which had been fixed for all industrial undertakings, was not carried out, and the prohibition to appoint "middlemen," who overworked the men, was not observed. The gift of \$600,000 to the labour associations was unable to effect any increase in co-operative systems, and the reluctant attempt to put into practice the right to work finally, when the "national workshops" established for the purpose were discontinued, led to riots.

Thus the French ship of state drifted aimlessly, without a compass, on the ocean of politics, and was at the mercy of the first man who knew how to take the helm and steer her into a safe harbour. The direction of the official social policy under Napoleon III. was determined by the fact that the sovereign himself, while still a young prince, had developed his own programme of social reform, which culminated in the creation of a nobility of manufacturers in Carlyle's sense, and in an attempt by the State to solve the labour problem by the cultivation of untilled lands. What was done, then,

**Napoleon III.
as Social
Reformer** towards putting this project into practice, when its originator mounted the throne of France? If we wish to answer this question correctly we must not forget that Napoleon had paved the way to his position by perjury and crime, and that consequently he had to be on his guard against revenge. This system, therefore, began with a campaign against all associations, however constituted, of workmen, who

were considered the most active disseminators of revolutionary ideas. Thus, not only all their political unions but also their purely economic associations, including many flourishing co-operative stores and similar societies, fell victims to the dictatorship which "saved society." But after the first zeal to found the new empire had abated, a careful distinction was made between the political and the economic organisations of the proletariat, and while the former were ruthlessly nipped in the bud, no obstacles were placed in the way of the latter.

Labour's Rights under the Empire

Thus, there arose under the empire a vigorous labour agitation, of which the centre of gravity lay in the combinations for obtaining higher wages and generally improved conditions of labour. Now, it is true that such coalitions were forbidden according to the already mentioned law of 1791; but they were still tacitly allowed. "Striking" workmen were pardoned and complete neutrality was enjoined on the prefects in event of suspension of work. Finally, in 1864, the prohibition on coalition itself was removed.

But beyond this the empire undertook to support the working classes by a long series of tangible measures. At one time it tried to guarantee to the metropolis cheap prices for necessary provisions. This was done especially by the establishment of the "Caisse de la boulangerie" endowed by the bakers, from which the individual masters received advances in times of high prices for corn in order to be able to maintain the low price of bread. Then an energetic attempt was made to face the labour question, not indeed in the vague form of the royal pamphlet, but by a system of public building operations. Within fifteen years more than \$3,000,000,000 were spent in Paris alone on public edifices. The same thing happened in Lyons, Marseilles, and Bordeaux.

Great Days of the Building Industry

This measure had various important consequences from the magnificent scale on which it was carried out. Permanent and profitable employment was given to a large number of "hands," wages had an upward tendency, and the spirit of enterprise was everywhere aroused by the excitement proceeding from the building industry. All else that happened was of subordinate significance. The remaining

point most worthy of mention is the legislation on mutual help societies, which supported their members in case of sickness or, under certain circumstances, of incapacity to work. These possessed an income of \$2,000,000 and various privileges; and their number actually increased from 2,000 in 1852 to 4,000 in 1859.

The workmen in the State workshops were compelled to insure their old age, and at the same time their wages were increased by the amount of the premiums. Besides this, state funds were available for the construction of workmen's dwellings and the erection of benevolent institutions, crèches for the children of workmen, asylums for crippled workmen. It is strange that the empire never thought about real legislation for the protection of workmen.

The most appropriate estimate of all this social policy is given by Lexis in his book on trades unions in France. "Louis Napoleon as emperor did not really need to fear that he would be reminded by the working classes of his brochure on pauperism. The social policy of the empire is by no means opposed to the spirit of it. Discipline and

The Policy of Louis Napoleon

superintendence of the workmen on the one side, amelioration of their material position on the other; that is an idea which is always upheld in the home policy of Louis Napoleon." In fact, the working class undoubtedly gained much from the new order of things; its position was incomparably improved during the years 1850-1870. Even the development of capital in the age of joint-stock companies was, on account of the number of new undertakings, not without profit to the lowest classes. For "even if one part of the shifted millions was concentrated in the coffers of the capitalistic body, another part was scattered over the mass of the wage-earning class."

Notwithstanding this, the proletariat was proof against all the allurements of the Second Empire. It was dumb to all gifts, deaf to all promises, cold to all flatteries; indeed, "the current of republican feeling, like a mighty river, swept away with it continually larger masses of the people." The lower middle class was at first furious, since, at the era of wild speculation and company promotion, when the bearers of the most renowned Bonapartist names joined in the worship of the golden calf, it had to bear

SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN FRANCE

the brunt of the costs. It knew nothing of the black art of gambling on the stock exchange, and would gladly make money without trouble, and therefore was caught by enticing promises and invested its hard-earned savings in rash of swindling undertakings.

The middle class, therefore, and the proletariat, to whom the illusions created by Proudhon's theories had given common ideals, and with them the possibility of common action, united, especially in Paris, for the overthrow of the Empire. When this was accomplished under the influence of the defeat to the imperial armies in 1870, those classes combined against the republic of the bourgeoisie and actually brought the Paris commune, in which the National Guard, mostly recruited from their order, held sway for some time, from March to May, 1871, under their power.

Since neither Paris nor the Government wished to yield, the result was civil war, which naturally ended with the suppression of the insurgent population of the capital. In that short time, however, the government of the besieged

city, whose programme of social policy was indistinct in other respects, had not been able to exhibit any comprehensive measures of reform. Under the Third Republic, which for the first time secured to the French working class permanent and full liberty in every direction, important political labour agitations as well as powerful economic organisations of the labouring classes were instituted. Politically, the most noteworthy event was the complete separation of the proletariat from the lower middle class. The proletariat followed out its own aims exclusively, in politics and economics, and thus acted according to the programme of class warfare.

Regard for the political influence of the masses of workmen compelled the Government to make social reforms which, in the first instance, dealt with the continuation of the protection to workmen—by the introduction of the ten-hours maximum working day for young persons under eighteen years and for all female workers in factories—and the concession of full liberty of coalition, since 1884. Besides this, the workmen have, in a number of towns, particularly in Paris, enforced various arrangements which are conducive

to their interests, such as the establishment of labour exchanges at the cost of the community, as also regulations for the minimum wage and maximum working day for all men employed by the town on public works. The movement in favour of trades unions and co-operative societies has lately received a great stimulus in France; the

number of workmen united in trade associations already reaches 500,000. We may assume that the social and economic organisations of the French working classes, although they are still far from reaching the English standard, will, if given undisturbed development, attain in a few decades some such importance as the English.

It is, lastly, worthy of remark that the Socialists have succeeded in influencing the administration of the Board of Trade, so valuable for social interests, in favour of the workmen, since the Socialists have united with the democratic sections for the protection of the republic against the attacks of the military and clerical parties.

The more the working class in this way practically arrived at a comprehension of its immediate economic interests, in contradistinction to those of the richer class and without regard to any collision with those of the inferior bourgeoisie, the less satisfied could this latter class feel by the alliance with the proletariat. Thus it resulted that after the "seventies" the predominance of Proudhon's views, which earlier had effected the spiritual union between the two orders, grew less and less, and that the inferior bourgeoisie now worked for their salvation outside the socialistic organisations.

But the lower middle class did not succeed in making an organisation with a special programme of its own; and therefore hundreds of thousands of its members cordially welcomed the demagogues, who promised them that they would oppose

the great capitalists as well as the socialistic tendencies. This is the explanation of the transitory success of "Boulangism," in 1889, and more lately of the great prospects of the "nationalistic groups," who anticipated a revival of the French middle class from the campaign against the world of Jewish trade and finance. But this movement was so short-lived that no elucidation of its confused economic scheme was forthcoming.

**Advance of
Co-operation
in France**

**Liberty under
the Third
Republic**

**Transitory
Success of
Boulangism**



SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY THE RISE & SPREAD OF LABOUR MOVEMENTS

THE first labour agitation in Germany was noticeable in the "forties." It then, owing to the strict police regulations of the German Confederation, chiefly affected the German journeymen who lived by thousands in foreign countries. Its leader

**Germany's
First Labour
Agitation**

was a tailor, Wilhelm Weitling, 1808-1871, who, as an emissary of the secret "Bund der Gerechten," League of the Just, at Paris, transplanted the communistic agitation to Switzerland. He organised the movement in such a way that public workmen's unions were founded under harmless designations, in which recruits were obtained for the "League of the Just." The object was to establish by revolutionary methods the communistic society, for which Weitling, in connection with the French Utopians, had drawn up a special system.

At the same time interest in communism had been roused even in the German middle classes, where the half doctrinaire, half idealist tendencies of the age had found a receptive soil in the students of philosophy and literature. In the mystic circle of the "humanistic philosophy" of Ludwig Andreas Feuerbach, 1804-1872, efforts were made to produce "humane" conditions even in social life, and the heartless capitalistic methods of business were condemned in accordance with the criticism of the French Socialists.

The positive ideal of this party, headed by the writers Moses Hess, 1812-1875, and Karl Grün, 1813-1887, was the most complete freedom of man, conceived by

**The Secret
"League
of the Just"**

nature as noble, in actions and conduct, in production and consumption. This school must therefore be termed anarchist, since it preached the unqualified self-glorification of the individual and the exclusion of any compulsion. This philosophic socialism found favour first with the educated middle class, and then also with the secret "League of the Just."

But since the arguments of this kind of Socialism were necessarily unfamiliar to the workmen, Karl Marx, 1818-1883, succeeded at last in preventing this system from doing any harm in that league. Through his efforts the league, which henceforth was styled "Bund der Communisten," adopted his principles, a change which practically produced no further results then, since his success coincided with the outbreak of the revolution of February, 1848, which dispersed the members of the league in all directions.

The only independent labour movement was made quite apart from the communistic league, under the organisation of Stephan Born, a compositor, 1825-1897. By vigorous agitation he succeeded in founding a labour party, which came forward under the name of "Arbeiter-verbrüderung," Labour Confraternity, and had as its immediate aim universal

**Overthrow
of the
Democracy**

suffrage for all representative bodies and a ten hours' working day. The activity of the "Labour Confraternity" at that time consisted chiefly in the support of the war of the democracy against the counter revolution; and thus the league was necessarily involved in the overthrow of the democracy. It was dissolved in 1850, and all attempts to call new workmen's unions into existence were nipped in the bud.

Some attempts of Marx and others to resume the agitation in foreign countries by the revival of the old communistic league miscarried, owing to the vigilance of the police; and thus this association also soon disappeared for ever in 1853. During the whole of this decade the reaction allowed no organised labour movement to take place. This period was used by Marx for the further development of his system, which he had already sketched in the "Communistic Manifesto." His original works, which secure him a position among the first thinkers of all time, reach their highest level in his

“Materialistische Geschichtsauffassung” and also in his “Untersuchung der kapitalistischen Produktionsweise.”

From the study of Hegel, Marx had formed the fundamental conception that history depicts a ceaseless process of life, decay, and progress, in which each separate stage is absolutely necessary and relatively justified, however much it conflicts with all the accepted notions of politics or ethics. But while Hegel deduced the laws of historical movement from the “self-development of the absolute notion,” Marx was converted by the philosophy of Feuerbach to the view that the man creates the ideas, and that the “idea” does not determine the history of the man.

At the same time his whole mental attitude rested on a materialistic basis, since he adopted the results of Feuerbach’s investigations, that the higher beings whom our religious fancy has created are only the fanciful reflections of our own being. If man thus, unconsciously, created religion, why not all political, legal, artistic, and scientific existence? And here Marx believes that he can discover the secret connection of all historical development, since he assumes that, in the first instance, politics, but more remotely

Marx’s Theory of Historic Development

all other manifestations of the spiritual, social, and intellectual life, are to be referred to the economic conditions and their development as the one ultimate cause.

The economic formation of society since the abandonment of the primitive common ownership of the soil is determined in all its previous history by the contrast between the classes, especially that between the ruled and ruling classes. But this is changed in the course of time. For each economic constitution develops from itself productive forces which are finally incompatible with the old form of production and the old form of class supremacy.

As a consequence of this the contrast between the classes culminates in a class warfare, in such a way that a crisis must follow, the result of which must be one of two alternatives: either the disruption of the existing social constitution and its change into a higher system, since the suppressed classes have overthrown the hitherto ruling classes, or the common ruin of the warring classes.

This keen inquiry into the economic system shows how conditions are at the present moment. According to it, the

value of all commodities is determined by the amount of combined necessary, that is, normal, working time requisite for their production. A commodity which has cost twelve hours of combined necessary labour is worth double as much as a commodity which has cost six hours. But now in the capitalistic social system only

The Workman and the Capitalist

the owners of means of production and livelihood produce commodities; and therefore the great majority of the non-propertied class sell their only commodity, their power of work, to the propertied. “The worker,” so it is said in the account of Marx’s teaching by Friedrich Engels, 1820-1895, which is to be regarded as an authentic representation, “sells his power of work to the capitalist for a certain daily sum. After a few hours’ labour he has produced the value of that sum. But his contract of work runs to the effect that he must drudge for a further round of hours, in order to complete his labour for the day. The value which he produces in these additional hours of excess labour is excess value, which costs the capitalist nothing, but nevertheless goes into his pockets.”

The appropriation of unpaid labour is the fundamental law of the capitalistic method of production, the existence of which is inseparable from the “sweating” of the workmen. Since now, according to Karl Marx, the excess value is the only thing which interests the capitalist in the process of production, his economic transactions will always be directed towards the increase of this excessive value.

The evident results of this desire for extra profits are as follows: In the first place, the daily hours of labour will be immoderately prolonged. Then the cheap labour of women and children will be employed on an immense scale. Finally, the anarchy in co-operative production which is so significant of the modern economic

Anarchy in Co-operative Production

methods will be more and more carried to extreme lengths. “The chief tool,” so Engel explains Marx’s views, “with which the capitalistic method of production increased this anarchy in co-operative production was the precise opposite of the anarchy; that is, the increasing organisation of production as co-operative in every productive establishment. With this lever it destroyed the old peaceful stability. When it was

introduced into a branch of industry, it allowed no other method of work besides. When it took possession of hand work, it destroyed the old hand work. The field of labour became a battle-ground. Not merely did war break out between the individual local producers, but the local wars in turn became national, the com-

The Bitter Wars of Industry

mercial wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Wholesale industries and the establishment of the world market have made the war universal, and at the same time given it an unprecedented bitterness. Among individual capitalists, as among entire industries and whole countries, the favourableness of the natural or created conditions of production decides the question of existence. The defeated is remorselessly disregarded. The opposition between co-operative production and capitalistic appropriation now appears as the contrast between the organisation of production in the single factory and the anarchy of production in the whole society."

The consequences of this are suspensions of business and work, partly local, partly universal, which lead to the formation of an army of unemployed, the so-called "industrial reserve army." This must grow larger as time elapses. For the "bourgeoisie" surmounts the crises by two measures only: on the one side by the forced annihilation of a mass of productive forces, factories which are not working, etc., on the other side by the conquest of new markets. The crises, then, are surmounted only by preparing more widely extended and more violent crises, and the means of avoiding the crises are lessened.

The crises now afford a means of concentrating various amounts of capital in one hand. Every capitalist ruins many other capitalists. Hand in hand with this destruction of many capitalists by a few, the co-operative form of the process of labour is developed in a continually growing scale. There is the change

Capital's Vast Supremacy

of the old instruments of labour suited to use by the individual into instruments adapted only for combined use, the entanglement of all nations in the net of the world market, and with this the international character of the supremacy of capital. The mass of misery grows with the continually diminishing number of great capitalists, who secure exclusively for themselves all the advantages of this change; but at

the same time sedition grows rife among the working classes, who are always swelling in numbers, and are organised by the mechanism of the capitalistic system of production. The monopoly of capital becomes a clog on the method of production, which has flourished with it and under it. It is removed, and its place is taken by the communistic social system, the principles of which are only suggested by Marx.

While Marx was developing his system in London, an attempt had been made in Germany, after the end of the "fifties" in the nineteenth century, to win over the workmen to the Liberal movement, which was assuming new importance. This was done by first founding associations for the education of workmen, and by the self-help movement initiated by a former judge of the patrimonial court, Hermann Schulze-Delitzsch, 1808-1883. The educational societies could, from their nature, only have a restricted sphere of influence. The case would have been otherwise with the self-help movement if it had been connected with the real interests of the working class, above all, with the organisation of trades unions. Instead

Lassalle the Friend of the Workman

of this, Schulze contemplated, in the first instance, the establishment of money-lending banks, of societies for supply of raw materials, of co-operative shops and similar associations which considered especially the interests of the small master-workmen, while the proletarians were attracted merely to the co-operative stores which were then also founded.

The result could only be that the workmen themselves felt this representation of their class interests to be insufficient, and looked round for men to help them. The man who came forward now as their leader was a friend of Marx, Ferdinand Lassalle, 1825-1864, who had won the confidence of the proletariat by his socialistic and revolutionary antecedents. The labour agitation of the present day, and with it "Social Democracy," were the fruits of his political activity.

Lassalle began his agitation in March, 1863, with the "Open Answer" to a deputation of workmen from Leipzig, who wished to learn his views on the social question and the means of reform. This pamphlet contained also the fundamental principles of Lassalle's social programme, which are only explained, supported, strengthened, and defended in all his later

writings. It was shown first of all that the average wages in a national industry depending on private capital and free competition always remain, limited to the bare livelihood which is ordinarily necessary among a people for the support

and continuance of life, the "iron law of wages." This was the inevitable destiny of the workmen so soon as they were in any man's pay. The workers must, therefore, Lassalle concluded, become their own masters, the house for which they work must be their own property, a "productive association"; then that distinction between the wages of labour and the profit of owners would disappear, and in its place the proceeds of the labour would form remuneration for the labour. Organisation in productive associations could only be feasible under the existing conditions, if the State advanced to the workers the money for the purchase of the firms and of everything else which belonged to the management of factories and business. The means by which this State credit was to be won was the introduction of universal, uniform, and direct franchise, which would presumably secure to the labouring class the majority in Parliament. This was the solution propounded by the "Open Answer." Lassalle, in order to propagate this doctrine, founded the "Universal German Workmen's Union," of which he became the president, with absolute powers.

The older German communists, with Marx at their head, naturally could not approve of Lassalle's teaching or his tactics. The proposition of the "iron law of wages" could not but greatly offend Marx; but still more was the proposal

of the productive association as a remedy for all social misery bound to call forth all the indignation of the communistic thinker, who, in 1852, had declared that the proletariat ought not to meddle with doctrinaire attempts such as exchange

banks and associations, but "should try to revolutionise the Old World with their own great combined means." The Communists viewed with equal suspicion the exaggerated value attached by the followers of Lassalle to universal suffrage; for Marx did not expect to lead communism to victory

by parliamentary majorities, but expected all success from the continuously growing impoverishment of the masses and of the thus inevitable self-annihilation of the civil society. In accordance with this view he openly announced to the German workmen by the mouth of his

most loyal disciple, Wilhelm Liebknecht, 1826-1900, that Socialism was merely a question of power, which for that reason could not be solved in any Parliament of the world. During the lifetime of Lassalle these opponents could accomplish nothing, but soon after his early death, in 1864, they began to undermine his system. The International Association of Workmen, the Red International, founded in the autumn of 1864, acted as their champion. This never indeed counted more than a thousand members in Germany, but afforded a base of operations from

which the attack against the followers of Lassalle might be made. The regular troops of Marx's following were, however, first furnished by the "Federation of German Workmen's Unions." This was a labour league which, founded in 1863 by



Liebknecht



Bebel

GERMAN LEADERS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

A loyal disciple of Marx, Wilhelm Liebknecht took a leading part in the advancement of Socialism, adopting extreme measures to secure the success of the cause and suffering two years' imprisonment, while Ferdinand August Bebel, who also was imprisoned, led the social democratic movement in the Reichstag and in the Press.



EDUARD BERNSTEIN

A writer remarkable for wide learning, grasp of facts, and graceful style, he led the opposition against Marxism, opposing the party view that the disruption of the bourgeois society was soon to be anticipated.

the party of Progress, had gradually been piloted to complete communism by the influence of Liebknecht on its chairman, Ferdinand August Bebel, born in 1840. In 1868, the Federation declared openly for the principles of the Internationals, and in 1869 established itself, in combination with seceded members of the Universal German

Programme of the Social Democrats

Workmen's Union and with other Socialists, as the Social Democratic Labour party. The programme of this Social Democratic party, drawn up at Eisenach towards the end of 1869, was conceived in the spirit of Marx, and only slightly corresponded with the ideas circulated by Lassalle's vigorous agitation, in order not to preclude the possibility of a future reconciliation with the powerful party of Lassalle's followers.

The programme declared expressly that the Social Democratic party regarded itself as a branch of the International Workmen's Association. Their ideal was the free Republic, which alone was able to replace the wage system of the existing industrial regime by co-operative labour, which should guarantee to each worker the full proceeds of his labour. The Eisenach programme laid down, as the immediate objects of the efforts of the party, a series of social and political requirements, which were borrowed partly from the principles of the political Radicals, partly from the doctrines of Marx and Lassalle.

The Social Democracy had begun, shortly before, to take active steps. The immediate impulse to practical action was given by an attempt, made by the Party of Progress in 1868, to found trades unions. Jean Baptista von Schweitzer, 1833-1875, and Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche, the leaders at the time of the "Universal German Labour Union," which was always influenced by the glorification of Lassalle, took immediate steps to establish industrial unions in order to forestall the detested

Amalgamating the Forces of Labour

bourgeois party. Finally, as the third member of the league, the "Social Democratic Labour party" of Marx appeared on the scene in order to secure its share. After this organisation of trades unions, the Social Democratic party in Germany ceased to content itself with bare criticism of the existing society, and to aim only at the final goal of their efforts, the State of the future. Henceforward it endeavoured to interfere directly with life,

since it put clearly before the workers the great advantages they could at once gain if they combined in masses according to their respective trades.

The results of the elections for the Reichstag in 1874 show how effective the trade organisation was. Although the split of the Social Democracy into the two camps of the Lassalle party and the Eisenach party still continued, socialism was already able to show a splendid army; not less than 340,000 votes were cast for it. Soon afterwards the Social Democracy entered upon the era of persecution by the courts and the police, and this, among other causes, led both parties to end the organisation of unions.

The instinct of self-preservation now impelled both sections to unite and to apply all their forces exclusively to the struggle against the common foe. The amalgamation was carried out at the congress at Gotha in 1875, where, as usually happens, the more radical party gained the ascendancy over the more moderate. The new programme showed in essential points the communistic stamp of Marx's doctrines, and only slight concessions were made to

Demands of the Working Classes

the followers of Lassalle. In fact, "Lassalleanism" ceased from that time to play any independent rôle in the history of the party. In other respects it is a feature of the Gotha programme that it pays far more attention to the protection of the workers than the earlier programmes.

Unrestricted right of combination, ordinary length of working day, prohibition of Sunday labour, of child labour, and of all forms of female labour injurious to the health, laws for the protection of the life and health of the workers, legal liability and independent administration for all charitable funds belonging to the workers; this was the list of requirements which the German working-classes continuously put before the Government of the day. Men began, therefore, to attach far more weight than before to an immediate and practical social reform. This change in tactics proved to be a factor of enormous significance, which was calculated to bring continuous reinforcement to the party. In the election of the Reichstag of the year 1877 the Socialistic Labour party, as the official title now was, could unite 493,000 votes in support of their candidates.

Shortly afterwards, on May 11th and June 2nd, 1878, followed the two attempts on the life of the German Emperor. Public

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY

opinion falsely made the Social Democrats responsible for this, and so the emergency law "against the common danger threatened by the Social Democracy" was passed in October, 1878. After the party seemed to be really quite broken, it recovered and effected some secret and some harmless public organisations. When, then, in 1881, the "trade associations" of the workmen were allowed by the police, the Social Democracy won back their complete freedom of action; for the trade associations afforded excellent rallying points and recruiting grounds for the active army of the Social Democracy, although in their meetings hardly any party politics were discussed.

It is not astonishing, therefore, that the law as to the Socialists did not fulfil its primary object, the annihilation of the party. When the Social Democracy had recovered from the first shock, it advanced in an uninterrupted victorious career, until in the elections of the Reichstag of 1890 it received more than 1,400,000 votes. So it became clearer from day to day that the emergency law lacked any permanently effective result, and

Bismarck's Social Policy offered no compensation for the tainting of political morality, which the police espionage required by the law greatly promoted. The German Emperor, William II., recognising this, determined to renounce the use of this two-edged sword on September 30th, 1890.

Prince Bismarck, simultaneously with the suppression of the social democratic labour agitation, had inaugurated a system of social policy that was intended to put into practice all the best points of the modern Labour movement.

German legislation had hitherto occupied itself but little with the working-men. In 1869 it had granted to them the right of coalition, and for the rest had been satisfied with the prohibition of the labour of children under twelve years, and with the limitation of the labour of young persons under sixteen years in factories. It was a consequence of the fundamental notions of the Imperial Chancellor that no further steps were taken in this direction, although the school of socialist professors, of whom the most important intellects were Albert Schäffle, Gustav Schmoller, Adolph Wagner, Wilhelm Lexis, and Lujo Brentano, advocated this particular reform before all others. The Chancellor wished at one time that the manufacturer should be master

in his own house, and be able to conduct the business entirely at his own discretion. But then Bismarck did not abandon the view that the factory law as to the maximum working day, Sunday rest, &c., lowered the profits of the owner too greatly, and also diminished the wage-earning of the workman, even if it did not altogether

The State's Duty to the Worker render his employment precarious. Besides this, he believed that there were only local complaints of excessive duration of labour, so that any interference was the less imperative. Bismarck considered uncertainty of existence to be the real misfortune of the modern proletariat. His programme, therefore, announced that the worker, when sick, ill, or disabled, should be cared for, and that work should be found him when out of place.

He imagined that the first requirement could be realised by the plan that millions of workers should be insured in state-organised offices against the economic results of sickness, accidents, infirmity, and old age; the necessary costs were to be paid partly by the workmen themselves, partly by the owners of the business, partly by the empire, which was to be enabled to make ampler advances by the introduction of the tobacco monopoly and profitable taxes on spirits. The second requirement he wished to fulfil by recognition of the "right of labour," which could be put into practice by the carrying out of appropriate works, such as construction of canals and roads at the public cost in times of great scarcity of employment.

With these views of the necessity of State solicitude for working men, Bismarck combined the conviction, which had been strengthened in him by the development of the Social Democracy, that this party was in the highest degree dangerous to the State, and that, in the event of further unchecked development, it would certainly produce, sooner or later, a bloody social catastrophe. The result of this view was his campaign of extermination against the Social Democracy, which, however, as has been described above, completely miscarried. His constructive social policy has, however, been unusually successful. The German working-men's insurance, which was announced in an imperial message in 1881, and was completed by 1889, must be termed "a magnificent organising structure, unique of its kind

in the history of the world." We see from the numbers of the working men affected how immense a service was rendered.

In the year 1900 nine millions of workers were insured against sickness, thirteen millions against old age and infirmity, seventeen millions against accidents. The sums which on the basis of the legal claim

The Unsolved Problem of the Unemployed

thus established are paid to the workers merely out of the means of the employers and the empire amount at the present day to more than fifty million dollars annually, and are certain soon to be increased. The only point of that programme which Bismarck did not assist in carrying out is the solution of the problem of "unemployment." But, notwithstanding this deficiency, the achievements of the first Chancellor in the field of social policy stand as a "monument more lasting than brass."

The new regime which commenced with the retirement of Bismarck started very favourably with the working men. The socialist laws were not renewed; and William II. unfolded his programme of social policy in two public statements. According to them, "the time, duration, and nature of labour were to be so regulated by the authority of the State that the preservation of health, the laws of decency, the economic requirements of the workers, and their claim to legal privileges should be permanently upheld." Legal enactments for the adequate representation of workers were to be passed in order to preserve peace between employers and employed.

The protection of workmen was soon considerably extended, since, by the law of the year 1891, Sunday labour, as well as the labour of children under thirteen years, was prohibited, and a maximum working day of eleven hours for adult female workers in factories was introduced. In other respects also, in spite of a strong current of opposition which set in among the

Growth of Social Democracy

wealthy citizen class, social reform has been distinctly advanced by the introduction of a maximum working day of twelve hours for all journeymen bakers, the closing of shops at nine o'clock in the evening, commercial courts for labour disputes between masters and employees, and, finally, continual improvements to the system of statutory insurance of workmen. During these years the Social Democracy has slowly but surely increased in extent;

at the same time, however, a distinct disintegration is perceptible in the party. The congress at Erfurt in 1891, which drew up a programme, showed the party still united round the banner of Marx; but since then the main principles of Marx have been the centre of a heated controversy.

The leader of the opposition against Marxism, which is temporarily still found in the minority, is Eduard Bernstein, born January 6th, 1850, who, on account of earlier offences under the Press laws, was forced to live out of Germany; a writer equally remarkable for his wide learning, his grasp of facts, and his graceful style. Bernstein first opposed the party view that the disruption of the bourgeois society was soon to be anticipated, and that the tactics of the party must be determined by this prospect. Social conditions, he thought, had not come to a crisis in the way assumed by Marx. "The number of property owners has not become less, but greater. The enormous increase of social wealth is not accompanied by a dwindling number of capitalistic magnates, but by a growing number of capitalists of all grades.

Selfish Tendencies of Capital

The middle classes change their character, but do not disappear from the social scale." Even in the industrial world the concentration of production, according to Bernstein, confirms in some branches only the prophecies of socialistic criticism; in others it falls far short of them; and in agriculture concentration proceeds still more slowly. Politically the privilege of the capitalistic class gives way to democratic institutions, and the purely selfish tendencies of capital are more and more limited by society itself.

And in this way there will be less necessity and opportunity for the great political crashes, which the working class moreover would not be able, at present or for a long time, to surmount. The Social Democracy, therefore, may not reckon any more on the great catastrophe, but it ought politically to organise the working class, develop it into democracy, and fight for all reforms in the State which are calculated to elevate the working class and develop the constitution in the spirit of democracy.

The most important question of tactics in this sense is, which is the best way to extend the political and industrial rights of the German working men? The fact that Bernstein, in spite of the intense hostility which he encountered,

remained in the ranks of the party, and the further fact that many "men of intellect" in it had already made themselves more or less known to him, opened a reassuring prospect for the future of the German working men's movement. If, in the course of time, the great mass of the social democracy should really abandon the sterile doctrines of Marx, and aim at an honourable social reform on national soil, nothing would remain of the old Social Democracy beyond the name, and the cult of the "constitution of the future" would sink into a harmless amusement.

It had been the custom for many years in Germany to regard the economic needs and requirements of the working class simply as the "social question," which was the outcome of the development of the capitalistic conditions relating to production, exchange, and competition. When this development had brought to light unfavourable results and new needs in other professional classes also, there could no longer be any doubt that the social question covered a much wider field. The most distinct expression of this is the fact that these professional classes

Movements of the German Tradesmen begin to organise themselves in a similar way to the working class, and noisily demand—as little disinterestedly as the proletariat—that the State should intervene with its authority on their behalf in the existing economic conditions. The master tradesmen did this first, and recently the small dealers. These two classes are generally kept in view when mention is made of the movement of the middle class in Germany; a movement which, moreover, has been of incalculably less importance than that of the working men.

The movement of the tradesmen is mainly represented by two associations: the United Trading Associations and the Universal German "Handwerkerbund." The political representation of their demands is effected by the Conservative and the Clerical party, and in an especially partial way by the "German Social Reformers," the section of the regular anti-Semites. There are two prominent postulates, from which, if granted, the tradesmen class, oppressed by the modern development of factories, trade, and demand, hope to gain renewed power; first, that a proof of qualification be demanded from every man who in the future intends to set up as a master, and, secondly,

that it be obligatory on every master to join the guild of his calling. The proof of qualification is intended primarily to guarantee the quality of the work done by the tradesman; secondarily, to limit the competition in favour of those who are already in the business. The obligation to join a guild is intended to combine

Defensive all masters in the common
Combination of defence of their interests,
Employers and to make every individual master share the burden of

the suggested methods of promoting trade, credit departments, courses of lectures, etc., since experience has shown that when entrance is voluntary only a minority are enrolled in the guilds. At the same time the following measures are proposed: the institution of chambers of tradesmen, in order to serve as a special board of control over the guilds and to represent duly the interests of the trade in all legislative matters; also, restriction of military workshops, prison labour, and hawking; further, prohibition of co-operative stores, travelling booths, public auction of tradesmen's goods, and of branch establishments; finally, regulation of the system of tender in the interest of the tradesman class, and preferential rights for the claims of tradesmen in cases of bankruptcy.

The proposal as to the proof of qualification has already found a majority in the German Reichstag. On January 20th, 1890, a motion in its favour was passed by 130 votes against 92. But the Government emphatically declined to accede to this wish.

The Prussian Government showed itself far more friendly to the second chief demand of the tradesmen, that of compulsory membership of a guild, since it proposed in the Bundesrat the introduction of this regulation for most smaller industries within a legally determined limit in 1896. The Bundesrat altered the proposal in a liberal sense. The principle of universal compulsory membership was

Aims of Compulsory Guilds allowed to drop; on the contrary, the formation of a compulsory guild was made dependent on the resolution formed by

the majority of the tradesmen concerned. In this form the proposal has been law since July, 1897. Stress must be laid on the point that the compulsory guilds may not establish common branches of business in order to promote the industrial undertakings of the members of the guild, and are therefore restricted in their field

of activity; also that the law realises another demand of the tradesman party, since it institutes chambers of tradesmen with a number of legal privileges.

Besides this, the German Governments have endeavoured, by the enactment of a special law, to protect those engaged in the building trade more efficiently than before.

Government Protection for the Workers The Government for the present is very cool towards the increasing demands of the tradesmen, who aim at a sort of guild privilege. They had the following propositions announced as their own programme by representatives of the Prussian Board of Trade. First, the assistants who wish to become masters are to have an opportunity of educating themselves both in the technicalities of their business and also in arithmetic and bookkeeping; next there are to be permanent exhibitions of all the power machines, apparatus, and tools employed in the smaller industries; finally, the formation of societies of the masters for common economic objects, societies for raw materials, for shops, etc., was to be supported when possible. How much of this will be passed depends to a considerable extent on the good will of the tradesmen themselves, whose corporate action is far from becoming as prominent as the political middle-class movement, which demands State coercion for the exclusion of harassing competition.

After the trades agitation came the movement of the middle-class shopkeepers, which has hitherto been less important. The agitation started here with the "Zentralverband deutscher Kaufleute," in addition to which, in the year 1898, a "Bund der Handel- und Gewerbetreibenden" was formed. So far as this movement is directed against sordid competition, it has chosen a thoroughly justifiable object, which the German Governments have supported by providing special legislation to check this evil, which manifested itself under the most various forms. On the other hand, their agitation against the large warehouses has overshot the mark, and their intemperate opposition to such useful institutions as co-operative stores is emphatically to be condemned. Since 1899 a regular campaign has been organised against the warehouses, which met with considerable success. In Saxony, a number of towns has introduced a progressive tax on the profits of the large

business houses. In Bavaria, the tax on trades has been modified in the same sense, and in Prussia, since 1900, a Bill with a similar object has been introduced by the Government and accepted by the Landtag.

In Austria, the prospects of the Social Democracy were more favourable than in Germany, since the heated struggle among the nationalities for years repressed any interest in other questions, and the Government, by unscrupulous exercise of their powers against the Press and the rights of association and assembly took away all air and light from the budding plant of Social Democracy. The agitation of Lassalle had found but faint echo in Austria.

On the other hand, after the concession of the right of assembly in 1867, the new Social Democratic Labour party received for the moment a great stimulus; this, however, soon died away when, after its assent to the German "Eisenach programme," that privilege was again withdrawn from it by the Minister Giskra. A revival of the party was the consequence of the milder interpretation of the laws as to associations under the Hohenwart Ministry in 1871. The stricter policy of the Ministry of Adolf Auersperg, 1871-1879, produced, however, a second decline. Under the succeeding Ministry of Taaffe, which introduced milder measures, the Social Democracy was once more in the ascendant, and for the first time gathered followers from among the Czechist workmen.

At this epoch Anarchism found its way into Austria through the "Freiheit" of Most, and in a few years the whole workingmen contingent of the Social Democracy had wheeled into the Anarchist camp. When, however, the Anarchist party had dug their own grave in 1885, by plots of assassination which led to a stupendous reaction, the Social Democracy slowly revived. Since then, being led by Victor Adler in a strict Marxist spirit, it was able to gain an increasing body of followers, and, under the Ministry of Badeni, it won the reform of the franchise, by which a fifth group, composed of electors qualified on the basis of universal and uniform suffrage, and electing seventy-two members, was added to the existing four electoral groups in 1895. Out of these the Social Democrats, in the election of the Reichsrat of 1897, secured fourteen members. The trades movement has also received

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY

a stimulus since 1893, although up to the year 1914 little more than 100,000 workmen shared in it. Much progress was made in legislation as to the protection of workmen, especially under Taaffe, when trenchant factory laws, among them the maximum twelve hours' working day for men as well as compulsory insurance against sickness and accidents were introduced.

In Austria especially the movement of the middle class has attained great importance, which—under the protection of clerical members of the high nobility and many Catholic priests—represented there at the same time the anti-Semite party. But before a strong party showed itself, as early as 1883, the two chief demands of the tradesmen class, the enforcement of which is their foremost object, namely, the proof of qualification and compulsory association, were realised in Austria. The proof of qualification was, in the words of Count Richard Belcredi, who helped this agitation to a successful issue, designed to be “a most necessary protection of honest work and of existing industries against competition and production at ruinous under-
Hungary's Backward Condition prices; a protection against inexperience, insufficient knowledge and means, as well as indiscretion on entering into business; a protection of consumers and purchasers against inferior commodities.”

The compulsory association was to organise trade, and to promote “esprit de corps,” thoroughness, and honesty in all its branches. The result of these experiments in Austria, however, has shown that the proof of qualification has nowhere helped the tradesman, but in places has rather hindered him by the separation of trades; and the compulsory associations have certainly not become practically efficient on any considerable scale. The direction of the middle class movement towards political goals not only failed in attaining the expected result, but momentarily hindered the co-operative self-aid movement which was benefiting the more efficient among the small shopkeepers.

In Hungary the backward condition of industrial development, and the strength of the purely national movements, for many years presented insuperable obstacles to an extension of the Social Democratic party. In 1868 a Labour party was founded there with the programme of Lassalle.

After the beginning of the “seventies,” this party also adopted a more Marxist creed, but did not long strictly maintain it.

At the beginning of the “eighties,” anarchism brought confusion into the small group, and, on the other hand, subsequently a part of the Social Democrats often made extensive compromises with the middle-class parties. On the whole, the party remained limited to the few industrial districts, especially the capital Buda-Pesth, until, at the beginning of the “nineties,” the agitation was suddenly carried with great success into the ranks of the labourers on the estates of the Magyar nobility. In reply the authorities, who had already been obliged to crush some risings with armed force, at once prosecuted it with the utmost severity of the law. The complications of the franchise law prevent the Socialists from taking any very effective part in parliamentary elections.

The organisation of trades unions is still in an early stage, and has to contend with the authorities. Altogether there are some fifty thousand working men united in the trade associations. The legislation as to the protection of workmen is still quite undeveloped. The only real progress which can be recorded in recent times is the introduction of compulsory insurance against sickness.

In Switzerland the Social Democracy, notwithstanding the most complete liberty of movement at all times, and notwithstanding the shelter afforded to so many persecuted foreign socialists, has never been able to attain real importance. The reasons for this are to be found in the difficulties of agitation, owing to the defective concentration of industry, in the steady political and social development of the country, and, finally, in the sober, practical character of the people. The Social Democracy, founded in 1865 by partisans of the International Labour Association, very slowly increased, so that its party organisation, even in 1914, had only 6,000 members. The “Grütliverein,” which is composed exclusively of Swiss citizens, and goes hand in hand with the Social Democracy, is more important; it had in the same year 15,000 members. The Social Democracy carried four candidates in the election to the Federal National Council in 1899. Its representation in

Government's Opposition to Labour

Democratic Movements in Switzerland

the cantonal Parliaments and in the town councils is equally weak. The trade-association movement is, apart from callings such as those of printers and railway employees, not very strongly developed; but locally, for example, in Basle, co-operative stores have become important. In Denmark the social movement stood

Labour Conditions in Denmark

from the first in close sympathy with the German Social Democracy, and therefore the Social Democratic party there adopted a programme which in its main features corresponded to the German.

The trade union organisation of the Danish workmen is of still greater significance; in 1914 more than 80,000 industrial workers had joined it, and had greatly improved the conditions of their labour by energetic combination.

The statutory protection of workmen has not been much developed in Denmark; it is mainly restricted to the ten hours' working day for young persons.

In Holland the large industries have been little developed; the economic conditions of the country are determined by the flourishing agriculture and extensive wholesale trade.

The trades union movement is of greater importance, and included over 30,000 organised workmen in 1913. The legislation on social politics has culminated in the institution of an eleven hours' maximum working day for young persons and female workers.

In Belgium, where the already existing germs of large industries had attained an enormous development in the second half of the nineteenth century, a Social Democratic Labour party of some importance was eventually founded, after various useless attempts, towards the middle of the "seventies." Its programme was modelled in all

Belgium's Large Industries

essential points on the German one. After the second half of the "eighties" the party received considerable additions of strength, since it used its utmost endeavours at the same time to form and to promote trades unions and industrial associations. Several of these Belgian industrial societies are well known for their excellent management and their wide sphere of influence, as, for example, the "Vooruit" at Ghent

and the "Volkshaus" at Brussels. In the year 1893 the workmen, in combination with the Radicals, extorted, by monster demonstrations and a general strike, universal suffrage, which was not indeed granted in a direct form, but under that of the so-called franchise by "majority of votes." At the first elections which took place on that system in 1894, 350,000 votes were polled for socialist candidates, of whom 32 were able to enter the Belgian Chamber. Since that date Socialism has continually won new adherents, so that it was in a position at the 1911 elections to unite 530,000 votes in support of its candidates, and to effect the election of 38 deputies.

Legislation for the protection of workmen is restricted in Belgium chiefly to the twelve hours' maximum working day for young persons.

In Italy, where until recently there have not yet been any noteworthy industries, the relations of the employers to their workmen in town and country were by no

Spread of Anarchism in Italy

means patriarchal; on the contrary, the workmen, since they were not sufficiently organised, were "sweated" to the greatest extent. It was only since the beginning of the "eighties" of the nineteenth century, when the Anarchists, after various riots, had finally been defeated by the stringent measures of the Government, that the Social Democracy began to come into prominence.

The trades unions have become comprehensive organisations, and the Social Democracy has also numerous followers, especially in North Italy, the real centre of industry, although associations of country workers have declared their adhesion to the party. Spain, in her industrial development, stands appreciably behind Italy. In other respects the politico-social life of Spain presents in important points practically the same peculiarities as that of Italy—namely, distress among the lower orders, a lamentable want of education among the people, and the intrusion into politics of numerous disreputable scions of the "higher" classes. Anarchism has, therefore, rapidly spread here since the end of the "eighties," while the Social Democrats have made but little way.

GEORG ADLER

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